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AZAM KHAN'S SERAI NEAR THE BHADRA TOWERS AT AHMADABAD, 1637 (pp. 117-19)

A HISTORY OF GUJARAT

With a Survey of its Monuments and Inscriptions

BY

M. S. COMMISSARIAT, M.A., I.E.S. (RETD.)

VOL. II

THE MUGHAL PERIOD: FROM 1573 TO 1758

With forty-seven half-tone plates



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PREFACE

THE first volume of this history was published about nineteen years ago, in 1938, on the eve of the Second World War. After a preliminary sketch, in some seventy pages, of the pre-Muslim period of the history of Gujarat, extending over nearly 1,500 years, it surveyed in detail the history of the province during Muslim rule for 275 years, first, under the viceroys of the Delhi Sultans of the Khalji and Tughluq dynasties from 1297 to 1403, when the ancient city of Patan Anhilwad continued to be the capital, and, secondly, under the independent sway of the Gujarat Sultans, from Muzaffar Shah I, who in 1403 threw off the authority of the last feeble Tughluq ruler, to the conquest of the province by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1573. It was in the very first decade of the rise of the Saltanat that the city of Ahmadabad, destined to acquire great name and fame, was founded by Sultan Ahmad Shah I in 1411 on the banks of the Sabarmati as the new capital of the dynasty. It was laid out on a spacious scale, its massive walls covering a circumference of nearly six miles with twelve imposing gates, and it continued to be adorned for a century and a half by mosques and rauzas, all in a distinctive and beautiful Indo-Saracenic style, which were built by the great Sultans and their powerful nobles. The names of the city-gates and of the various mahallas, chaklas and puras, which have survived to this day, still attest the essentially Muslim associations of its early history. For full four hundred years after its foundation, the city continued to be the capital of Gujarat until the second decade of the 19th century, when, at the end of Maratha rule over it for sixty years, it was handed over to the British by the terms of the Supplementary treaty of Baroda with Anandrao Gaekwad in November 1817. Thereafter, Gujarat formed a part of a much wider and composite political unit and for the last 140 years the position of its chief city has been subordinated to the capital at Bombay.

The present volume covers the entire Mughal period of the history of this province as a Subah of the Empire for a period of 185 years, from Akbar's conquest in 1573 to the collapse of imperial rule at the hands of the Maratha invaders in the middle of the 18th century in 1758. The two volumes together thus cover the unusually long period of 460 years during which Gujarat remained under Muslim domination. Our history of the Mughal period is surveyed under five sections. The first Part, which ends with the death of Aurangzeb, is largely a record of domestic events under a long succession of imperial Subahdars or Viceroys. The salient characteristic of this period of a century and quarter is that it was, on the whole, an era of profound peace for the province

during which trade and industry flourished and the export of calicoes and indigo made the name of Gujarat and its chief towns familiar in international markets (see Part III). The general impression that a close study of the history of this period leaves on our mind is that the subject population, both in the towns and the villages, was left free to pursue its peaceful avocations and that Mughal rule did not press heavily or ruthlessly on the people of the province. The reference to this subject (p. 329) made by so eminent a traveller as the Italian Pietro Della Valle, who visited Gujarat in 1623 during Jahangir's reign, may generally be accepted as a correct estimate of the situation. No doubt, orders were occasionally issued, especially under Aurangzeb, indicative of a policy of religious intolerance, but they were exceptional and it is doubtful if they were always put into effect except in the case of the jaziya tax on non-Muslims. The records of the English factors at Surat, and their immense correspondence with their masters, the Directors of the East India Company, available to us for almost the whole of the 17th century, bear out fully the general conclusion to which we have arrived.

The ample details about the happy relations subsisting between the Emperors Akbar and Jahangir and the spiritual leaders of the Jains, contained in Part II of this volume, are evidence of the extremely tolerant religious policy of these rulers in an age of high religious bigotry and persecution in all countries of the world. To the enterprising Jain community of Gujarat three of these chapters will be of special interest. The information therein contained is mainly based on Jain biographical works and on a large number of Imperial Mughal Farmans issued by these two rulers in token of their patronage of the various Jain religious orders and in confirmation of the rights of this community over the several hills in Gujarat, both on the mainland and in the peninsula, and elsewhere in India, held sacred by them. This unique collection of farmans is still preserved in various Jain Bhandars and in the family of Sheth Shantidas Jawahari, the ancestor of the famous Nagarsheth family of Ahmadabad ; and the author considers it to have been his special privilege to have brought to light and subjected to detailed study and examination this unique collection of Mughal farmans relating to Gujarat as published in his monograph on *Imperial Mughal Farmans in Gujarat* in the Journal of the Bombay University (1940).

It will be generally admitted that political events and their causal connexion and interpretation constitute the main basis of all historical writing. In the words of Sir John Seeley, an eminent Cambridge Professor, 'history is past politics and politics present history'. At the same time, the administrative, constitutional and military aspects of a nation's progress cannot be divorced from political history. There is, however, in recent times a growing assertion that no study of history can be complete without a survey of the social life and the cultural progress and achievements of the society and the period with which it deals. Those, however, who are most emphatic in this assertion do not realise the limi-

tations imposed in India by lack of material for the fulfilment of this very desirable requisite. No doubt, archaeological material for such a study is available in ample measure and full use has been made of the same in this and the previous volume. But contemporary records of the social and economic condition and the life and manners of the people, which are available in such abundance in relation to English and Continental life and society in the Middle Ages, and more particularly in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, are sadly lacking in India, and the province of Gujarat is no exception to the rule. In view of these limitations, the accounts of the province and its people given by a number of scholarly and observant European travellers of the 17th century, contained in Part IV of this volume, acquire a special value, and they provide a welcome relief from the study of purely political events or administrative details.

A unique though melancholy interest is attached to the fifth and last section of this volume which deals with the decline and fall of Mughal rule in the province and its conquest by the Marathas. In a manner, this can hardly be called a conquest in the usual sense of the term. The annexation of the Rajput kingdom of Gujarat with the Delhi Empire at the end of the 13th century was the result of the signal and decisive victory of the general of Ala-ud-din Khalji which laid Karna Vaghela's realm at the invader's feet. The same may be said of the conquest of the Saltanat by Akbar after his two expeditions to Gujarat in 1572-73. The Maratha acquisition, on the other hand, was of an entirely different character. It took the form of a gradual and progressive infiltration into and absorption of the province, and this process extended for nearly forty years, roughly from 1719 to 1758, during which the assertion of the invaders' claims to tribute and blackmail in the form of chauth and sardeshmukhi became gradually transformed into political sovereignty. It is well known that, owing to the disintegration of the Mughal Empire in the 18th century after the death of Aurangzeb, the Marathas acquired several of its fairest provinces, but in no instance has such a detailed record of any of these conquests been handed down to us as we have been able to present for the province of Gujarat. This is almost entirely due to the fact that more than half the text of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, our principal Persian authority, is devoted to the history of these forty years. Its author was able to record the events in minute detail because either he or his father witnessed them as contemporaries or had heard about them from those who had taken part in them. Moreover, by virtue of the office of imperial Diwan of the province, held by him from 1746 to 1758, the historian had access to all the official records of the province and was able to utilise them in writing his work.

During the 17th century the city of Surat had become the maritime emporium of the Mughal Empire and the principal port of embarkation of pilgrims for Mecca, and it thus acquired the honorific epithets of

Bandar-i-Mubarak and *Bāb-al-Hajj*. The establishment at this port of the headquarters of various European trading Companies in this country increased its fame and gave a vast impetus to its oceanic activities. Though the author has devoted more than twenty-five chapters to the history of political events at Surat during the 17th century and the first half of the 18th, it has not been found possible to insert them in the present volume in view of the bulk that it has already attained. They will, therefore, form the principal section in the third volume which is now almost ready for publication. Besides the history of Surat and its later Nawabs, the next volume will comprise two more sections, *viz.*, one on the history of the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Gujarat and the North Konkan during the 16th and 17th centuries up to the conquest of the Bassein jurisdiction by Bajirao I in 1739, and another on a general survey of the Maratha period of Gujarat history for 60 years (1758-1817). The third volume will bring the history of Gujarat down to the stage when, by virtue of definitive treaties, its capital, along with the Peshwa's districts and prerogatives in Gujarat, passed under British control, thus dividing the province into two compact political units, *viz.*, the British districts and the extensive dominion of His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda, an arrangement that lasted till the great mergers of 1948.

It now only remains to conclude these remarks on the scope and contents of the present volume with an acknowledgment of the author's obligations for help and encouragement received. Among the individual friends and corporate bodies to whom my thanks are due, I may mention Sheth Kasturbhai Lalbhai, a leading industrial magnate and philanthropist of Ahmadabad (and a descendant of Sheth Shantidas Jawahari whose career has been reviewed in this volume), as also the late Justice Sir Bomanji J. Wadia and my late friend Mr. Bomanji P. D. Sett. Besides them, my grateful thanks are due to the Trustees of the Sir Dorab Tata Charities, the N. M. Wadia Trust, the Ratan J. Tata Charities and the Bombay Parsi Panchayat. My acknowledgments are also due to the University of Bombay for a publication grant made several years ago towards the cost for the production of this volume.

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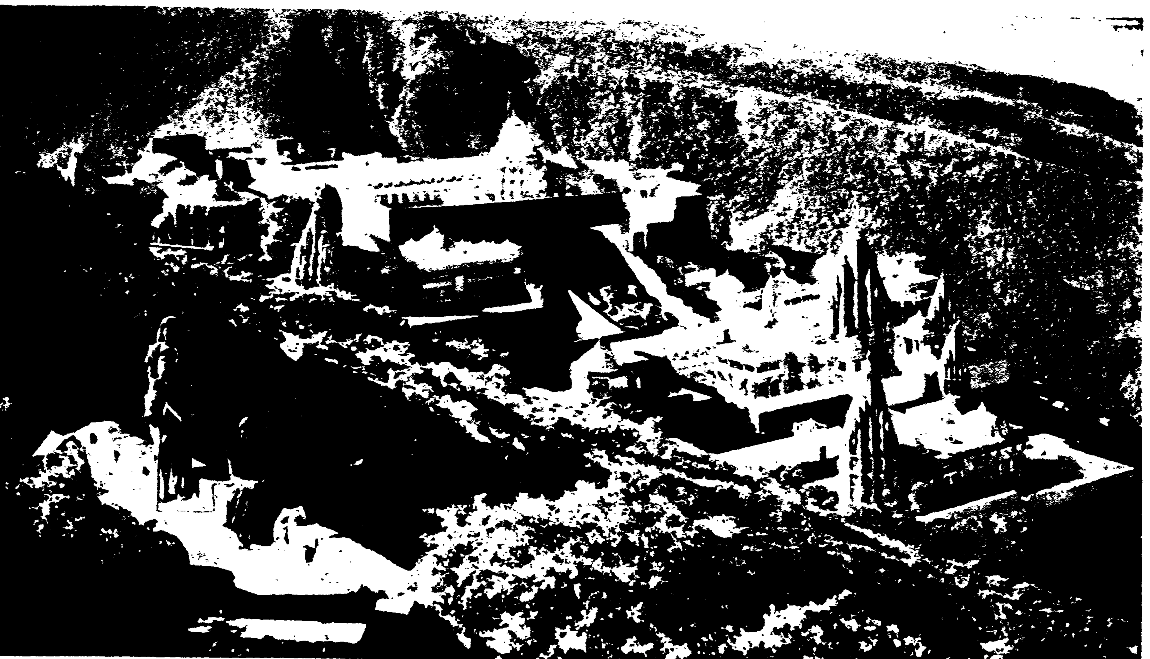
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PART I

RULE OF THE IMPERIAL MUGHAL SUBAHDARS OF GUJARAT FROM AKBAR TO AURANGZEB, 1573-1707



Courtesy : Smt. Madhuri Desai, Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay

JAIN TEMPLES ON MOUNT GIRNAR, NEAR JUNAGADH IN SAURASHTRA (3,666 ft. above sealeval)

CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS OF IMPERIAL RULE IN GUJARAT, 1573-83

THE conquest of Gujarat by Akbar in 1573 was shortly after followed by the organisation of the late kingdom as a Subah or province of the Mughal Empire. The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* says that the Sultans of Gujarat had, at the height of their power, held sway over no less than twenty-five *sarkars*, or districts, and that only sixteen of these were now incorporated in the province of Gujarat. Of these nine were under the direct authority of the Emperor and the rest, being feudatory, were left in the hands of the Hindu Rajas or chiefs.[1] As enumerated by Abul Fazl these nine were Patan, Ahmadabad (including Jhalawad), Baroda, Godhra, Champaner, Nandod, Broach and Surat on the mainland, and Sorath in the peninsula.[2] These were divided into 198 *mahals* or parganas which were administered as either crown-lands or jagirs. The crown-lands, or *khalsa-sharifa*, consisted of those mahals whose revenues were sent to the imperial treasury, and they were administered by officials appointed and paid by the central government ; the assigned lands, or jagirs, were lands granted by the Emperor to various nobles as fiefs. These nobles appropriated the revenues subject only to the obligation of maintaining and supplying a specified number of troops to the Subahdar of the province whenever called upon to do so. The system was in essence the same as was in operation under the rule of the Sultans. Though, in theory, the jagir assignments were resumable on the death of the original grantee, in practice they tended to become hereditary. The amount of the revenue for which each jagir was assessed was determined by the state, and the assignee was not expected to realise from it more than what it was officially estimated to yield. The work of collection was carried out by the jagirdars through their own agents under the same general rules (*dastur-ul-aml*) as were laid down for the officers of the crown-lands.[3]

The Imperial Subah of Gujarat

1 *Supplt. to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Eng. trans. 162. Of the former twenty-five districts under the Saltanat, the sarkars of Jodhpur, Nagor and Jalor were attached to the Subah of Ajmer, and Nandurbar to that of Malwa. The districts of Daman and Bassein had long since passed into the hands of the Portuguese and that of Danda-Rajpuri was in the possession of the Nizam Shahi ruler of Ahmadnagar.

2 Jarrett's trans. of the *Ain*, II, 252-59.

3 P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, 78-81, 320-21.

The larger feudatory principalities attached to the Mughal Subah of Gujarat were Dungarpur, Banswara, Sirohi, Cutch, Sunth (in Rewa Kantha) and Ramnagar (Dharampur).[4] To these we may add the two major states in the peninsula, *viz.*, Halwad in Jhalawar and Nawanagar in Halar. The latter was, however, taken and made *khalsa* in 1661 during the early years of Aurangzeb's reign and was put in charge of a Mughal fauzdar till it recovered its autonomy after this Emperor's death. These Rajput rulers, or zamindars, as they are invariably described by the Persian historians, were generally left free to govern their territories subject only to the obligation of supplying specified military contingents to the Subahdar of the province whenever called upon to do so. Next in rank after these large states were the tributary rulers of Idar, Rajpipla and Ali Mohan (Chhota Udaipur) on the mainland. Owing to its proximity to Ahmadabad, Idar was specially exposed to Muslim attacks, so that, during a period of 65 years between 1654 and 1718, we find its capital taken by them nearly half a dozen times, and equally often retaken by the Raos, who maintained their hold on its districts.[5] Thus for long periods Idar was the seat of a Mughal fauzdar. Similarly, we find the ruler of Rajpipla deprived of his capital at Nandod and reduced to a 'barren sovereignty over rocks, hills and Bhils'. The Sabar Kantha region also provided a large number of small Koli and Rajput tribute-paying chieftains. The numerous small princes and petty chiefs of Saurashtra may also be included in this class of zamindars, and they were subordinated to the fauzdar of Sorath, with his headquarters at Junagadh, and paid their tribute through him. Lower still in the scale of tribute-paying holders of land, was the numerically very considerable class of grasias, wantadars and other lesser owners of land, scattered all over the province, who had suffered considerable deprivation of their estates from Muslim encroachments dating from the period of the Saltanat.[6] It would be an error, however, to suppose that the tribute was paid by either the major or the lesser zamindars willingly or regularly. Proud of their lineage, and with claims to rule dating from a period far anterior to the Muslim conquest, these warlike chiefs supported with impatience the yoke of their conquerors. In the palmy period of Mughal rule during the 17th century, the garrisons placed in various *thanas*, or fortified posts, throughout the country ensured the regular collection of the tributary revenue by the fauzdars or governors in charge of the various districts or sarkars. But, in the decline of Mughal power in the 18th century (1715-58), when many of these

The tributary States

4 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Suppt., trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 189-93 .

5 Bombay Gazetteer, V, (Cutch, Palanpur and Mahi Kantha), 404-06 .

6 Col. J. W. Watson classifies these princes, chiefs and large proprietors into three grades, *viz.*, (1) the self-governing zamindars, (2) the greater zamindars of the crown-lands, and (3) the lesser zamindars of the crown-lands (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 226.)

garrisons were withdrawn or driven out, the tribute had very frequently to be extorted by an armed force, and the expedition undertaken almost annually for this purpose, generally led by the Subahdar in person, came to be known as *Mulukgiri*, i.e., the tribute-collecting circuit.

The Subah of Gujarat was, like other imperial provinces, placed by Akbar in charge of a high nobleman, who, though called the Sipah-salar during this reign, came in later years to be known as the Nazim or the Subahdar, and who may best be designated as the viceroy. He was the representative of the Emperor and combined in his person both military and civil authority. Mirza Aziz Koka, the Khan-i-Azam, was appointed the first Nazim of Gujarat in 1573, and from this year right down to 1758, when imperial Mughal rule came to an end in the province, an uninterrupted succession of not less than sixty viceroys is recorded by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. Nobles of the highest qualifications and distinction, and at times royal princes, were generally selected to hold the post of Nazims. They were appointed by an imperial order, of the type technically called the Farman-i-Sabti, and they were despatched to their charge with befitting honours and presents, and, as a rule, with an increase in their *mansab*. Besides being the supreme head of the military forces in the province, the Subahdar was also the head of the executive and of all civil officers serving in the districts and parganas. Among the instructions which were given to him, he was specially enjoined to administer justice with speed and efficiency and to attend above all to the welfare and prosperity of the people. He was also instructed to co-operate with the Diwan in the collection of the revenue.[7]

The Subahdar and his duties

Next in rank after the Subahdar was the provincial Diwan, an officer responsible to the imperial Diwan at Delhi, and in no way subordinate to the viceroy. He was the head of the finance and revenue departments. Among his duties was the collection of revenue from the *khalsa* mahals, keeping an account of the balances and receipts, supervising the lands assigned for charitable endowments (*suyurghals*), payment of salaries to the officers of the province, and checking the financial business relative to the jagirs assigned by royal sanads to nobles in the various mahals of the province. The Diwan was to strive by all means in his power to encourage cultivation, and act as the watch-dog of the treasury, so that nobody withdrew money without a proper warrant. He was to check the extortions and speculations of the amils or officers and to see that no forbidden tax (*abwab*) was exacted from the ryots. He was to maintain in his office a large number of records, including details

The Provincial Diwan

7 The duties of the Subahdar or Nazim of a province are well brought out by Abul Fazl in the section on the *Ain-i-Sipahsalar* in his *Ain-i-Akbari* and in a Farman issued to the viceroy of Gujarat in 1586. Dr. P. Saran has given a comprehensive survey of the same in his *Provincial Government of the Mughals* (1941), 184-88.

about the revenues of the khalsa mahals and the jagir mahals, and to forward certain papers and statements periodically to the office of the chief Diwan at the imperial capital.[8] In several respects the Diwan was the rival of the Subahdar, and the two were expected to keep a strict and jealous watch over each other. At the same time, they had to work in mutual collaboration and harmony. At the sudden recall of the Subahdar, the Diwan was generally put in *de facto* charge of the the province until the arrival of the new viceroy.

The Fauzdar of the district

For executive purposes the Mughal provinces were divided into several sarkars or districts, and each sarkar included a considerable number of mahals or parganas. Comprised in the parganas was the vast body of villages functioning under the ancient institution of the panchayat. The sarkar was both an administrative and a revenue division, and its head was the fauzdar, an officer who, on account of his wide authority, has generally been described as the governor. Side by side with him was the revenue head of the district called the *amalguzar*. The primary functions of the fauzdar were executive, and related to the military and the police, and it was his duty to assist the Subahdar to maintain peace and order, to put down rebels, and to disperse robber gangs. The *Mirat* enumerates a number of stations in every mahal, called *thanas*, each with a garrison and a *thanadar*, whose duty was to police the rural areas under the supervision of the fauzdar. On the revenue side, the fauzdar's functions were only indirect, and he was expected to assist the amalguzar in the realisation of the revenue, especially from recalcitrant cultivators who were disposed to defy the revenue authorities. The official macebearers, called *guzbardars*, carrying important orders and documents from the central authority to various parts of the Empire, were invariably supplied with passports requiring all local fauzdars, thanadars and zamindars to provide them with escorts through their respective jurisdictions and hand them over safely to the officers of the next district. The extensive suburbs of the capital city of Ahmadabad were also placed under a fauzdar, designated the *fauzdar-i-gard*, whose duty was to supply military and police protection to this area. The magisterial duties and criminal justice in the districts were entrusted generally to the Kotwal, while civil disputes relating to property, inheritance, etc., were settled by the Qazi.[9]

Surat and its administration

With the conquest of Gujarat, the Mughal Empire came for the first time into possession of a considerable number of seaports, great and small, some of them, like Surat and Cambay, enjoying a large foreign trade and visited by mariners from all over the world. Their large and cosmopolitan population, and their importance both from the mercantile and

[8] P. Saran, *op. cit.*, 189-95.
[9] P. Saran, *op. cit.*, 208-11.

the financial points of view, naturally led the Emperor to make special arrangements for their administration. Though nominally parts of the Subah in which they were situated, they were constituted into special districts directly under the authority of the Delhi government. Thus, the sarkar of Surat, with its famous castle, its port, and various parganas, which last came to be commonly known at a later date as the *Surat Athavisi*, was placed by Akbar under two high officials known respectively as the Qilledar or commandant and the Mutasaddi or governor. The former was in charge of the great castle on the Tapti ; and certain mahals, assigned for the support of the castle and its garrison, were placed under his jurisdiction. The administration of the port and customs of Surat, along with that of the rest of the parganas, was under the authority of the mutasaddi. After the advent of the East India Company in the early years of Jahangir's reign, Surat acquired a new importance as the centre of the vast oceanic trade between India and Europe, and its customs revenue greatly increased in consequence. Its mutasaddis thus attained a special status and influence, and they had under them a very large staff of high civil officers,[10] appointed direct from headquarters, to attend to the city and the customs as well as the revenues from the mahals in the rural areas. After meeting the expenses of administration, the balance of the port revenue was remitted to the imperial treasury. The ports of both Surat and Cambay were at times placed under the authority of a single mutasaddi who was favoured by the Emperor, such a one as Muqarrab Khan in Jahangir's reign. Surat also acquired the distinction of being made the seat of a royal mint under the same Emperor.

Saurashtra or peninsular Gujarat

Peninsular Gujarat, known anciently, and now once again, as Saurashtra, is invariably designated by the Persian historians as 'Sorath' during the four centuries and half that it was subject to Muslim rule.[11] Abul Fazl, in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, describes the extensive area known as Jhalawar in the north, bordering on the *Rann* of Cutch, as a pargana of the sarkar of Ahmadabad. The Jhala ruler, whose capital was at Halwad, was, however, a semi-independent feudatory chief, bound to help the Subahdar with troops whenever called upon to do so.[12] To the north-west of the peninsula, bordering on the Gulf of Cutch, was the domain of the Jadeja chief of Navanagar, who was also a tributary ruler. The rest of the peninsula was constituted, as under the Saltanat, into the

10 A detailed list of these officers, based on the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, is given by Dr. P Saran, op. cit., 216-17.

11 Saurashtra means the 'goodly land' and the term Sorath is probably a Prakritised form of this name. The peninsula came to be called Kathiawar about the middle of the 18th century. This name continued in official and popular use during the two centuries that followed.

12 Abul Fazl in his *Ain* mentions the following among the places included in 'Great Jhalawad': Viramgam, Halwad, Wadhwan, Kuwa, Dhrangadhra, Bajana, Patdi, Jhinjuwada, and Mandal.

sarkar of Sorath with its fauzdar or governor settled at Junagadh. Apart from the 'khalsa' or crown lands in this district, the revenues of which were paid directly into the Mughal treasury, there was a very considerable number of small rulers or zamindars under the jurisdiction of the fauzdar of Sorath. According to the *Ain*, its 'length' from the port of Gogha to that of Aramra was 125 *kos*, while its 'breadth' from Sardhar to the seaport of Div was 72 *kos*.[13] Nearly two centuries later, the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* enumerates no less than sixty-two parganas, including fifteen ports, which were under the administrative control of the fauzdar of Sorath.[14]

Primacy of Junagadh in Saurashtra

In antiquity and historical interest the city of Junagadh yields to none in Gujarat whether on the mainland or in the peninsula. The Edict Rock of the famous Buddhist Emperor Asoka, situated at the foot of Mount Girnar, which constitutes the oldest historical monument in Gujarat, bears ample testimony to the important position held by Junagadh in Saurashtra as early as the third century B.C. There is little doubt that it enjoyed a similar position throughout the Middle Ages also, when the Rajput dynasties held sway in these parts. No wonder that, for a period of over 280 years, from the conquest of Ra Mandalik's kingdom by Sultan Mahmud Begada in 1470 right upto the extinction of Mughal rule in Gujarat in the middle of the 18th century, this ancient city continued to be the capital of the peninsula, and the seat of the Muslim fauzdars or governors who ruled over it, first on behalf of the Sultans and later of the Mughal Emperors. The city had a formidable line of defences supplied both by nature and by art. Apart from the ancient and imposing fortifications of the Uparkot and Mount Girnar, it was further surrounded by an extensive line of city-walls by Sultan Mahmud I, who thereafter gave the city the name of Mustafabad. Situated at the foot of the Girnar and Datar range of hills, with their belt of deep forest, Junagadh enjoys a natural setting which, for beauty and picturesqueness, has few equals in all Gujarat, and to find the like of it one must go to the hilly regions on the north-eastern frontiers of the province : to the Rajput capital of Idar located below the hill-fort of Idargadh, or the ancient town of Champaner nestling under the frowning heights of Pavagadh.

Todar Mall's 'Settlement' of Gujarat

The imperial period of the history of Gujarat, during which it remained a province of the Mughal Empire, extends over one hundred and eighty five years, from 1573 to 1758, the year in which the capital city of Ahmadabad was finally taken by the Marathas. The first of the long line of Subahdars who were sent from Delhi to govern the province was Akbar's favourite foster-brother Mirza Aziz Koka, the Khan-i-Azam. The viceroyalty

[13] *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. by Jarrett, II, 244.

[14] Supplt. to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 179-85.

of Aziz Koka[15] lasted from the end of 1573 to 1575 and the most important event of his tenure of office was the arrival of Raja Todar Mall in Gujarat. The first task before every conqueror in India has always been the settlement of the land revenue ; and, soon after he reached Agra, Akbar sent Todar Mall to the newly annexed province to survey the land and fix the assessment which had fallen into great confusion in the political anarchy that preceded the extinction of the kingdom.[16] The famous finance minister of the Empire was engaged on this task for six months, and it appears that all the essential features of his later and more famous 'settlement' in Northern India were anticipated by him in Gujarat during 1573-74. For the first time in the history of the Mughal revenue system, we find the state undertaking a systematic measurement of the land as a preliminary to the fixing of the assessment. But the survey, in the short period devoted to it, could not extend over the whole area of the subah, and only 64 out of the 198 parganas, in which the province was divided under Akbar, were measured. About two-thirds of the area surveyed was found to be cultivated or fit for cultivation, the remainder being abandoned as waste land. In the parganas that were thus measured, the assessment was determined with reference to the area and the quality of the land. In the remaining mahals the state share of the produce was fixed by the actual division of the grain heaps at harvest time, or by the official selection of a portion of each field while the crop was still standing. Payment in either money or kind was permitted, preference being given to cash payments, and the value of the grain was converted into money at the market price. The assessment was fixed to run for a period of ten years.

Hajji-ad-Dabir's public service under Akbar

When Akbar made his triumphant entry into Ahmadabad in 1573, he had sanctioned the continuance of the *waqf* villages in Gujarat which were dedicated under the Sultans to the sacred shrines of Islam in Arabia. Shaikh Abdu-n-Nabi, the *Sadr-i-Sadūr* of the empire,[17] who was probably present at the time in Gujarat, appointed Saiyid Hamid as *amir* or administrator of these *waqfs* or religious endowments. The latter, in

15 A recently discovered conveyance deed, registered at Ahmadabad in H. 981 (1573-4), which may be regarded as the earliest legal document of the Mughal period in the province, mentions the name of Mirza Aziz Koka as Akbar's highest official in Gujarat. It relates to the sale of a house, situated outside the city-walls of Ahmadabad, for the sum of 47,000 *Tankas*. The document is bilingual in character and the details are given both in Persian and in Sanskrit (See Article entitled 'A Deed of Conveyance 375 years old' published in *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, XXV, Part II (1948), pp. 54-57).

16 *Akbarnama*, trans. by H. Beveridge, III, 91-93.

17 The dignity of the office of *Sadr-i-Sadūr* has always been rated very high, though no English title can indicate its varied functions. The holder ranked as the head of all the law officers. He was also "the highest ecclesiastical officer, exercising the powers of a Chief Inquisitor, enjoying the privilege of granting lands for ecclesiastical or benevolent purposes without the necessity of obtaining royal sanction. His reading of the *Khutba* in the name of a new sovereign legalized the accession." (V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 358).

turn, selected Hajji-ad-Dabir, the future author of the *Arabic History of Gujarat*, for the duty of carrying the money to the holy places for distribution, on a pay of 200 mahmudis a month. The Hajji proceeded in 1574 to Mecca in company with the other waqf officials, and returned to India in 1576.[18]

Famine in Gujarat, 1574-1575

Though the other historians are silent about the event, we learn from the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* that in 1574-75 the province suffered severely from both famine and pestilence. The calamity lasted for nearly six months, prices rose to an extreme height, and horses and cows were reduced to feeding on the bark of trees. The nature of the epidemic is not described ; but 'the inhabitants, rich and poor, fled from their homes and were scattered abroad.'[19]

The Chishti Masjid at Ahmadabad

In 1574, a year after Akbar's final conquest of the province, Shaikh Hasan Muhammad Chishti, the ancestor of the herditary Qazis of the Shahpur ward at Ahmadabad, died in this city. Some nine years before his death, he had constructed, at immense expense, the beautiful stone mosque which still stands to the north of the city within about 200 yards from the Shahpur gate. A short inscription over the central mehrab states that the masjid was built by Shaikh Hasan, 'the pole-star (*qutb*) of the age,' and the chronogram for its construction gives the Hijri date 973, *i.e.*, A.D. 1565. It must, therefore, be regarded as one of the last architectural monuments of the period of the Saltanat. Either the disturbed state of the country prior to the Mughal conquest, or the want of means, may account for the fact of the masjid being left incomplete and its construction arrested. The minarets also are raised no higher than the end walls of the building. The mosque is one of the finest examples of the Indo-Saracenic style at Ahmadabad. The pillars of the façade support nine Saracenic arches, and over the five central ones is a second storey with a richly carved screen on the front. The minarets, so far as executed, are exuberantly rich in their carvings, and in this respect they are among the most elaborate in Gujarat. The traceries in their niches have attracted much attention, as surpassing almost all others, and they have been frequently copied in wood for articles of richly carved blackwood furniture.[20] This monument is in charge of Shaikh Hasan's descendants, who function still as the Qazis of the Shahpur division of Ahmadabad, and have the dignity of Pirzadas, or spiritual leaders, of several nobles in the Haidarabad State.[21]

18 From this date upto 1605, this historian was in the service of various nobles in Khandesh and the Deccan. In 1605 he left India for Mecca where he probably wrote his book. (Intd. to the *Arabic History of Gujarat*, by E. Denison Ross, II, 29-31).

19 Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, V, 384.

20 These traceries will be found illustrated in Vol. I of this work, facing p. 461.

21 J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, II, 44-45 ; M. Abdulla Chaghatai, *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad through their inscriptions* (Poona, 1942), 83-84.

The recall of Mirza Aziz Koka from Gujarat in 1575 synchronized with the promulgation of the famous imperial order known as the *dagh*, or 'the branding,' regulation. It was the adoption of a regular system of branding government horses in order to prevent fraud and false musters of cavalry by the mansabdars. The order was, however, frustrated by the sullen opposition of the nobles whose perquisites were threatened by it. Aziz Koka, being Akbar's favourite foster-brother, and the greatest of the nobles, was summoned to court and asked to be the first to put the regulation into effect, and 'by commencing this practice leave no room for others to cavil.' But Aziz showed himself so hostile to the measure that Akbar was compelled to deprive him of his office and to confine him to his garden-house at Agra.[22]

Recall of Aziz Koka, 1575

After the return of Aziz Koka to Akbar's capital, the high office of viceroy was conferred on young Mirza Abdurrahim Khan. The Emperor, who had a great regard for this young man, appears to have missed no opportunity to raise him to responsible posts at an early age. We have already noted his presence at the battle of Ahmadabad in 1573, and we now find him in the ranks of the mansabdars of four thousand. But, as he was only twenty years old, and this was his first public post, he was instructed to follow in all matters the advice of Vazir Khan, who was sent with him as his *naib* or deputy. An experienced Hindu officer named Pragdas was at the same time appointed to the post of diwan of the province.

Vazir Khan's administration, 1575-78

The work of reducing the powerful Hindu rulers of continental Gujarat and South Rajputana to subjection to the Mughal power was taken in hand by Akbar at the end of 1576 when he was stationed at Ajmer on one of his frequent visits to that city. Tarson Khan, the commandant of Patan, Rai Rai Singh, and others, were appointed to induce the Deora ruler of Sirohi, who had shown signs of disaffection, to submit. He yielded to persuasion and rendered personal homage to the Emperor. As the Raja of Sirohi revolted after his return to his country, troops were sent under Rai Rai Singh and Saiyid Hasim Barha to chastise him. The chief was defeated in the plains and his country annexed, while he fled for safety to the lofty heights of Abugarh (Mount Abu). The imperial generals were able to capture this hillfort with comparatively little difficulty, and the Sirohi ruler was forced to surrender in person and to proceed to the court along with them.[23] Similarly, the chief of Rajpipla was also

Hindu Rajas submit to Akbar, 1576

22 The histories of the period testify to the affection that subsisted between Akbar and his foster-brother Aziz Koka. They were both of about the same age and were brought up together. Aziz's mother, Ji Ji Anaga, was Akbar's favourite nurse. Though often offended by his boldness, Akbar would but rarely punish him. He used to say, 'Between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross' (*Vide* Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 325). See also *Akbarnama*, III, 208-09.

23 *Akbarnama*, III, 277-79.

overawed by an army stationed near Nandod. Rao Narandas of Idar, whose Rathor ancestors had been with no small effort reduced to submission by the early Sultans of Gujarat, gave trouble. At first, he was pursued in his mountain defiles by the imperial troops under Qulij Khan and other officers, and was later defeated in a pitched battle, and his capital was taken, after which he too submitted.[24] His successor to the throne of Idar was his son Viram Dev, a favourite hero of bardic tradition.

Todar Mall's second visit to Gujarat, 1577

Akbar, having been informed that the administration of Gujarat did not prosper under the rule of Vazir Khan, sent Raja Todar Mall a second time, in 1577, to bring the province into order. The great finance minister was also an able commander and diplomat, and his nationality helped much to bring the Rajput princes of Gujarat into submission to the Emperor. On his way south, he was waited upon by the Raja of Sirohi, and an agreement was made by which the latter was to serve the viceroy of Gujarat with two thousand cavalry. Similarly, near Surat, the ruler of Ramnagar (Dharampur) came to pay his respects, and agreed to serve with one thousand horse. Later on, during his return journey, Todar Mall received a visit from the chief of Dungarpur, who also gave his allegiance. All these princes were presented with dresses of honour, and admitted into various grades of mansabdars of the Empire.[25]

Rebellion of Muzaffar Husain Mirza

During his second stay in Gujarat, Todar Mall helped materially to break the insurrection against the imperial government which was fomented once again, and for the last time, by a member of the Mirza family, which was closely related to the Emperor. After his defeat at Sarnal near Thasra in 1572, Ibrahim Husain Mirza had fled to the Punjab. His wife, Gulrukh Begum, who was then at Surat, which was invested by Akbar's generals, fled with her young son Muzaffar Husain to the Deccan.[26] In 1577, both mother and son returned to Gujarat, and under the instigation of an ambitious retainer, named Mihr Ali Kulabi, gathered an army of adventurers, took Baroda, and challenged the authority of the viceroy. Troops sent by the latter under Baz Bahadur and the Diwan Pragdas were defeated by the rebel forces, which next proceeded to attack Cambay. In this crisis, Vazir Khan wrote for help to Raja Todar Mall, who was at Patan, and the latter at once marched to Ahmadabad. In a pitched battle near Dholka the imperial troops defeated the rebels. It is interesting to note that, in the Mirza's army, several women, dressed in men's clothes, were employed as archers, and were among the prisoners taken by the victors. After this victory Todar Mall returned to the north. Before long, the Mirza again became active and laid siege to Ahmadabad. His followers had applied the scaling ladders, and were

24 *Akbarnama*, III, 266-67, 269, 280-281 ; J. Bird, *History of Gujarat*, 343.

25 J. Bird, *History of Gujarat*, 344, 346.

26 See Vol. I of this History, 511-12, and *n*.

about to make a general assault, when their commander Mihr Ali was killed by a cannon ball. The Prince, thereupon lost heart and fled to Khandesh, where he was taken prisoner and sent to the Emperor. With him ended the last rebellion of the Mirzas.[27] In spite of all the trouble which this family had given him, Akbar forgave them often in remembrance of their royal descent and their blood relationship with him. Thus, later on, in 1591, he gave Muzaffar Husain his eldest daughter, the Sultan Khānum, in marriage ; and the Mirza's sister, Nur-u-nisa, was married to Prince Salim. Gulrukh Begum was still alive in 1614 when she was visited on her sick bed by Jahangir at Ajmer.

Shihab Khan's viceroyalty, 1578-83

At the end of 1577, Vazir Khan was recalled from Gujarat owing to his unsatisfactory administration, and a noble of far higher abilities and reputation, Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan (Shihāb Khan), was appointed to the viceroyalty and retained the post for the next six years. Itimad Khan[28] at this time pressed his claims to this office, which had been promised to him for the services rendered to Akbar in 1572, but he was put off. The erstwhile 'king-maker' had since 1575 been taken back into favour and released from his confinement. He was now at court with the rank of one thousand horse, and was entrusted with the superintendence of the imperial jewels and ornaments.[29]

Pilgrimages to Mecca

The absorption of the town of Surat in the Mughal Empire, and the friendly relations which Akbar had established with the Portuguese power at the time of the siege of its castle in 1573, stimulated the practice of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. In 1575, a party of Begums, consisting of Gulbadan Banu, Akbar's aunt, and ten other distinguished ladies of the court, started from Agra and arrived at Surat on the way to Mecca.[30] The Emperor had taken elaborate precautions to secure their safety during their long journey to the coast, but the Portuguese did not prove

27 *Akbarnama*, trans. by Beveridge, III, 289-90, 292-94, 301-02, 330, 379-80, 539 ; J. Bird, *History of Gujarat*, 344-48.

28 Itimad Khan was the most influential of the Gujarat nobles during the last 18 years of the period of the Sultanate. He was twice king-maker and became regent as well as chief minister to the boy-Sultans Ahmad III (1554-61) and Muzaffar III (1561-73). He was also the head of the party of the Gujarati nobles as opposed to the many foreign (Afghan and Abyssinian) nobles who sought to secure the control of the kingdom. Being hard pressed by his enemies, he sent the invitation to Akbar in 1572 which ended in the Mughal conquest. Mir Abu Turāb, another Gujarati noble, was the intermediary in these negotiations. Itimad Khan was a great diplomat but without any military capacity. For his career under the Sultanate, see Vol. I of this History, 459-93, 498-9, 508, 510.

29 J. Bird, *History of Gujarat*, 341, 348.

30 Gulbadan Begum, the sister of Humayun and paternal aunt of Akbar, was a very devout Muslim, and had long been prevented from attaining her desire of making a pilgrimage to Mecca by the insecurity of the roads. Among the ladies who accompanied her was Salima Sultan Begum, once Bairam's widow, who had subsequently married Akbar, and borne to him Prince Murad. For the names of the other Begums, see Blochmann, *Ain*, 441 (No. 146).

as amenable to his wishes as had been expected, and it was found necessary to secure from them the necessary passes by ceding to them a village called Bhutsar situated near Daman. About Oct., 1576, almost a year after the royal ladies of the Court had left Fathpur for the Gujarat coast, the Emperor himself, at this time still a staunch Muslim, expressed his desire to proceed on a pilgrimage to the Hejaz. But he was dissuaded by his courtiers, who no doubt realised the political complications that would arise from his absence. Thereupon, one Sultan Khwaja Naqshbandi was appointed 'Amir-i-Hajj', or head of the Pilgrims' caravan, and was entrusted with six lakhs of rupees and 12,000 *khilāts*, or dresses of honour, for distribution at the holy places. The large caravan started under the escort of the royal army which was proceeding at this time for the war against Udaipur and Idar, and it halted at Ahmadabad to await the season for the sea-voyage. Some time after, reports reached the Emperor, when he was in Udaipur territory, to the effect that the attitude of the Portuguese, no doubt about granting the Gujarat ships passes for safe-conduct, 'was distressing the pilgrims.' He accordingly summoned Qulij Khan, who held the jagirs of Baroda and Surat, to come to him from his camp at Idar, and then sent him off to the coast to render all possible assistance to the pilgrims. Qulij proceeded to Surat, and with the help of one Kalyan Rai, a Cambay merchant, secured the required passes and had the ships despatched. It appears that Gulbadan Begum's party had been detained till this time at Surat, for we learn that Qulij Khan arranged for the departure of 'the secluded ladies of the court of chastity' in the Turkish hired transport called the *Salimi*, while Sultan Khwaja and the other Maulvis and pilgrims made the voyage in the royal ship called the *Ilahi*.[31]

Abu Turab brings the Qadam-i-Rasul

Akbar had up to this period kept up the practice of appointing a trusted noble of the court to lead the caravan of pilgrims proceeding annually to Mecca. In 1577, Mir Abu Turāb, the erstwhile famous Gujarat noble, was sent as *Mir Hajj*, in charge of a large party of Begums and courtiers ; and Itimad Khan was also permitted to accompany the party. The Emperor once again entrusted five lakhs of rupees and ten thousand *khilats* to Abu Turāb to be distributed at the holy places in Arabia. In 1579 Abu Turāb returned to India bringing with him from the *Ka'ba* at Mecca a massive stone alleged to bear the sacred impression of the Prophet's feet (*Qadam-i-Rasul*).[32] After being landed at Surat, the stone was conveyed on an elephant with great ceremony, and accompanied by seven or eight hundred Hajjis, to Fathpur Sikri. The party, according to instructions given, halted at a distance of four miles from the capital,

31 *Akbarnama*, Eng. trans., III, 269, 271-73, 275-77.

32 The date of Abu Turāb's return to Gujarat from Mecca is contained in the chronogram *Khair-al-aqdam, i.e,* 'Hail to the foot-prints.' This gives the Hijri year 987, or A.D. 1579 (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, trans. by Beveridge, I, 144.)

when Akbar went forth with all the nobles and the ladies of the palace to receive the precious relic. He helped to carry the stone a hundred feet on his shoulder, and the ministers and grandees were ordered to follow his example, and to convey it by turns, until it was brought into the town with great *éclat*. The stone was kept for a year contiguous to the palace, where the people flocked to make a pilgrimage. It was subsequently, by the Emperor's wish, placed in the house of Abu Turāb.[33]

Comments on Akbar's sincerity

Akbar's sincerity in this somewhat elaborate demonstration is very much open to question. It is hardly to be expected that his respect for the alleged footprints of the Prophet was genuine at a time when he was publicly rejecting some of the most essential principles and rituals associated with the religion of Muhammad. In this very year (1579), he had introduced the startling innovation of displacing the regular preacher at the chief mosque in Fathpur-Sikri, and had recited the *Khutba* himself, with the introduction in it of the ambiguous phrase 'Allahu Akbar.' Abul Fazl probably gives the correct explanation when he says that this display of respect for the supposed relic was the result of a policy of placating public opinion and to allay the widespread resentment which his innovations had aroused among his subjects.

Abu Turab returns to Gujarat

When Mir Abu Turāb left Agra for Gujarat in 1580, he was given the permission, readily enough we may imagine, of taking the stone with him, so that he might erect a dome over it in his own country, 'which was, as it were, the gateway of the holy Mecca'. The relic was conveyed to the suburb of Asāwal, near Ahmadabad, and deposited in a building that was erected during the next six years for its reception. The place became the resort of pilgrims from all parts for a long time after this. Many years later, when Asāwal became desolate owing to the incursions of the Marathas, the heirs of Abu Turāb brought the sacred relic into the city.[34] As will be seen later, when Itimad Khan was appointed viceroy of Gujarat in 1583, Abu Turāb was raised to the dignity of *amin* of the Subah. He died at Ahmadabad in 1595 and was buried in the same city, and an account of his mausoleum will be given in a later chapter.

Akbar's aunt returns from the Hajj

Though some of the ladies of the court who in 1575 accompanied Gulbadan Begum, Akbar's aunt, on the pilgrimage to Mecca, returned to Gujarat in 1578, that lady, as also Salima Begum, Akbar's wife, and the rest of the party, arrived at Surat as late as 1581, fully five years after their departure from Agra. They had spent three years and six months at the sacred places in Arabia, but their return voyage, along with the

33 *Akbarnama*, III, 305-6, 410-12.

34 Bird, *History of Gujarat*, 349-51.

caravan led by Shaikh Yahya, the *Mir-i-Hajj*, had been full of trouble.[35] As Akbar had gone to Kabul, and as the rainy season had begun, they were detained at Surat for the major portion of the year. Early in 1582 they completed the land journey to the capital. When Gulbadan's party reached Ajmer, Prince Salim was sent off to meet her. On 13 April 1582, Akbar himself honoured his respected aunt and her companions by welcoming them personally at Khanua, some 37 miles distant from Fathpur-Sikri, 'and a whole night was spent in pleasant conversation'.[36]

Abortive attempt against Junagadh, 1582

Imperial authority was not fully established in the peninsula of Saurashtra till nearly twenty years after the conquest of the province in 1573, and both its leading states, *viz.*, Junagadh and Navanagar, were still independent. At Junagadh, Tatar Khan Ghori had established his practical independence ever since the first partition of the kingdom in 1554 during the minority of Sultan Ahmad Shah III. Tatar Khan died in 1563,[37] and his son Amin Khan Ghori held authority in the Sorath division at the time of Akbar's conquest of Gujarat. On his return to Agra after the conquest, the Emperor gave orders for the capture of Junagadh from Amin Khan. But Vazir Khan, who attempted it, proved unequal to the task. In 1582, however, when Shihab Khan was the Subahdar, one Fateh Khan Sherwani, the commander of Amin Khan's army at Junagadh, came to the viceroy and offered to capture its fort and to bring this important town into subjection to the Emperor. A body of 4,000 troops was accordingly sent under Mirza Jan, the viceroy's nephew, to help the renegade. Amin Khan obtained help from the Jam of Navanagar and offered a stubborn resistance. As Fateh Khan died at this juncture, Mirza Jan had to abandon his designs on Junagadh. He laid siege to Mangrol, but was subsequently defeated by the forces of Amin Khan and the Jam at Kodinar, where he was himself wounded and escaped with difficulty to Ahmadabad.[38] The formidable revolt of the ex-Sultan Muzaffar III which began in 1583, and his arrival in the peninsula, where his cause was supported by the rulers of Junagadh and Navanagar, led to the postponement of any attempt against Junagadh. It was not till 1592, after the final defeat of the Sultan at Bhuchar Mori, that Akbar's generals carried out the conquest of Junagadh. Daulat Khan Ghori, the son of Amin Khan,[39] was wounded in this battle and died soon after, and the minority of his sons facilitated

35 Near Aden, most of the ships conveying the caravan were wrecked, and the royal party had to spend seven months in that rocky outpost, where the governor did not behave towards them properly, until the matter reached the ears of his master, Sultan Murad III of Turkey, who punished him.

36 *Akbarnama*, III, 363, 569-70 and *n*.

37 Arabic History of Gujarat, Ed. by Sir E. D. Ross, 484, 492.

38 *Akbarnama*, III, 576 and *n*; Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 314.

39 Amin Khan Ghori died about 1589-90 and his son Daulat Khan inherited his power.

the Mughal conquest. The Jam of Navanagar tendered his submission in 1591, after the battle mentioned above, and was admitted as a feudatory ruler.

Recall of Shihab Khan

In 1583, Shihab Khan was summoned to court and relieved of his office. Under his capable administration, Gujarat had enjoyed a brief spell of repose from lawlessness and disorder. He built forts at Modasa and many other places where the people were disaffected, and stationed parties of cavalry to overawe them. He was also a revenue expert (having been for a time Finance Minister of the Empire in 1568), and continued the work effected by Todar Mall by remeasuring more correctly the lands of the province.[40] On the eve of his departure from Gujarat, however, he caused the garrisons to be withdrawn from nearly eighty posts at which they had been stationed, with the result that, as soon as the troops had left, the Kolis and Grasias destroyed several fortifications and excited disturbances.

Itimad Khan appointed viceroy, 1583

After Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan's recall, the claims of Itimad Khan could no longer be denied. and he was appointed to the distinguished post of viceroy of Gujarat in 1583. Already before his first conquest of Gujarat in 1572, the Emperor had held out expectations to him that he would obtain the government of the country after it had been reduced. But Itimad's vacillating conduct had led to his disgrace and confinement in 1573. After his restoration to favour, he had made unsuccessful representations at the time of Shihab Khan's appointment as viceroy in 1577. In 1580, after Itimad's return from the Hajj, Akbar, who had so far been prevented from rewarding this Gujarat noble's services, gave him the district of Patan as jagir and also entrusted him with the care of the crown-lands in Gujarat.[41] When, in 1583, Itimad reminded Akbar of the promise made eleven years before, the latter had in honour to grant his desire, in spite of the opposition of the imperial advisers who asserted that Itimad Khan had not the capacity to govern the country. With Itimad Khan was associated, in the new administration, Mir Abu Turāb, who was made *amin* of the Subah. He was much trusted by the Emperor, as he had been the first of the Gujarat nobles to pay his respects to Akbar on his march in 1572, and had since then distinguished himself by his fidelity to his new master. Another officer was Abu-l-Kasim who was sent as diwan of the province. A third and much more important colleague was Khwājā Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, a valiant and intrepid soldier, who was appointed Bakhshi or paymaster, and who is well known to us as the distinguished author of the history known as the 'Tabakat-i-Akbari,' which still remains one

40 J. Bird, *History of Gujarat*, 354.
41 *Akbarnama*, III, 464-5, 585.

of the principal sources of our information for the reign of Akbar.[42] A fourth courtier, who came to Ahmadabad in the train of the newly appointed viceroy, was Mir Masum Bhakkari, the author of a history of Sind,[43] who is said to have assisted Nizam-ud-din Ahmad in compiling his famous work. The arrival of Itimad Khan at Ahmadabad was the signal for the commencement of a formidable rebellion by the ex-Sultan Muzaffar III, which led to the temporary subversion of Mughal authority in Gujarat and plunged the country into confusion and anarchy for a decade. The history of this revolt will be related in the next chapter.

APPENDIX

Mughal Viceroys of Gujarat under Akbar

(A.D. 1573-1605)

1.	Mirza Aziz Koka, Khan-i-Azam	1573-75
2.	Mirza Abdurrahim Khan .. .. .. (through Vazir Khan)	1575-78
3.	Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan	1578-83
4.	Itimad Khan Gujarati	1583
5.	Mirza Abdurrahim Khan	1584-89
6.	Mirza Aziz Koka, Khan-i-Azam (2nd time)..	1590-93
7.	Prince Murad	1593-94
8.	Mirza Aziz Koka, Khan-i-Azam (3rd time).. (through his sons)	1600-05

42 *Akbarnama*, III, 596 ; J. Bird, *History of Gujarat*, 355.

43 The *Tarikh-i-Sind*, also known as the *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, written by Mir Muhammad Masum of Bhakkar, gives a very copious account of the history of that province upto the defeat of the then ruling house of Sind by Akbar in 1592. The author was born at Bhakkar of a Saiyid family and wrote his history of Sind in 1600, but 'he has filled his story with the reputed miracles of saints and holy men to such an extent as greatly to depreciate the value of his work for scientific historians.' (H. T. Sorley, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit* (1940), pp. 15-16).



Courtesy : Vara Art Studio, Jamnagar

JAM SATAJI'S TROOPS ON THE MARCH TOWARDS AHMADABAD, 1591 (p. 24)
(*Fresco in the Darbargadh at Jamnagar*)

CHAPTER II

REBELLION OF THE EX-SULTAN MUZAFFAR III, 1583-92

THE story of the Saltanat has been told in the first volume of this history ; that of the last chequered and eventful years of Sultan Muzaffar III still remains to be related. In 1572, on the first arrival of Akbar in Gujarat, he had surrendered himself to the Emperor in the neighbourhood of Kadi. He had been placed in honourable durance, away from the province, and kept in charge of various nobles till 1578, when he contrived to evade surveillance, and took refuge, first, with the Hindu ruler of Rajpipla, and later, with one Loma Khuman, a Kathi chief, in the village of Kherdi[1] near Rajkot in Kathiavad. Here he lived for some years in comparative obscurity, little noticed or cared for by Akbar's officers, and awaited some favourable opportunity for regaining his throne.[2]

Muzaffar III escapes to Gujarat

Shihab Khan had, during his viceroyalty, with difficulty kept under control a body of some seven thousand turbulent Mughal troopers (Badakhshis and Turanis), who had once been the retainers of the infamous Mirzas, but who had reluctantly entered into the service of the Subahdars of the province. When, in 1583, Akbar recalled Shihab Khan, and entrusted the government of Gujarat to Itimad Khan, these refractory soldiers offered to serve under the latter provided they were given better terms. The new viceroy, who appears to have received special instructions to dismiss the whole troop, told them to look out for themselves. They forthwith offered their services to Muzaffar, and invited him to head a revolt which would give them ample opportunity for plunder. The formidable insurrection which was thus brought about, plunged Gujarat—both the mainland and the peninsula—into another ten years of bloodshed and disorder, and, for a time, shook to its foundations the newly established imperial power.

Invited by Mughal troopers to revolt

[1] Kherdi is a village near Rajkot about eight miles to the east of that town.

[2] The story of Sultan Muzaffar III's rebellion is given at length in the *Akbarnama*, trans. by Beveridge, III, 607-14, etc., and in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans. by Fazlullah, 314-27.

Itimad Khan had hardly taken charge of his government when news arrived that Muzaffar and the malcontents, with 3,000 Kathi horse, were in full march on his capital.[3] Mir Abu Turab and Nizam-ud-din Ahmad were at once despatched to Shihab Khan, the retiring viceroy, who was still in the suburb of Usmanpur, on the opposite bank of the Sabarmati, to request him to return with his followers to help the imperial cause. But the latter, who was discontented at his recall, declared that he had given over charge of his province and had nothing more to do with it. Soon news came of the arrival of the rebels at Dholka, whereupon Itimad Khan, exhibiting an incompetence that is hardly credible, took the false step of leaving the capital in order to persuade the ex-viceroy to come to some arrangement. Nothing could have suited the rebels better. The road being clear, Muzaffar entered Ahmadabad through an unrepaired breach in the city-wall near the Raikhad gate, and the wealthy and populous city, 'filled with gold, jewels and fine cloths,' was given over to plunder.

Itimad Khan's flight

Meanwhile, Itimad Khan, accompanied by Mir Abu Turab and Khwaja Nizam-ud-din, had joined Shihab Khan at Kadi, and had accepted the terms on which the latter would agree to help him. After this, the imperial confederates retraced their steps to Ahmadabad, and on the way received the intelligence of the loss of the capital. It was decided to push on, and either give battle to the enemy or invest the city. Their unfitness for either enterprise might be readily seen from the fact that Shihab Khan allowed his followers to carry their wives, children and baggage along on the march, instead of leaving them behind in a place of security. The ex-viceroy was confident that the rebel Mughals, who had so long been in his service, and whom he had always treated well, would desert Muzaffar on hearing of his return, and hasten to his standard. But he had miscalculated his influence. On news of the arrival of the imperialists at Usmanpur, on the right bank of the river, the rebels, with Muzaffar at their head, marched out of the Khanpur Gate to give them battle, and the population of Ahmadabad turned out to witness the fight. The result was quickly decided. The imperial forces, which were busy pitching their tents and arranging for their families, were taken almost by surprise, and, in spite of the brave efforts of Shihab Khan, were completely routed. During and after the battle large numbers deserted to Muzaffar, and the confederate leaders re-

Imperialist defeat at Khanpur Gate

[3] According to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, the leader of the rebellious troopers was one Mir Abid. On being discharged, he and his colleagues took up their quarters at Matar. From this place they entered into an alliance with the ex-Sultan who was in Kathiawar. The latter advanced with 15,000 Kathi horse under Loma Khuman, and the confederates met at Dholka. On receipt of this news, Itimad Khan left the capital in charge of his son Sher Khan and other nobles, and proceeded to Kadi to persuade Shihab-ud-din Khan to come back on promise of being restored to his office as viceroy.

treated to Pātan, leaving their elephants, their baggage, and their families as booty in the hands of the enemy.

It is not easy to explain this complete discomfiture of the imperialists, especially when we reflect that they were led by a general with the reputation of Shihab Khan. It appears, however, that the Muslims of Gujarat were still attached to the hereditary dynasty of the Sultans, if we may judge from the defections that took place during the battle just mentioned. In the absence of a powerful Mughal army of occupation, and owing to the revolt of the seven thousand troopers who instigated Muzaffar, the imperial generals found themselves outmatched and helpless. Itimad Khan also appears to have been destitute of even average military abilities, for we cannot otherwise explain his conduct in deserting, in search of help, a city so well fortified against attack as Ahmadabad was. Shihab Khan, no doubt, fought gallantly and risked his life in the battle. In the period of depression and ill-disguised retreat that followed the battle near the Khanpur Gate, the zeal, courage and resourcefulness of Nizam-ud-din (the historian), the Bakhshi of Itimad Khan, stand out conspicuously, for he did not despair of success, and became, till the arrival of help from Agra, the rallying centre for the adherents of the Mughal cause. His influence alone restrained the two viceroys from pursuing their retreat further north to Jalor.

Reflections on the disaster

Sultan Muzaffar thus returned victorious to Ahmadabad, where, after an interval of eleven years, he seated himself once again on the throne of Gujarat. He visited the Jami mosque, accompanied by several of the rebel chiefs, and caused the *khutba* to be read in his name. He also conferred on his allies high titles of nobility, and jagirs and salaries befitting their rank. Moreover, in token of his new-found sovereignty, he issued from the Ahmadabad mint coins struck in his own name, bearing the Hijri year 991 (A.D. 1583-84). These coins are of special interest to numismatists, and we shall give below an account of them by the late Dr. Geo. P. Taylor, the leading authority on the coins of Gujarat during the Saltanat, whose monograph on the subject has been more than once referred to in the course of this history. Dr. Taylor says:

Muzaffar III's second reign, 1583-84

'It is surprising to find how many coins serve to illustrate history, and in what various ways. Look, for instance, at the last coins of the Gujarat Saltanat, those of Muzaffar III. We find them ranging year by year from A.H. 968 to 980, or A.D. 1560-1573,—then comes a sudden break; but once again, after an interval of eleven years, his name reappears on a remarkable rupee of A.H. 991. What is all this but simply the numismatic record of the chequered career of the last Sultan? He reigned continuously with power unbroken from his accession in A.H. 968 till Akbar's subjugation of Gujarat in A.D.

The last coins of Muzaffar III

980. Deported at the time to Agra, and subsequently imprisoned, he managed in A.H. 991, A.D. 1583, to escape, and, raising once more the bannner of independence, to defeat the imperial generals. For six months he held possession of the throne thus regained, and during that brief interval re-issued coins struck in his own name.

'Naturally the coins struck during the six months of Muzaffar's restoration to the throne are much in request by collectors. They are very rare, but it has been my good fortune to pick up more than one in the local bazār. It differs remarkably from the ordinary silver coins of his earlier issues. Those were each of about 110 grains weight, this is of 170 ; and, as in its weight so also in its legend, it strikingly resembles that Mughal type of coin adopted by Akbar shortly after his accession. The design, indeed, is clearly modelled after that of the rupee with which Muzaffar had become familiar during his enforced detention in North India. On the obverse, within two linear squares, separated by dots, is the legend,

Sultan Muzaffar Shāh, son of Mahmūd Shāh

and the date 991, while the lower margin bears the mint-name Ahmadabad. The other margins are illegible. On the reverse, within similar squares, is the Kalima :

There is no God but Allāh and Muhammad is the Prophet of Allāh

while *its* margins seem to contain the names of the Four Khalifas with their distinctive attributes. Indeed, having regard to this reverse alone, the coin is almost indistinguishable from those of the Mughal Emperors. Thus, just as in his history Muzaffar Shāh himself, so in its legends this coin of his, forms a most interesting link between the two periods when first the Sultans of Ahmadabad, and next the Badshahs of Delhi, held sway over Gujarat.'[4]

The Sultan recovers Baroda, Broach and Cambay

The next step of Muzaffar was to follow up his success at the capital by securing to his side the cities and districts to its north and its south. The infamous Sher Khan Fuladi, who had earned for himself an evil reputation ten years before, now came to join him from Junagadh, and was sent with a considerable force to attack Pātan, of which city he had been governor under the Saltanat. But his forces were twice repulsed, near Mehsana and Jhotana, by the intrepid valour of Nizam-ud-din, who was sent out to lead the imperial forces. The Sultan was, however, more successful in the south, where the principal imperial officer was Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khan, governor of Baroda and Broach, who had advanced by forced marches from the Khandesh frontier to Baroda, and on whose help and co-operation the defeated confederates in the north were counting in their retreat at Pātan. Marching from Ahmadabad with a large force, Muzaffar invested

[4] 'On some coins illustrating the history of Gujarat,' by the Rev. Geo. P. Taylor, M.A., D.D., (Gujarat College Magazine, Vol. IV, No. 2, January, 1919, pp. 79-81).

Baroda with 20,000 men and a train of artillery. The siege lasted twenty days, and could have been further prolonged, but for treachery on the part of Qutb-ud-din's officers, many of whom were in correspondence with the Sultan, and by whom the citadel was delivered over to the besiegers. Qutb-ud-din was invited by Muzaffar to a peace conference on promise of safe conduct, but was made prisoner and treacherously put to death[5]—an action by which the Sultan has stained his character and done much to forfeit our sympathy. Soon after, the fort of Broach was surrendered to Muzaffar by partisans within the walls.[6] Qutb-ud-din Khan's family lived at Broach, and in the fort of this city Muzaffar confiscated the Khan's immense property amounting to 10 crores of rupees, as also 14 lakhs of imperial money.[7] Already before the Sultan had left the capital for Baroda, news had reached him that the town and port of Cambay, with a large treasure, had been secured in his interest. These rapid successes then may be regarded as tantamount to the collapse of imperial authority in Gujarat, south of the Sabarmati. It appeared as if Akbar's conquest of the province might prove as short-lived as that of his father Humayun's had been in the days of Sultan Bahadur.

Mausoleum of Qutb-ud-din at Baroda

The great noble, Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khan, so foully murdered by the orders of the Sultan Muzaffar in 1583, was closely connected with the Emperor, being the uncle of Mirza Aziz Koka, Khān-i-Azam, the foster-brother of Akbar. It is not surprising, therefore, that a grandiose mausoleum was erected at Baroda over his tomb. It may still be seen on the outskirts of this city, and was some years ago declared a protected monument by the Baroda State. It is a lofty structure, in the style of the Mughal tombs at Delhi belonging to this period, but it has none of the elegance which is so peculiar to similar monuments in the Indo-Saracenic style in Gujarat. Besides the grave of Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khan, the Rauza contains the remains of his son Naurang Khan, who also held important offices in Gujarat under Akbar. He was at one time governor of Patan and took an active

5 *Akbarnama*, III, 623-24, 626-29; *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 317-19. Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khan was murdered at Baroda on 23 Nov., 1583.

6 In 1583, when the siege of Broach by the Sultan's forces was in progress, Portuguese envoys arrived at that town with orders to treat both with the Sultan and with the widow of the murdered noble Qutb-ud-din Khan. But the news that Akbar's general, Abdurrahim Khan, was coming from the north with a Mughal army for the recovery of Gujarat, led Muzaffar to retrace his steps to Ahmadabad, and this put an end to the negotiations. (Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, II, 53). See also Vol. I of this work, pp. 466-67.

7 Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 334. The amount of 10 crores appears to be an exaggeration.

part in the last campaign against the ex-Sultan Muzaffar III and died near Junagadh in 1594.[8]

Abdurrahim sent to Gujarat—his victory at Sarkhej, 1584

News of the crisis in Gujarat reached Akbar when he was engaged in supervising the building of the fort of Allahabad at the sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, and he lost no time in despatching an army. The noble selected for the reconquest of Gujarat was the young and brilliant Mirza Abdurrahim Khan (then commonly known as Mirza Khan.) Though not more than twenty-seven years of age, he was now a finished soldier, and represented the highest culture of the age.[9] With him the Emperor associated older and more experienced Rajput and Muslim generals from the Subah of Ajmer. At the same time, Akbar sent another contingent through Malwa, and gave orders to Qulij Khan and all the imperial officers in that province to proceed to the relief of Gujarat. Abdurrahim Khan, halting at Pātan only for a day, resumed his forward march until he arrived near Sarkhej on the Sabarmati, five miles distant from Ahmadabad. Muzaffar had hurried from Broach, on news of the advance of the new viceroy, to save his capital which was undefended. The two armies engaged each other not far from Sarkhej, opposite the tomb of Shah Bhikan, the son of Saint Shah Alam. The odds were against the imperialists, but the charge of Abdurrahim's cavalry, supported by 100 elephants, finally decided the day in his favour (16 January, 1584).[10] The victor made a ceremonious entry into the capital where he issued a proclamation of amnesty, and Muzaffar III's second sovereignty, which had lasted for a brief spell of five months, definitely came to an end. We shall refer later to the garden, known as the Fateh Bagh, which Abdurrahim Khan laid out on the site of the battle.

8 The imposing Tomb of Qutb-ud-din Khan stands on the road leading to the Makkarpura palace, near the military parade ground. It is a massive brick structure, octagonal in shape, built on a raised platform and it is one of the most important historical monuments connected with Muslim rule at Baroda. Ample provision appears to have been made by the Emperor for the upkeep of the mausoleum. The family of Saiyid Badr-ud-din of Baroda is in possession of various Imperial farmans connected with this monument, one of which makes a grant of half the income from the village of Danteshwar for this purpose. This waqf was renewed by a grant made by Damaji Gaekwar in 1748.

9 'His culture was the best of his age, for he wrote fluently Persian, Turki, Arabic, and Hindi. He was a poet, and, as such, known as Rahim, and he was accounted the Maecenas of his day. In 1588 he presented to his sovereign a Persian translation, which still exists, of the celebrated Chaghtai Memoirs of Babur.' (Count von Noer, 'The Emperor Akbar,' trans. by Mrs. Beveridge, II., p. 89).

10 Abdurrahim Khan had only 10,000 troopers to oppose some 40,000 of Muzaffar's, and his officers advised him to delay the battle until the arrival of the Malwa contingent. But one Daulat Khan Lodi, his *Mir Samsher*, warned him not to spoil his laurels and claims to the Khan-Khananship by waiting for partners to share his glory. (For Abdurrahim Khan's arrival in Gujarat and an account of the battles see *Akbarnama, III,* 631-35).

The Sultan fled from the disastrous field of Sarkhej to Mahmudabad, and thence to Cambay, where he was able, by the help of his gold and his popularity, to rally some 12,000 men to his standard. Abdurrahim Khan started in pursuit, and ultimately engaged and defeated him in a second battle near Nandod in the Rajpipla hills. The Malwa contingent, which had joined the victor of Sarkhej at Baroda, took an active share in this victory.[11] The author of the 'Mirat-i-Sikandari' informs us that he was present at this battle with the Malwa troops. Muzaffar now abandoned the Rajpipla hills, and took refuge first at Idar and then in Kathiavad. Though beaten and a fugitive, he was not finally broken or captured till nine years later. Akbar was not slow in lavishing his rewards on the victors of Sarkhej and Nandod, who had recovered for him a province which had practically been lost. Mirza Abdurrahim Khan now received the title of Khan Khānān (the Chief of the Nobles), which had formerly been borne by his father, and which was the highest in the Mughal court. He was also raised to be a mansabdar of five thousand.[12] The services of his trusty lieutenant Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the historian, were also suitably recognised. Shihab Khan, who had distinguished himself in the recapture of Broach in 1584, was given that city as a fief. He was subsequently, in 1589, appointed again viceroy of Malwa.[13]

Battle of Nandod 10th March 1954

For the next five years Abdurrahim Khan served as viceroy of the province; but the reconquest of Gujarat could not be regarded by the Khan Khānān as complete so long as Muzaffar was at large, able to raise fresh troops, and to explore new channels of opposition.[14] The task of hounding him down proved a most dangerous and protracted one and baffled the imperial generals for nearly a deeade. Tracked from one friendly state to another, the Sultan stood like a wounded beast at bay, until, betrayed by his friends in 1592, he ended his unhappy life by suicide. Those familiar with the political and geographical features of the

Pursuit of Muzaffar in Saurashtra

11 *Akbarnama*, III, 640-43. Among the nobles who fought side by side with Abdurahim Khan, we find the names of Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan, Qulij Khan, Naurang Khan and Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the historian.

12 After the final conquest of Gujarat, Abdurrahim, with lavish generosity, gave away all his personal property to the brave soldiers who had won his honours for him : even the costly inkstand, which he carried in his belt, was given to a soldier who came last and said he had not received anything.

13 Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan died at Ujjain in 1590. Itimad Khan died at Patan in 1587. About the former, Abul Fazl says that 'he was one of the most distinguished men of his Age in the matter of developing the cultivation of the country.' His wife was related to Akbar's mother (*Akbarnama*, III, 885).

14 During the years 1584-92, Muzaffar is found successively advancing on Morbi, raiding and plundering Radhanpur, taking shelter in the Barda hills, crossing the peninsula and the mainland to Danta in the Mahi Kantha, repulsed at Prantij in a contemplated dash on Ahmadabad, a third time taking refuge in Rajpipla, and again returning to Kathiavad. (See *Akbarnama*, III, 681-84 for the Khan Khānān's campaign in the peninsula at the end of 1584).

peninsula will realise how secure a retreat this region offered to Muzaffar in his desperate struggle to escape the pursuit of the Mughal power. To this was added the fact that the rulers of its two principal states, Junagadh and Nawanagar, were ready to seize every opportunity that offered of securing their independent existence against the authority of the imperial viceroys of Gujarat. The Sultan's gold, which he had in plenty since his capture of Baroda, Broach and Cambay, was eagerly accepted by Amin Khan Ghori, the ruler of Junagadh,[15] and by Jam Satrasāl bin Vibhaji of Nawanagar ; but both played a double game, and, while harbouring and helping the Sultan, they remained in friendly communication with the Khan Khānān who had arrived in the peninsula in 1584 in pursuit of the Pretender.[16] In 1589, Abdurrahim was summoned to court and left Gujarat where he had acquired a great reputation. But, though some years had elapsed since he gained his victory at Sarkhej, the Sultan Muzaffar was still at large.

Aziz Koka as viceroy: his victory at Bhuchar Mori, 1591

Following upon the recall and final departure of Abdurrahim Khan from Gujarat, Akbar appointed his foster-brother, the famous Mirza Aziz Koka, known as the Khān-i-Āzam, to the viceroyalty of Gujarat for the second time, and the latter arrived at Ahmadabad in June, 1590. The following year, he took the field in person, determined to reduce the growing power of the Jam of Navanagar, whose troops and resources had loyally supported all Muzaffar's activities since 1584. On receiving news that the ex-Sultan's forces in the peninsula had been joined by the confederate allies, the viceroy marched with a large army, and, halting at Viramgam, sent a detachment forward under Naurang Khan and other officers. It advanced as far as Morvi, and entered into negotiations with the Jam, who refused to accede to the imperial demands. On this, Aziz Koka joined Naurang Khan with the bulk of his army and advanced in the direction of Navanagar at the height of the rainy season. On 18 July 1591 (6th Shawwal H. 999), a memorable action took place near the Jadeja town of Dhrol, at a site popularly known as Bhuchar Mori,[17] which was to be the last decisive battle of the Rebellion. The viceroy was opposed by the combined forces of the Sultan, of Jam Satrasāl of Navanagar,

15 Since the first partition of the Saltanat under Ahmad III, the Ghorian house of Junagadh had become semi-independent in Kathiavad. Amin Khan was the son of Tatar Khan Ghori who died in 1563.

16 Muzaffar sent one lakh of *Mahmudis* (about 50,000 rupees) and a jewelled belt and dagger to Amin Khan Ghori, and induced the latter to join him. He also sent a similar amount to Jam Satrasāl of Navanagar (*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans. by De, II, 578-9).

17 Bhuchar Mori is not the name of any town or village ; *Bhuchar* is said to mean grazing ground for cattle. The battle was fought about a mile from the town of Dhrol. So great was the loss sustained by Nawanagar on this fatal field that since that day the words 'Bhuchar Mori' have in Hālār been almost synonymous with a massacre or great misfortune. (*Kathiawar Gazetteer*, p. 568).



Courtesy : Vara Art Studio, Jamnagar

BATTLE BETWEEN JAM SATAJI'S TROOPS AND THE IMPERIAL FORCES UNDER THE KHAN-I-AZAM 1591 (pp 24-5)

Daulat Khan Ghori (the son of Amin Khan) of Junagadh, and the Kathi free-lance Loma Khuman. The imperial forces, numbering only some 8,900 troops, were pitched against the confederate army of about 21,000. It was a fierce engagement in which the Rajputs fought with all their ancient valour. Though one wing of the imperial army was routed by the division under Daulat Khan Ghori, success ultimately fell to the arms of the Kokaltash. Ajoji, the eldest son of the Jam, and Jasa his minister, were both slain in the battle, together with 500 gallant Rajputs. This signal defeat put a final end to the armed resistance of Muzaffar and his allies. Daulat Khan, who was wounded, fled to the fortress of Junagadh, while the Sultan and the Jam sought refuge in the Barda hills. The day after the battle, the Khan-i-Azam marched on Navanagar and gathered immense booty.[18]

Memorials on the battlefield

The battle of Bhuchar Mori may be regarded as probably the most contested and the most decisive military action on a large scale that took place in modern times on the plains of Saurashtra, and the event is still familiarly remembered by the people of the peninsula in legend and story. The site of the battle is a vast plain, not far from Dhrol, covered with a few stunted trees and shrubs, where still stand the memorials of the Rajputs and the Muslims who fell on that fateful day more than 360 years ago. A carefully kept shrine[19] stands near the Pālias, or memorial stones, of Jasaji, the Jam's minister, and of Kunvar Ajoji, the eldest son of the Jam, only twenty years old, who is said to have left his wedding ceremony to participate in the fight. Near by is a tomb, of no striking pattern, built over the last resting place of three Muslim nobles who were slain, while the graves of humbler soldiers lie scattered all around it. The principal Pālias, and the *chhatris* that cover them, are in a four-walled enclosure, the inside walls of which are lined with the Pālias of humbler Rajput soldiers who died with their leaders. The brief inscription on Ajoji's Palia may be translated as follows: 'In the year 1647 of the Samvat era, on Wednesday, the 7th of the bright half of the month of Shravan (17 July 1591), Jam Ajoji repaired to the city of heaven'.[20] Not far off from the place of battle, in an area of richer soil, lies the town of Dhrol, whose walls must have reverberated the sound

18 Akbarnama, III, 865, 877, 902-05; 905 note 4; 909-10. An account of the battle is also found in the *Tarikh-i-Sorath* compiled by Diwan Ranchhodji Amarji of Junagadh in 1825 (Ed. by J. Burgess, 248-51), but the date given by him for the battle is incorrect.

19 On the wall of the temple is a picture depicting Prince Ajoji and the minister Jasa on horseback charging an elephant on which the Khan-i-Azam is seated. Near it are a couple of lines in Gujarati giving the same Hindu date for the battle as is found on Ajoji's *palia*, and which corresponds with the Hijri date given in the Akbarnama, with the difference of only a day.

20 For an excellent account of the site of the battle, and its historical memorials, see an article by Mr. Girijaprasad B. Ojha in the Gujarati periodical *Sahitya* for Feb., 1933.

of the cannonade, and whose Jadeja chief, with his kinsmen, doubtless supplied his quota of mailed warriors at Bhuchar Mori[21].

The unfortunate Sultan was now nearing his doom, for every possible effort was made by Aziz Koka to discover his retreat. News reached the viceroy that his quarry had taken refuge at Dwarka, at the western extremity of the peninsula, and a suitable force under trusted officers was sent in pursuit. They took Dwarka and established a mosque at the place. Flying before their approach, the Sultan escaped by sea to the fortified island of Bet, where he received honourable shelter at the hands of its pirate chief, Shiva Wadhel, who sacrificed his life and property in fighting against the enemy while covering the flight of his guest. The Sultan in despair crossed the salty *rann* into Cutch, where he was given refuge by its ruler, Rav Bharmal (Bhāro), in the neighbourhood of Bhuj.[22] When Aziz Koka was preparing to lead his forces into Cutch, the Rav sent his men to propose that he would deliver up Muzaffar provided the pargana of Morbi, which had formerly belonged to his state, was given to him as a reward for his services. The viceroy accepted the terms, and his party was guided to the Sultan's retreat. The Rav sent a messenger to inform Muzaffar that Bharo had come to pay him a visit, and when the Sultan came out to meet his host, he was made a prisoner (23 Dec., 1592). Taking him under strict custody, the party started on their way to Morbi, and travelled all night. When they halted in the morning at the village of Dhamadka,[23] the Sultan retired behind a tree under some pretext, and drawing a razor, which he kept concealed on his person, cut his throat, and 'delivered himself from the turmoil and buffets of this mean world.' His head was sent to Akbar's court with Nizam-ud-din Bakhshi.[24]

Capture and death of Muzaffar III, 1592

21 Dhrol, situated about 20 miles from Jamnagar, was an offshoot of the latter State, having been founded by the Jadeja Hardholji, the brother of Jam Raval who founded Nawanagar in 1540.

22 The rulers of Cutch were, since the time of Mahmud Begada, feudatories of the Gujarat Sultans. Long after the extinction of the Saltanat, 'they retained on their coins, along with their own names written in Devanagari, the name of Muzaffar (III) of Gujarat and the year 978 both in Persian characters. This type of coins continued to be struck until recent times but, as the years passed, the figures of the date and the letters of the Persian legend on the reverse became ever more and more degenerate.' (Geo. P. Taylor, *Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat*, J. B. B. R. A. S. 1903).

23 Owing to a misreading of the text of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, the place where the last Sultan of Gujarat committed suicide was hitherto believed to be Dhrol (*vide* Faridi's trans. p. 327). But the valuable autograph copy of this history, discovered by Dr. M. Abdulla Chaghatai in Poona, leaves no doubt that the site was named Dhamarka, which the text says was at a distance of 30 miles 'from Bhuj towards Morvi.' The place is now indicated on the Survey Map of India as Dhamadka in the Cutch State. (See Dr. Chaghatai's paper *A Manuscript of the Mirat-i-Sikandari*, in 'Deccan College Research Institute Bulletin,' Vol. IV, No. 2).

24 Akbarnama, III, 962-65. Abul Fazl says that the Sultan's head was first hung up at the door of Naurang Khan in revenge for the murder of that noble's father Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Atgah Khan at Baroda, and that it was afterwards taken to the court by Nizam-ud-din Bakhshi. Naurang Khan was at this time in the camp of Mirza Aziz Koka along with other generals.

A characteristic bardic story is related by Col. Tod which shows the contempt which the Emperor, though he profited by the act, entertained for the Rav, who was base enough to barter the person of his suppliant sovereign for the district of Morbi proferred him as a bribe. To mark his sense of the infamy of the Jadeja Bharmal and the honour of the pirate Wadhel, Akbar erected two pāliyās (memorial stones) at the gates of Delhi, issuing an edict that whoever passed that of the Wadhel should crown it with a chaplet of flowers, while on that of the Jadeja he should bestow a blow with his slipper.[25]

Estimate of his career

Muzaffar III was a boy when he was raised to the throne in 1560, and was still immature in years when, after nominal sovereignty and long tutelage under Itimad Khan, he surrendered to the Emperor Akbar in 1572. The twelve years of his first rule had thus offered him but little opportunity to develop a capacity for administration or a genius for battle. But, after 1583, he reveals himself as a man of bold resolution and great military skill capable of attracting to himself and retaining the loyalty of his former subjects in a legitimate war for regaining his patrimony. The long years during which, on the mainland and in the strongholds of peninsular Gujarat, he baffled the forces of such eminent generals as the Khan Khānān and the Khan-i-Azam is enough evidence to show that the rulers and zamindars of Idar, Rajpipla and Kathiawad, once his tributary vassals, were attached to his cause, and stood by him as long as their own safety would permit them to do so. The murder of Qutb-ud-din at Baroda, after the Sultan had sworn on the Quran to spare his life, is certainly a blot on his character. But, granting this, his courage, perseverence and resourcefulness must needs command our admiraton. It cannot be denied that Muzaffar III was worthy of a better fate, even though we believe that the resuscitation of the effete Saltanat was incompatible with the establishment of peace and prosperity in Gujarat. The last of the Ahmad Shahi rulers might, with justice, claim to be a not unworthy successor of the great Sultans of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Conquest of Junagadh, 1592

Though the Khan-i-Azam was unable to effect the capture of the fort of Junagadh immediately after his great victory at Bhuchar Mori in 1591, he returned to this object a year later, determined to effect the final subjugation of the whole peninsula. Several of the local chiefs submitted to him, and, almost without striking a blow, he took Gogha, Mangrol, Somnath, Mahuva, and other places—in all sixteen ports in Saurashtra. This was followed by the great siege of Junagadh which

25 Tod's 'Western India,' p. 438. We are told that the practice was not given till Jam Desal (1718-1741), having by some service gained the royal favour, and being permitted to proffer any suit, asked that the *palya* might be taken down, or, at least, relieved from insults which affected the honour of every Jadeja. Rao Bhara's treachery is also commemorated in two couplets in the *Vaibhav-vilas* (p. 337).

he conducted in person. Daulat Khan Ghori had died of the wounds received during the battle some time previous, and his two sons were minors. But the garrison was well provisioned with supplies, and the formidable strength of the Uparkot enabled it to put up a defence for three months, at the end of which period it was forced to surrender (27 August, 1592). According to the generous terms offered by Mirza Aziz, Daulat Khan's sons and over fifty other leaders were granted their life and liberty and even received fiefs.[26] Mughal authority was now firmly established in the entire peninsula and the large number of Rajput princes tendered their submission. Together with Junagadh territory, the entire coast-line to the south and west was annexed to the imperial domain as crown-lands (i.e., made *khalsa*.) The Raizada Khengar, the descendant of Ra Mandalik, was not permitted to reside in Junagadh, but was dismissed to his estates at Sil-Bagasra, Kesod and Chorwad, where he died in 1608.[27]

Mughal governors of Junagadh

In the long line of the imperial governors of Saurashtra during the 17th century, three names deserve special mention because of their capacity and the length of their sway. Of these, Mirza Isa Tarkhan ruled Sorath from about 1634 to 1642, when he was appointed viceroy of Gujarat. In his time the fortifications of Junagadh were entirely repaired ; he also occupied himself in revenue reforms and in studying the local system of *bhagwatai*.[28] Qutb-ud-din Khan Kheshgi was another famous governor whose tenure of office lasted from about 1653 to 1666. In or about 1663, he captured Nawanagar, which was for several years annnexed to the imperial domain. Lastly, during the reign of Aurangzeb, Sardar Khan distinguished himself as fauzdar of Sorath both by the firmness of his rule and by the construction of the Sardar Bagh (*c.* 1681) and the excavation of the Sardar Talav at Junagadh. He was governor, with short intervals of absence, from about 1666 to 1684. While Naurang Khan was the first imperial fauzdar of Sorath under Akbar, being appointed in 1592 after the conquest of Junagadh by the imperial forces, Sher Khan Babi was the last Mughal governor in the decline and fall of Mughal power in the middle of the 18th century. Assuming the title of Bahadur Khan, he became the first independent Nawab of Junagadh (1748-58). From that period, right upto 1948, he and his successors remained the heads of the premier

26 *Akbarnama*, III, 948-49. Abul Fazl says that a fire within the Fort during the siege destroyed much essential material, and that a Firangi (European) cannoneer, who had turned Muslim, and was very skilful in his art, fell during the confusion into the moat.

27 Bombay Gazetteer, VIII (Kathiawar), 500-01. The *Chovisi* of Sil-Bagasra had been granted to the Raizadas, or descendants of Ra Mandalik, by Sultan Mahmud Begada after his conquest of Junagadh at the end of the 15th century (See Vol. I of this work, p. 171).

28 *Bhagwatai* means the state levy of a share of the produce, instead of a fixed sum of money, as assessment.

Indian State in Kathiawar by virtue of the extensive territory under their sway, their considerable military resources, and a number of able Hindu ministers, of whom the most famous was Diwan Amarji (d. 1784), the greatest soldier-statesman produced by Saurashtra in the 18th century.[29]

APPENDIX

ACCOUNTS OF THE FATEH WADI NEAR SARKHEJ BY EARLY ENGLISH VISITORS

It has been stated above that, to commemorate his decisive victory over the ex-Sultan Muzaffar III in 1584, the Khan Khānān laid out, on the site of the battle, near Sarkhej, a beautiful garden called the Fateh Bagh. It covered an area of over fifty acres and was surrounded on three sides by a high wall. On the side of the Sabarmati river stood a pleasure-house, protected by bastions, the remains of which may be seen in an illustration in my book on Mandelslo's Travels. The *Fateh Bagh*, or 'Garden of Victory,' remained for generations one of the chief attractions near the capital city. The grounds were covered with flowering shrubs and fruit-bearing and other shady trees, watered by several canals in the usual Mughal style. We must, however, be careful to distinguish between the *Fateh Bagh* near Sarkhej, constructed soon after 1584 by Abdurrahim Khan, and the *Jit Bagh*, on the opposite side of the river, near the village of Jetalpur, on the way to Bareja. The latter was laid out by Nawab Saif Khan after 1623 in Jahangir's reign to commemorate the imperial victory in the civil war caused by Prince Shah Jahan's rebellion.[30]

The Fateh Bagh near Sarkhej

Accounts of the Fateh Bagh (or Wadi) have been left by the early English factors at Ahmadabad, as also by other European travellers of the 17th century. Two of the most interesting of these are to be found in the Journals of Nicholas Withington and Edward Dodsworth, both of them English merchants who were sent to Ahmadabad from the Surat factory soon after it was established on the Gujarat coast. They refer to the years 1613 and 1615, and we thus get a description of this famous garden within thirty years of its being laid out. The following record by Withington, early in Nov., 1613, about the royal tombs at Sarkhej and the garden of the Khan Khānān makes interesting reading :

Described by Withington, 1613

29 Dating from the time of Sultan Mahmud Begada's conquest, Muslim rule over Junagadh and its dependent territory lasted for nearly five centuries, from 1470 to 1948 *i.e.*, a period of 478 years. At Ahmadabad, it lasted from its foundation in 1411 to its final capture by the Marathas in 1758, *i.e.*, a period of 348 years.

30 Both the terms 'Fateh Bagh' and 'Jit Bagh' have the same meaning, *viz.*, 'the Garden of Victory'. In my book *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India* (1931), I was misled by this traveller's erroneous reference to the Jit Bagh as the site of the victory of the Mughal over the last Sultan of Gujarat, into identifying the *Jitbagh* near Jetalpur with the *Fateh Wadi* near Sarkhej. See also my *Studies in the History of Gujarat* 110-11.

'In this town are the sepulchres of the Kings of Guyseratt [Gujarat], a very delicate church [masjid] and fair tombs, which are kept very comely; whither there is much resorting from all parts of the kingdom to visit their tombs. Also, about a mile and a half off, there is a very fair and pleasant garden, of a mile about, which compasseth a very fair and stately house, seated delicately by the riverside; which house Chou Chou [Khan Khanan], now the chiefest nobleman of the Mogul's, built in memorial of the great victory which he got of the last King of Gujarat, taking him prisoner, and likewise brought all his whole kingdom in subjection of the Great Mogul, as it still continueth; in memorial whereof, the battle being fought in this place, he built this house and planted the orchard, raising the high wall round about it. No man dwelleth in this house; only a few poor men that are hired to keep the orchard clean. We lodged in it one night.'[31]

E. Dodsworth on the Fateh Bagh

Another account of the Fateh Bagh is found in the *Journal* of Edward Dodsworth,[32] also a factor in the service of the East India Company, and a kinsman of Sir Thomas Smythe, then Governor of the Company in London. It is dated January, 1615, *i.e.*, the tenth year of the Emperor Jahangir's reign, and, after referring to the victory won by the Khan Khānān, 'the General of the Mogore's forces' over the 'Guzarathis' and their King, at a site to the north of Sarkhej, Dodsworth adds:

'The place where Chaun Canna (Khan Khanan) forced them to retire is strongly walled with brick, some mile and a half in circuit, planted within with such fruits as those parts afford, and watered very pleasantly. Towards the river side, which runneth along the western side of the garden, he likewise built a very costly house, in memory of that worthy overthrow, called the Victoria;[33] in which for some space after that battle fought he remained, but now, being protector of the Prince,[34] hath his place of residence in the city of Bramporte (Burhanpur).'[35]

The Emperor Jahangir, during his long and enforced stay at Ahmadabad in 1618, was entertained in this famous garden by Khair-un-nissa, the daughter of the Khan Khanan, as will be related later.

31 *Early Travels in India* (1583-1619), Ed. by Sir William Foster, 207. The spellings in this and the following quotation have been modernised for more easy perusal.

32 Edward Dodsworth was sent out to India in Captain Downton's fleet which arrived at Surat in Oct., 1614. At the end of the same year, he formed one of a party of two dozen English merchants who proceeded from Surat to Ahmadabad on business to settle factories at various towns. Dodsworth kept a Journal of his voyage out and of his tour which has been printed as a Supplement to *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton*, published by the Hakluyt Society.

33 This is the English equivalent for the first word in *Fateh Bagh*, which means victory.

34 The Emperor Jahangir's son, Prince Parviz, was in 1615 nominally in command of the forces stationed at Burhanpur to overawe the independent Deccan princes.

35 *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton to the East Indies* (1614-15), Ed. by Sir William Foster (Hakluyt Society, 1939), 111-12.

Later history of the garden

In the troubled period of Maratha invasions, civil strife, and anarchy that characterised the first half of the eighteenth century in Gujarat, the Fateh Bagh and its pleasure-house appear to have suffered terribly. The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* says that the village in which it was situated was part of the jagir of the nazims or subhadars, who treated it as their own property, and that, in his time (*c.* 1748-61), a portion of the building was still to be seen.[36] Little is known of its subsequent history and it probably became the haunt of robbers and outlaws. The building also appears at some time to have suffered from artillery fire as cannon balls have been found in the ruins.[37] The area within the original walled enclosure is now devoted to cultivation. The ruins of the pleasure-house built by the Khan Khanan, and the village of Fateh Wadi which stands immediately near it, are all that now remain to remind the visitor of the historical associations of three and a half centuries ago.

36 Nawab Ali and Seddon, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Suppt.*, 21-22.

37 The late Mr. Nariman R. Kothawala, a Parsi landholder of Ahmadabad, who acquired this estate, had to spend a large amount on the conservation of the pleasure-house. The Sabarmati, which at one time flowed immediately past the building, has now receded to some distance.

CHAPTER III

LAST YEARS OF AKBAR'S RULE IN GUJARAT, 1593-1605

IN 1593, Mirza Aziz Koka's reputation stood high at the court for having brought to a successful termination Sultan Muzaffar's prolonged resistance in Gujarat, and for firmly establishing Mughal authority over Junagadh and the whole peninsula right up to the sea.

Aziz Koka goes to Mecca, 1593

Akbar now sent him a gracious *farman* summoning him to his presence.[1] But Aziz was in no mood to do so, for he had decided upon going to Mecca on a pilgrimage as he laboured under some real or fancied grievance against Akbar. He was anxious, however, to keep his intentions secret for fear the Emperor might prevent his departure from India. He excused himself on the ground that he proposed to take Div from the Portuguese, and forbade the merchants in the coast-towns all traffic with that port.[2] At the same time, he informed the Jam and the Rao of Cutch that he was going to the court by way of Sind, and requested them to make suitable arrangements for his journey through their territory. He next went to Dwarka and here he disclosed his secret to some confidants. From that port he proceeded to Porbandar and Mangrol, and at last arrived at Somnath Patan, where he put his Diwan, Saiyid Bayazid, and his Bakhshi under restraint, and made the soldiers promise that they would not obstruct his departure. On 25 March 1593, he embarked at the port of Veraval[3] for Mecca in his own ship (*Jahaz Ilahi-i-Kokaltash*), taking with him six of his sons and six daughters, along with their mothers, and about a hundred domestic servants and retainers. He boarded the ship though the sea was very rough, and on the day he left he set at liberty the two high officials mentioned above

[1] The *farman* was to the effect that 'as he had performed meritorious services, it was right that he should have the honour of attending on His Majesty and become the recipient of royal favours' (*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans. by De, II, 648).

[2] Mirza Aziz's object was probably to coerce the Portuguese Captain of Div to grant him the necessary passes and other concessions for the journey to Mecca.

[3] Veraval, till recently the chief port of Junagadh State, is situated on the south coast of Saurashtra, only a short distance from Somnath Patan, though it does not boast of the same antiquity as the latter. On a stone built into the town-wall is an inscription, both in Persian and in Sanskrit, dated H. 810 and V. S. 1464 (A.D. 1407), which records the construction of a strong fortification round the town. This would place it in the first year of the reign of Sultan Muzaffar Shah I, the founder of the Gujarat Saltanat.

and asked them to forgive his action. When Akbar received the news of the Khan-i-Azam's sudden departure, without his formal permission, he was much affected and vexed, and wrote to him that 'he was abandoning two *Kaabas* of flesh and blood (*viz.*, his mother and Akbar) for a *Kaaba* of stone and mortar.' With his usual regard, however, the Emperor was considerate towards Aziz's family and promoted his two eldest sons (Shamsi and Shadman) who were then at the court.[4]

The 'Mirat-i-Sikandari' on the subject

The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, the famous local historian, who was probably at Ahmadabad at this period, refers as follows to the Khan Azam's decision to go to Mecca :

'One of the good deeds in the life of the viceroy, in the annals of whose life there is no lack of bright achievements, was that, after the death of Sultan Muzaffar, he proceeded on Monday, the 2nd of the month of Rajab, A.H. 1001 (March, 1593) on the pilgrimage (to Mecca). Though he was at that time the viceroy of Gujarat, the best of the provinces of India, and was possessed in the highest degree of all the means of happiness and enjoyment, and no nobleman of his time probably enjoyed the friendship and intimacy of the Emperor to such a degree, yet placing all this aside, he embarked on a ship at the end of the sailing season when the sea was wild and tempestuous enough to frighten one's soul out of his body.*** But the brave nobleman said that the stormy, raging sea was but a sea of water; if an ocean of fire intervened between him and his sacred resolve he would not be deterred by it. He embarked with his family in such weather and they weighed anchor and he sailed away.'[5]

Aziz's letter to Akbar and return to India

The author of the *Darbār Akbari* quotes a letter written by Aziz to Akbar from Mecca giving his reasons for not wishing to return to India. In it, the irascible Khan,[6] with his usual honesty and outspoken nature, scoffs at the two heretical brothers, Faizi and Abul Fazl, and asks if Akbar regards them as equal to Ali and Othman. He also seems to complain that India was no longer a place to die in as infidels were buried in the sacred grounds of good Musalmans. This was perhaps a hit at Shaikh Mubarak, the father of Abul Fazl, who had been buried, along with his wife, in a sacred part of Lahore. Aziz appears to have spent a great deal of money at Mecca, and was so 'fleeced' that his attachment to Islam was much cooled down.[7] Being assured of forgiveness, he embarked for India, and landing again at Veraval pro-

4 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Ed. by Nawab Ali, I, 181-82; Bird's *History of Gujarat*, 423-24; *Akbarnama*, III, 979-82.

5 Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 325.

6 The Khan-i-Azam had a sharp and uncontrolled tongue and often gave deep offence to Akbar and Jahangir. But he had a fluent speech and sharp intellect and ready wit. He was also passionate, sensual, harsh and cruel. He was a great bigot and showed his abhorrence of Akbar's apostasies (*Maasir-ul-umrah*, trans. by Beveridge, I, 331-32).

7 Article on *Aziz Koka* by H. Beveridge, J. R. A. S., 1921, p. 207.

ceeded to the court and waited on Akbar in October, 1594 at Agra. After he had performed his prostration, Akbar raised him up, embraced him with tears in his eyes, and called the Mirza's mother in his presence to wish her joy on the return of her son.[8] Aziz Koka's orthodoxy had, however, received a great shock, for Badayuni makes the following interesting comments on his conversion :

'In this year Azam Khan returned from Mecca, where he had suffered much harm at the hands of the Shariffs, and, throwing away the blessing which he had derived from the pilgrimage, joined, immediately on his return, the Divine Faith, performing the *sijdah* and following all other rules of discipleship ; he cut off his beard, and was very forward at social meetings, and in conversation. He learnt the rules of the new faith from the Reverend Master Abulfazl.'[9]

Strangely enough, the memory of the Khan-i-Azam's long connection with Gujarat, as viceroy both under Akbar and Jahangir, is preserved not at Ahmadabad, the seat of his power, but at the old capital of Patan Anhilvad. The complete renovation, if not the original construction, of the beautiful reservoir, known as the *Khān Sarovar* at Patan, is ascribed to him, during the period when he was functioning as viceroy of Gujarat for the second time (1590-93) in succession to Mirza Abdurrahim Khan. This reservoir is a noble sheet of water, 1200 ft. square, situated just outside the imposing south gate of the town on the road to Chanasma. Stone steps, still in a fair condition, descend to the water on all the four sides. In the construction of the tank, and especially in the inlet and overflow sluices, abundant use was made of the material from old temples formerly destroyed in this ancient city. The lake deserves to be compared in beauty with the Kankarya tank at Ahmadabad constructed a hundred and forty years before.[10]

The 'Khan Sarovar' at Patan

On the departure of Mirza Aziz Koka from Gujarat on the pilgrimage to Mecca early in 1593, Akbar appointed his second son, Sultan Murad,[11] to the viceroyalty of this province, with orders to proceed to Ahmadabad and to collect there the troops of Gujarat and Malwa for the campaign against the Deccan kingdom of Ahmadnagar which had been

Prince Murad lays out the Rustam Bagh, 1594

8 Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 327; *Akbarnama*, III, 1006.

9 Quoted in Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 208.

10 On the margins of this reservoir are various Hindu and Muslim buildings. Among these, at one corner, is the substantial Shaivite temple built by Damaji Gaekwar in 1766-67. (Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, 55-6).

11 Sultan Murad, the second son of Akbar, was born in 1570 and received the nickname of *Pahari* as he was born in the hills of Fathpur-Sikri. When the Jesuit Fathers first came to the court in 1580, Akbar ordered Prince Murad to be made over to Father Monserrate for instruction. In 1586, the Prince married a daughter of Mirza Aziz Koka. He suffered from epileptic fits brought on by habitual drunkenness and died of *delirium tremens* in 1599 near Jalna in Berar. He was the cleverest and best of Akbar's sons. (Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 141 n, 182 and *n*, 309, 326; Memoirs of Jahangir, R and B, I, 34; V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, 175, 271).

entrusted to him. He was thus the first of a line of princes of the Mughal dynasty who held the charge of Gujarat for various periods during the reigns of successive Emperors. Murad's stay at Ahmadabad, which probably lasted for a little over a year, witnessed the laying out, under his orders, of an extensive garden on the banks of the Sabarmati, beyond the city-walls to the north. It was named the 'Rustam Bagh' after his young son (then a boy of six),[12] and it remained for a long time among the sights of this capital, being visited by the Emperor Jahangir during his stay at Ahmadabad in 1618. The site of this garden adjoined that of the 'Shahi Bagh' which was constructed later when Prince Shah Jahan was in charge of the province. The garden had an enclosure with a stone gateway and covered an area of sixty bigahs with a mansion and six wells.[13] At the end of Aurangzeb's reign, his son, Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, when appointed viceroy of Gujarat, constructed several palaces in the Rustam Bagh for his residence. Not a trace now remains of the garden or of these buildings. In Shah Jahan's reign, the Rustam Bagh was the scene of a tragic episode connected with the death of Saiyid Raju, the leader of the Mahdavi sect of Palanpur, during Prince Aurangzeb's viceroyalty of Gujarat (1645-46). The site, in the present Shahi Bagh locality, of the graves of the martyred Saiyid Raju and his companions helps materially to establish the location of this historic garden in the 17th century.

Revolt of Bahadur, son of Muzaffar III. 1596

In December, 1594, Sultan Murad left Ahmadabad on his way to Surat for the Deccan campaign, and, on arrival at Cambay, he gave two interviews to the Christian Fathers of the Third Jesuit Mission who had arrived at that port from Goa on their journey to the imperial court at Agra on Akbar's invitation. We shall refer to these interviews in a later chapter in our-account of this mission during its halt in Gujarat.[14] After the Prince's departure, Akbar appointed a Hindu noble, named Raja Suraj Singh, to act as his son's *naib* or deputy in Gujarat. The late Sultan Muzaffar III had left behind him two sons who were brought up by some of the faithful zamindars of the province. In 1596-7, the elder of these, named Bahadur, taking advantage of the absence of the Mughal officers on the Deccan campaign, raised the standard of revolt, and the disturbance was utilised by lawless free-booters to attack and plunder the villages. Raja Suraj Singh proceeded against the rebel, and, defeating him in a pitched battle, forced him to take refuge in flight.[15] We shall hear of Bahadur again ten years later at the opening period of Jahangir's reign.

12 Prince Rustam was the son of Prince Murad and grandson of Mirza Aziz Koka. He was born in August 1588 and died in Nov., 1598 at the age of nine (The *Akbarnama*, III, 807, 995, 1096-97; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, R and B, I, 426-27, II, 30).

13 *Supplt. to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 22.

14 See Chapter XXIV of this volume.

15 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 182-83.

In 1599, to Akbar's great distress, Sultan Murad died in the Deccan from the effects of intemperance at the early age of thirty. The vacancy in Gujarat was filled up by the appointment of Mirza Aziz Koka who, since his return from Mecca in 1594, had been exalted with the dignity of Vakil of the Empire and was again in high favour with the Emperor. This was his third term of office in this province and he remained in nominal charge of it till Akbar's death in 1605. Aziz, however, did not leave Agra, but governed the province through his sons, Shams-ud-din and Shādmān,[16] who were successively appointed as his deputies. These five years were not marked by any important incidents. A historical memorial of the connection of the Khan-i-Azam and his family with Gujarat at this period is preserved in an inscription, engrossed in Persian on a marble slab, found at a ruined *wav* or step-well outside the town of Siddhpur[17] in North Gujarat. It says that the well was completed during the period when this town was the jagir of Mirza Muhammad Anwar,[18] 'son of the excellent Nawab Azam Khan,' under the superintendence of Haji Ismail al-Sharif, son of Haji Bakhtyar, in the blessed month of Ramzan, 1010 (Feb., 1602).[19]

Mirza Aziz again viceroy

Mir Abu Turab, who had conveyed the invitation to Akbar in 1572, and had played a leading part in the revolution that led to the downfall of the Sultanate, died at Ahmadabad in 1595.[20] For nearly twenty years he had served under Akbar in various offices and had enjoyed the Emperor's favour. He was buried in the beautiful mausoleum erected by himself to the south of the city of Ahmadabad, outside the Jamalpur gate, within the limits of the village lands of Behrampur. The Rauza is worthy of the best traditions of the local Indo-Saracenic style, which was soon to disappear. It stands on a platform 41 ft. square, and has an outer enclosure of twenty pillars forming the piers of the structural arches supporting the roof. It is built in one uniform arcuate style through-

Rauza of Abu Turab at Ahmadabad

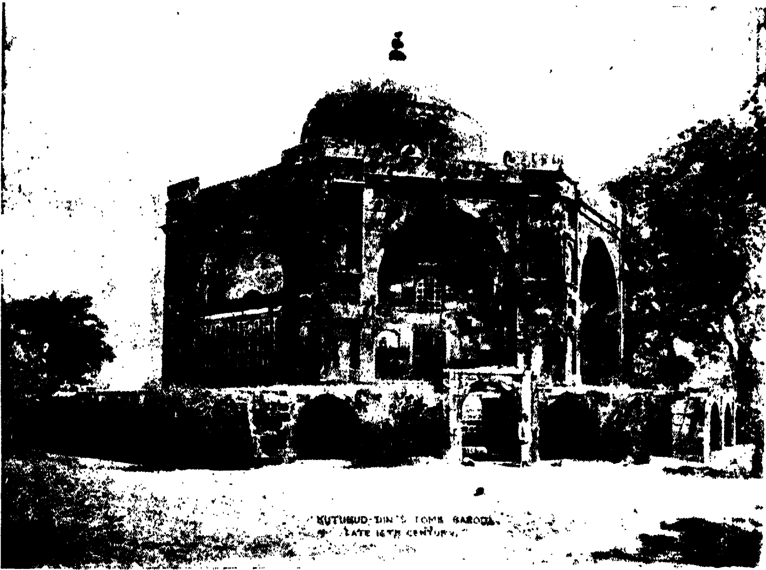
16 Mirza Shamsi, or Shams-ud-din, the eldest son of the Khan-i-Azam, received the title of Jahangir Quli Khan in the third year of Jahangir's reign (1608). So also Mirza Shādmān received the title of Shad Khan. Two other sons of Aziz Koka, *viz.*, Mirza Khurram and Mirza Abdulla, served as Fauzdars of Junagadh during Akbar's reign. (Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 328, 450).

17 Siddhpur is situated in the Mehsana district of North Gujarat, on the Sarasvati river, 64 miles north of Ahmadabad.

18 Mirza Anwar was the fifth son of Mirza Aziz and was married to a daughter of Zain Khan Koka, another foster-brother of Akbar and a powerful grandee at the court (Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 328). He was one of the six younger sons who accompanied their father on his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1593.

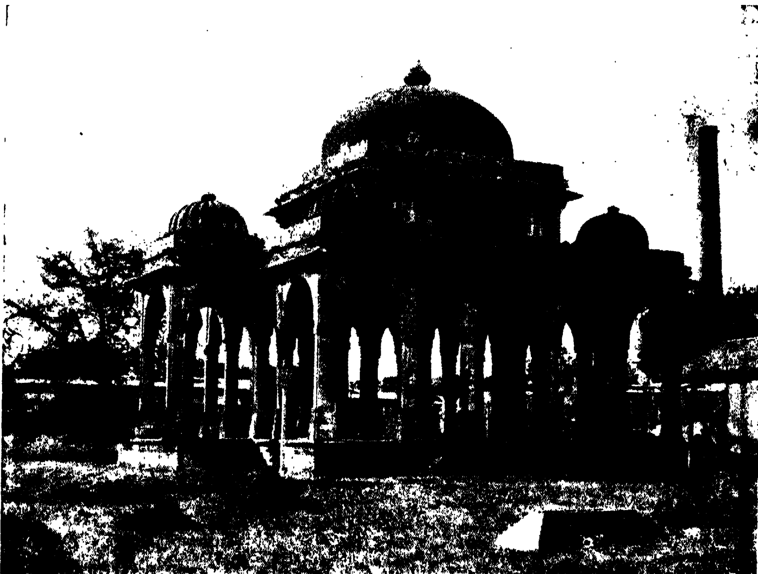
19 Burgess and Cousens, *Arch. Antiquities of North Gujarat*, 69.

20 E. Denison Ross, *Arabic History of Gujarat*, 606. The descendants of Mir Abu Turab long resided at Cambay and the stone bearing the alleged footsteps of the Prophet brought from Mecca is said to have been deposited in their home. Several villages were granted by Akbar to Abu Turab, one of which, named Paldi, near Cambay town, is held in Inam by these descendants.



Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India

MAUSOLEUM OF QUTB-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD, UNCLE OF MIRZA AZIZ KOKA (KHAN-I-AZAM), AT BARODA, c. 1583 (p. 21)



Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India

RAUZA OF MIR ABU TURAB, OUTSIDE THE JAMALPUR GATE AT AHMADABAD, c. 1597 (p. 36)

out, and it presents the local style in its most pleasing form. There was at one time a brick masjid that stood near the Rauza, but it is now completely in ruins.[21]

It may here be pointed out that, as under the Saltanate, so also during the Mughal imperial rule, the towns to the north and north-east of Ahmadabad, in the region now represented by the newly created districts of Mehsana, Banas Kantha and Sabar Kantha in Bombay State, play a part in Gujarat history not less prominent than the perhaps better known towns to the south of the capital. The ancient capital of Gujarat, Patan Anhilwad, continued to be a place of major interest, but the towns of Radhanpur, Kadi, Vadnagar, Vishalnagar, Vijapur, Tharad, Palanpur, Idar, Parantij, and many others, also find frequent mention in the events of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Naturally, therefore, memorials and inscriptons of the Mughal period are to be found scattered in all these places. One such memorial, the *Khan Sarovar* at Patan, constructed by Mirza Aziz Koka when Subahdar of Ahmadabad during Akbar's reign, has been mentioned above. Another monument of the same period is located in the little known town of Tharad[22] situated to the extreme north of the province on the borders of the Great Rann of Cutch. This is the tomb of one Amir Beg which is built of pure white marble. It bears an inscription of a single line in Persian which runs all round the tomb and is 15 ft. in length and 5 in. in breadth. The epigraph states that the tomb was the resting place of Amir Beg, a martyr, 'who had severed the heads of many enemies of the faith in battle,' and was killed on Monday, the 11th Rajab, H. 1011 (Dec. 15, 1602).[23] The identity of Amir Beg has not been established.

Tomb of Amir Beg at Tharad, 1602

Before we conclude this survey of Akbar's rule in Gujarat, it is necessary to refer briefly to his contacts with the Portuguese settlements on the coast-line. The Mughal conquest of Gujarat had brought the Emperor into direct touch with this once powerful nation, and it was hardly to be expected that he would tolerate their settlements, particularly as, by virtue of their sea-power, they compelled every merchant vessel and pilgrim ship sailing from any of the Gujarat ports to secure their passes on a handsome payment to save them from capture by the Portuguese men-of-

Akbar and the Portuguese

21 J. Burgess, *Muham. Arch. of Ahmadabad,* Part II, 50-52; Hope and Fergusson, *Ahmadabad,* 92.

22 Tharad, formerly under the Palanpur Political Agency, is now a sub-division of the Banas Kantha district of Gujarat. It was till 1948 a small State near the Gulf of Cutch with the territory of Marwar in the north and of Palanpur on the east.

23 *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari* (1889), pp. 38-39. The work is a selection of Persian and Arabic inscriptions collected and edited by the Antiquarian Department of Bhavnagar State.

war as prizes on the high seas. Even the ships carrying the Emperor's own goods or family were not exempted from this levy. The most flourishing of the sea-ports in Gujarat at this period was no doubt Div, but its isolated and insular situation, at the extreme south of the peninsula, made an attack on it a very difficult proposition. Similarly, Bassein, the capital of the Portuguese 'Province of the North,' was farther down the coast and defended by an almost impregnable fortress. Daman, however, which had been taken from the Gujarat Sultans by the Portuguese in 1559, was not far from Surat, and, though also fortified, might be expected to fall an easy prey to the great land power. According to the *Akbarnama*, in Feb., 1580, Akbar directed Qutb-ud-din Khan, the uncle of Mirza Aziz Koka, who held the jagir of Broach, to lead the campaign against Daman, and the officers in the Subahs of Gujarat and Malwa were appointed to this service under him. He was also instructed to secure the co-operation of the rulers of the Deccan who were to be informed that imperial troops had been sent in that direction 'in order to remove the Farangis who were a stumbling block in the way of the pilgrims to the Hijaz.'[24]

Though the Persian historian is silent about the fate of this campaign, we have detailed accounts of the operations from Portuguese sources.

Daman escapes absorption, 1581

According to them, the siege of the great fort of Daman was pressed by a large army at the south gate and the town narrowly escaped capture as the result of a ruse by its Captain. On the night previous to the date fixed for the assault on the fort, he ordered his garrison to slip quietly out of the gate and to throw hand granades and pans of powder among the elephants and horses of the invader's camp. In the stampede and confusion that followed, owing to the darkness, the Mughal troops fled or dispersed and their general decided to abandon the siege. A memorial of this striking victory, in the shape of an inscription tablet in Portuguese placed above the land-gate of the great fort of Daman, is still extant and reads as under :

> 'In the year 1581, when Martin Afonso de Mello was Captain, he defended this town against the generals of the Great Mughal who had laid siege to it. He fortified this side with the Bastion of St. Sebastion and also constructed this gateway.'[25]

24 *Akbarnama*, Eng. trans, III, 410.

25 A. B. de Braganza Pereira, *Historia de Damão* (1939), p. 139. The hostilities which now began between the Mughal power in Gujarat and the Portuguese continued, with long intervals of truce, till the tenth year of Shah Jahan's reign. A fuller account of these will be given in the third volume of this history.

APPENDIX

AKBAR'S COINAGE IN THE MINT AT AHMADABAD

With Akbar's conquest of Gujarat in 1572-73 (H. 980), begins the long series of the Imperial Mughal coinage of Ahmadabad, that is to say, the coins struck at the mint in this city in the name of the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan for a period of 275 Hijri years, from H. 980 to H. 1250 (A.D. 1572-3 to 1835), *i.e.*, till long after all effectual Mughal rule had disappeared. The very first year of the annexation of the province saw the issue of gold muhrs and silver rupees bearing the Emperor's name with the following legend in the centre of the obverse, and the year H. 980 : 'Muhammad Akbar, Jalal-ud-din (the Glory of the Faith), Badshah Ghazi.' Below the central area of the coin is the name of the mint-town : 'Ahmadabad, the Seat of the Caliphate (*Dar-al-Khilafat*),' and above it the words 'Allah, the Exalted, keep the kingdom for ever.' The inscription on the reverse contains the Kalima, or Muslim creed, and in the marginal segments occur the names of the four Khalifas with their distinctve virtues.[26] For the first seven years after the conquest, the rupees issued were all round and broad and thin. But in H. 987 (A.D. 1579) square coins were for the first time struck at the Ahmadabad mint, and this type continued till the Hijri year 1000 (A.D. 1592).[27]

Imperial coinage

The Mughal coins during the later period of Akbar's reign, including those issued from the Ahmadabad mint, bear clear testimony to the evolution of the Emperor's religious ideas. After twenty-nine years of his reign had elapsed, nearly the whole coinage underwent a change in which was plainly evidenced Akbar's decision to set up a religion of his own fashioning. In 1584, Akbar issued the Farman establishing the Ilahi era throughout his dominions. Henceforth, the Hijri year disappeared from Akbar's coins and its place was taken by the 'Divine year' counted from his accession to the throne. Moreover, though for nearly a millennium, the Muslim year had been held to consist of twelve lunar months, Akbar assigned to each year of his new era twelve solar months, and gave them the names employed in the calendar of the ancient Iranians and the modern Parsis. Hence it is that on many of the coins of this period are recorded both the Ilahi year and the solar month of the date of issue. But the chief innovation

A memorable coin-legend and the theory based on it

26 The Muslim creed is the well-known formula: 'There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the apostle of Allah.' The names and 'virtues' of the four Khalifas read as follows : 'By the veracity of Abu Bakr, by the rectitude of Omar, by the modesty of Othman, by the learning of Ali.'

27 Geo. P. Taylor, *The Coins of Ahmadabad*, Journal, B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XX (1902), pp. 414-17.

in the legend of Akbar's coinage was the abandonment of the *Kalima*, or creed of Islam, with the associated names of the four Khalifas, and the substitution of a creed of his own framing—*Allahu Akbar*—which, though very short, was ambiguous as to its reading and interpretation. Being never stamped with the vowel-marks, its first two words could be interpreted as 'God is most great' or as 'Akbar is God.' Much controversy has arisen regarding the meaning originally intended. But the peculiar manner in which the words of the legend have been arranged on some half a dozen known silver coins of the Emperor led Rodgers and other numismatists of repute to assert, or indirectly to suggest, that Akbar laid claim to divinity, and that by these coins he proposed to convey to the minds of his subjects that his person, no less than his era, was divine. A coin of this type, a square quarter-rupee struck at Ahmadabad in H. 987 (A.D. 1579-80), even reads, not *Allahu Akbar* (God is most great), but, with order inverted, *viz.*, *Akbar Allah* (Akbar is God).[28] Several silver pieces, with this abridged creed engraven on their observe, the reverse bearing the name of the mint-town and the date, both year and month, of the Divine Era, were also picked up in the local bazar of this capital by the late Dr. Geo. P. Taylor, who felt inclined thereupon to support Mr. Rodgers's contention.[29]

The theory refuted

This rather sweeping conclusion, based on such slender evidence, has, however, been controverted by another distinguished numismatist, the late Professor S. H. Hodivala. In an interesting chapter in his valuable 'Studies in Mughal Numismatics,' he lays under contribution all the primary sources of information on Akbar's reign, both indigenous and foreign, to prove that the inference drawn by Rodgers and other scholars was not at all warranted by the known facts of Akbar's life and character, and that it was based on what may be regarded as a punning legend on a few 'freak' coins.[30] He also points out that the ambiguity involved in the phrase 'Allahu Akbar' was not a modern discovery at all, for the contemporary Persian historian Badayuni has recorded that it was once the subject of some heated discussion in the Emperor's own presence.

28 The legend engraved on the coin reads : *Akbar Allah, jalla jaluluhu.* The coin is described by Dr. White King of the Indian Civil Service in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XVI, 3rd Series, pp. 155-62 (L. White King and W. Vost, *Some Novelties in Moghul Coins.*) The date of this quarter-rupee (H. 987) bears evidence that the innovations consequent upon the establishment of Akbar's new religion were in operation as early as this year, before the promulgation of the imperial Farman of 1584.

29 Article by Dr. G. P. Taylor, entitled *On Some Coins Illustrating the History of Gujarat*, in Gujarat College Magazine, Jan. 1919.

30 After pointing out the equivocation involved in the phrase, Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, a great authority on Mughal coins, says : 'The suggestion has been made that the Emperor played upon the double meaning. If he did so, the levity was wholly out of keeping with his character and conduct in all other respects.' In commenting on this opinion, Prof. Hodivala points out that the selection of punning mottos for coins, seals, etc., was a very common Muslim practice, and the devoutest Muslim saw no irreverence in a pun or paronomasia even on a Quranic text or phrase. (op. cit., 90-92).

When objection was taken to the expression, Akbar was displeased and said that 'it was self-evident that no creature, in the depths of his importance, could advance any claim to Divinity.' Abul Fazl also records that, 'when the foolish talk of the wicked came to His Majesty's hearing,' he did not believe it and said: 'Good God, how could it ever enter into the narrow thoughts of the ignorant that creatures belonging to a dependent existence should ascribe to themselves a share in Divinity?'[31]

It is common knowledge to all students of Mughal history that Akbar attempted to found an eclectic religion of his own which was known as the '*Tauhid-i-Ilahi*', or the 'Divine monotheism.'[32]

The theory not consonant with Akbar's new religion

It was a rationalistic Deism, and throughout his life he held firmly to his belief in and subjection to the Supreme Being. Even the most violent critic of his heresy, the orthodox Badayuni, does not, in all his fulminations against the new-fangled imperial creed, charge the Emperor with denial of the Godhead. The gravamen of this historian's charge against Akbar is not that the Emperor claimed to be God, but that he wished to be the Prophet of a new creed, though even here the Emperor had avoided styling himself *Nabi*—an epithet generally applied to the holy Founder of Islam—for fear of wounding Muslim susceptibilities. Reference may also be made to the section in Abul Fazl's monumental work (the *Ain*) entitled 'Happy Sayings of His Majesty,' which covers no less than twenty pages in Jarrett's translation. 'No one,' says Prof. Hodivala, 'can read these without having it forcibly borne in upon him that the subjects which were constantly in the great Emperor's thoughts were the Being and Attributes of God, men's relation to Him, and the account which he (Akbar) himself would have to give Him of his trusteeship. The arrogation of Divinity in his own person by the author of these 'Sayings' is to me unthinkable.'[33]

It is not necessary to labour the enquiry further, and it has been briefly introduced here in view of the fact that a few of the known silver coins bearing the legend 'Akbar Allah' were issued from the imperial mint at Ahmadabad. It will suffice, therefore, to summarise the conclusions reached on this disputed question. In the first place, the expression 'Allahu Akbar' was not devised by Akbar or by any of his courtiers. As a religious exclamation, it had been in general vogue throughout the Islamic world for hundreds of years before Akbar was born. In the next place, 'the order of the words of the legends on Mughal coins is often so arbitrary, fantastic and even senseless that nothing can be built on the preposterous precedence given to the word 'Akbar' on six or seven specimens of the

The conclusions on the subject

31 S. H. Hodivala, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, 81-82.

32 The full expression is '*Tauhid-i-Ilahi, Akbarshahi*', which has been rendered 'Akbar Shah's doctrine (or creed) of the Unity of the Divine (or Supreme Being)'. See Hodivala, op. cit., 83.

33 S. H. Hodivala, op. cit., 83.

subsidiary issues of silver. At any rate, there can be no justification for basing on such frail foundations an accusation of blasphemy and stupidity against such a ruler as Akbar.'[34]

Akbar's copper coinage

Turning now to the copper coinage issued from the Ahmadabad mint during Akbar's reign, it may be noted that, in its design and inscriptions, it differs widely from the contemporary muhr and rupee. From H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4), the year following the annexation of Gujarat, to H. 995 (A.D. 1587), we find one same type consistently maintained. The obverse contains the legend *darb fulus* with the addition of '*Dar-al-Saltanat* (the Seat of the Kingdom), *Ahmadabad*.' The reverse gives the Hijri year both in words and figures. These coins are all round in shape and their original weight was probably 320 grains. When, exactly, the Hijri year on these copper coins was abandoned, cannot be definitely ascertained, but the earliest *fulus* coin found without it is one dated the Ilahi year 38, corresponding to H. 1001 and A.D. 1592-93. Though there is little alteration in the design, one important change in the legend on the obverse is that the honorific epithet *Dar-al-Saltanat*, which had hitherto been prefixed to the mint-town Ahmadabad, is altogether omitted. In Ilahi year 40 (A.D. 1595), a copper coin of quite a different type comes into evidence, and it is stamped no longer as *fulus* but with the new designation of *tanka Akbarshahi*. These were current during the next seven years and were of four denominations, or sub-classes, the largest being the heavy and somewhat massive double *tanka*, and the rest each smaller in size than the other. Yet once again, in 1601, the copper coins of Ahmadabad underwent a radical change, for in the Ilahi year 46 the *tankis* superseded the *tankas*, and thereafter held the field till Akbar's death five years later.[35] Thus, between the years 1573-4 and 1605, the copper coins of Ahmadabad underwent no less than four variations, which may be studied by numismatists in the elaborate monograph by the late Dr. Geo. P. Taylor, who made a unique collection of these coins during his long stay as a missionary in the capital of Gujarat for over 30 years.

34 S. H. Hodivala, op. cit., 90, 92.

35 Geo. P. Taylor, *The Coins of Ahmadabad*, Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX (1902), pp. 419-22.



RAUZA OF SHAIKH WAJIH-UD-DIN IN THE KHANPUR WARD AT AHMADABAD, c. 1609 (pp. 56-7)



MUGHAL PLEASURE-HOUSE AT JITBAG, NEAR THE VILLAGE OF JETALPUR, NEAR AHMADABAD, c. 1623 (pp. 93-94)

CHAPTER IV

EARLY VICEROYS OF GUJARAT UNDER JAHANGIR, 1605-17

AT the very commencement of his reign, Jahangir, who always prided himself on his solicitude for his subjects, issued a decree, comprising a dozen injunctions, which was forwarded to all the provinces of the Empire, including Gujarat. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* is unique in reproducing verbatim this document, which is evidently in the Emperor's own words, as also a large number of other imperial farmans bearing on State administration, about which no such detailed information is available to us from any historical work of the 17th century. Among the royal injunctions in this decree were:

Jahangir's imperial decree

i) In as much as thieves and robbers carry off people's goods in isolated places, it is ordered that new *kasbas* should be populated, and the jagirdars are directed, wherever they find considerable areas of waste and uninhabited land, to arrange to provide masjids, dharmasalas (inns) and water-tanks so as to populate these areas.

ii) No officer shall force the merchants to open up their bales when on transit, though the tradesmen are free to sell them of their own will.

iii) The property of deceased persons, if they owe nothing to the State, shall go to their heirs, if any, and no one shall touch it or harm them ; but if there are no children or rightful heirs, all the effects should be utilised in the construction of mosques, tanks and inns.

The next injunction prohibits the manufacture and sale of liquor. At the same time, the Emperor proceeds to add some comments which deserve to be quoted, for he frankly confesses his own failings and his addiction to drink:

Injunction against drinking

'Though I issue this order,' he writes, 'I am very fond of drink myself, and I began to take it from the time I was 16 years old. A fine house and beautiful women and wine all go well together. There is no intoxicant superior to spirits. If one takes to opium, it destroys his very manhood. I had come to drink daily 20 cups of arrak, sometimes even more, each cup containing half a *ser*, and eight of these being equal to one Iraqi *man*. But, in consequence, if there was any delay in its being served at the time wanted, I was all in a shiver and ready to collapse. I, therefore, decided, in order to be able to attend to my work, to reduce its amount, and in the course of six years I brought it down from 20 cups to five: when there is a

feast, I take one or two more. I begin to drink at nearly the close of the day, but often after offering my prayers at night. I cannot leave it off completely, much as I wish it, though I pray that by the grace of Providence I may be able to do so. My revered father had fully abjured it when he was forty-five years of age.'[1]

Some more injunctions

The same imperial decree further laid down that soldiers when entering a town should hire a house or dwell in tents outside it, but there should be no billeting on private houses; that offences were not to be punished by cutting off the nose or ears of the culprits; that Jagirdars were not to deprive a cultivator of his land or to employ forced labour to till their own estates; that officials should establish dispensaries in all large towns with medical men in charge; and that animals were not to be slaughtered on certain specified days of the week or the month according to the practice instituted by Akbar.

Revolt of Prince Bahadur

The first Subahdar of Gujarat appointed by Jahangir in the opening year of his reign was Qulij Khan,[2] a nobleman of high rank, who had seen service in this province at the time of Akbar's conquest, and had been appointed governor of Surat Castle when it was taken in 1573 after a siege of forty-seven days. His rule was, however, nominal, for in 1606 he was sent back to the Punjab to fight against the heretical religious faction of the Raushanis. The new reign began with a renewal of the insurrection of Prince Bahadur, son of the ex-Sultan Muzaffar Shah III, in Gujarat. This pretender attacked and plundered the environs of the city of Ahmadabad and killed several of the imperial officers.[3] Jahangir, thereupon, sent one of his nobles, Raja Vikramajit,[4] and other mansabdars, with an army of six or seven thousand horse, to restore peace in Gujarat. After the arrival of this Rajput general, the insurrection was suppressed and the country reducted to order. Raja Vikramajit, like Qulij Khan, remained as viceroy at Ahmadabad for a short time only.

1 This account may be compared with that given by the Emperor in his Memoirs for the year 1615. (See *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, by Rogers and Beveridge, I, 308-09).

2 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, R and B, I, 21, 50. Qulij Khan rose to very high office under Akbar and was twice appointed imperial Diwan and subsequently governor of the Punjab and Kabul. In 1593 his daughter was married to Prince Danyal, the third son of the Emperor. He died at the end of 1613 at Peshawar at the advanced age of 80 years. (Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 34 *n*, 354 and *n*).

3 *Tuzuk*, I, 49-50.

4 The original name of Raja Vikramajit was Patrdas. He was a Khatri by caste and joined Mughal service under Akbar, by whom he was raised to nobility with the title of Rai Rayan, and he later became a mansabdar of 5,000. Jahangir gave him the title of Raja Vikramajit and appointed him *Mir Atash* (Master of Ordnance). He should be distinguished from Sundardas, Prince Shah Jahan's officer, who also received from Jahangir the titles of Rai Rayan and Raja Vikramajit (1617). (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, op. cit. I, 22-23, 402; Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 469-70).

That this revolt of Prince Bahadur against imperial authority in Gujarat was not an isolated episode but a protracted rebellion, that began in 1596 and was in operation for nearly fifteen years, may be seen from the fact that, late in 1609, there was a serious scare of his approach at Surat, as we learn from a narrative written by one William Finch, who had landed at Surat in 1608 along with Captain William Hawkins, and stayed there for several months. Finch says :

Scare of Bahadur's approach at Surat, 1609

'In December (1609), we stood much in fear of Badur his coming upon Surat, he lying within two days' journey with 600 horse and many foot ; for which cause the Governor cessed all men with the entertainment of soldiers, setting upon my head ten men. I went to him and told him that I had twenty English at his command ; for which he thanked me and freed me of further charge. During this time the Banians were forced to labour to barricade all the streets of the city, great watches were appointed at the gates, certain pieces drawn from the Castle, and from Karod garrison fifty horse ;[5] which had not sufficed had not the Governor of Amadavar [Ahmadabad] sent one thousand horse and two thousand foot to our succour; upon news of which forces Badur withdrew to his holds.[6] Two years before our coming had this man sacked Cambay, whereof his grandfather (?) had been king'[7]

The same English writer, who visited Ahmadabad in 1611, was impressed by the military preparedness that this city was being put into, and says : 'At an hour's warning it hath in readiness six thousand horse ; the gates perpetually strong guarded, none suffered without license to enter, nor to depart without certificate.' He then goes on to state that the cause of all these warlike precautions was Prince Bahadur's proximity in his stronghold, which was within fifty *kos* from the city on the east, 'where nature, with some help of art and industry, hath fortified him against all the Mogul's powers and whence some four years since he sacked Cambay.'[8] Judging by the details given, Bahadur's stronghold on this side may be placed in the hilly country beyond Idar. But the threat to Mughal rule in Gujarat was destined to be soon removed, for, three years later, the Emperor Jahangir makes a passing reference in his *Memoirs* to the death of Bahadur in the events of the year 1614, when he records three items of good news received in the month of Bahman in the ninth year of his accession: 'The second piece

Ahmadabad guarded against Bahadur, 1611

5 Kadod is mentioned by Finch as a fine country-town between Surat and Viara, on the banks of the Tapti river. It had a Castle with 200 horse, described as Pathans and good soldiers. (W. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 136).

6 Bahadur's stronghold is said by Finch to have been in the mountains to the east of Surat in the territory of the Raja of Baglan.

7 W. Foster, *Early Travels in India (1583-1619)*, p. 133. Finch adds that Bahadur had sacked Cambay with an army of 100,000 men which had been got together in hope of plunder, and which remained there for 14 days. (Ibid, 133). The size of the army is clearly an exaggerated report.

8 W. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 173.

of good news was the death of Bahadur, who was descended from the rulers of Gujarat, and was the leaven of disturbance and mischief (there). Almighty God had annihilated him in His mercy, and he died of a natural illness.'[9]

After the departure of Raja Vikramajit, the next viceroy of Gujarat was Shaikh Farid-i-Bukhari, who had recently been honoured with the title of Murtaza Khan. He had played a leading rôle in the Council of nobles convened by the Khan Azam (Mirza Aziz Koka) at the time of Akbar's death which decided in favour of Jahangir's succession. It was again Shaikh Farid who, at an interview with the Prince, along with other nobles, promised to place the kingdom in his hands provided he would swear to defend the law of Muhammad and to propagate the *Shariat* as a price for the support given by them[10]. The decisive help which Shaikh Farid had thus given at a critical juncture, and the signal victory which he won at Bhairawal over Prince Khusru's forces in the Punjab, were rewarded by Jahangir with the highest favours.[11] He held the post of Subahdar at Ahmadabad for about three years (1606-09), and populated the Bukhara Mahalla near the Three Gates which he adorned with a fine building.[12] An epigraph at Kadi refers to Murtaza Khan's efficiency in wielding both the sword and the pen and it says that 'Gujarat has become like Bukhara owing to his just administration.'

Murtaza Khan as Subahdar, 1606-09

This epigraph, found inserted above the gate in the wall of the small but imposing fort of Kadi, a town in the Mehsana district in North Gujarat, records that its construction was effected by the new viceroy in 1609. That Murtaza Khan, who was himself an intrepid military commander, should have built this citadel here shows that Kadi was an important strategic centre in the early years of the 17th century.[13] Though

He builds the fort of Kadi, 1609

9 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 274.

10 Shaikh Farid belonged to a family noted for its scholarship and was himself the author of several books on religion and philosophy. He was a devoted disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Shirhindi, the greatest orthodox religious leader of the time, and the champion of the party of opposition to Akbar's policy of religious tolerance and patronage of Hindus. (Paper by Saiyid Nur-ul-Hasan entitled 'Shaikh Ahmad Shirhindi and Mughal Politics' in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1945, pp. 248-49.) In 1605 Sh. Farid was appointed Mir Bakhshi with the title oi 'Lord of the sword and the pen' (Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 414.

11 Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 413 ; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 69.

12 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 188 ; Blochmann, op. cit., 415. After his arrival in Gujarat Murtaza Khan sent as an offering to the Emperor a magnificent ruby ring, the gem and the socket being of one piece, valued at 25,000 rupees (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 133).

13 After the middle of the 18th century, the town and pargana of Kadi, along with Dehgam and Kapadvanj, were given in jagir to Khanderao Gaekwad, the brother of Damaji, and he was known as the Jagirdar of Kadi. After his death, his son, Malharrao, held these parganas as almost an independent ruler. But, in 1801, he rose in revolt against his suzerain, Anandrao Gaekwad of Baroda, with the result that the fort of Kadi was attacked and taken, along with the town, by a British force acting in co-operation with the Baroda army in May, 1802. Local tradition connects the old palaces within the fort, now mostly in ruins (*viz.*, the Rang Mahal and other buildings), with the rule of Malharrao Gaekwad, the Jagirdar of Kadi.

situated in a sandy and treeless region, the town of Kadi, as seen from a distance, presents a picturesque appearance, the domes of the fort gleaming from the thick wood that surrounds it. The fort itself stands on a slight elevation, and its brick walls and numerous buttresses, though they enclose no great area, are of enormous thickness and in a good state of preservation. The elaborate inscription is engraved on a long lintel over the main gate of the fort and it is fifteen feet in length and one foot in breadth. It embodies five couplets each enclosed in an ornamental quarterfoil Mihrabi design of the Mughal style. After a long peroration, it records the construction of a strong fort at Kadi during the regime of Murtaza Khan Bukhari, the Subahdar. The date is to be found in the chronogram 'Qilla Bukhari' at the end, which gives the Hijri year 1018 (A.D. 1609).[14]

To the piety and liberality of Murtaza Khan Ahmadabad is indebted for the construction of the mausoleum over the grave of the saint Shah Wajih-ud-din in the Khanpur locality.[15]

His buildings at Ahmadabad and Broach

The name of Murtaza Khan is also perpetuated at Broach by the mosque known as the Madresah Masjid, located near the Civil Hospital, which was built by him in 1609. Its floor is of marble, as are also the bases of the pillars, which are of teak. Two Persian inscriptions, carved on wooden boards fixed over a latticed window on each side of the east door, record that 'this auspicious building was erected by the victorious Nawab Murtaza Khan, the Ghazi,' and the chronogram for the date is contained in the words 'Masjida Qazi,' which gives the Hijri year 1018, or A.D. 1609.[16]

Jahangir Quli Khan as deputy viceroy

At the end of 1608, Murtaza Khan was recalled by the Emperor in view of continued oppression of the people of Ahmadabad by his relatives and dependants, and his inability or unwillingness to restrain them. The Subah of Gujarat was once again placed in charge of the Khan-i-Azam, the great Mirza Aziz Koka,[17] for the fourth time, but it was arranged that he should remain at the capital while

[14] *Muslim Inscriptions in Baroda State*, Ed. by Yazdani and Gyani (1944), pp. 8-10 ; A. S. Gadre, *Archaeology in Baroda* (1934-47), p. 19 ; *Supplt. to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, trans. by Syed Nawab Ali and Seddon, 169.

[15] Blochmann, op. cit., 415 ; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, R and B, I, 128. For an account of Shaikh Wajih-ud-din and his Rauza see Appendix at the end of this Chapter. In 1607, Jahangir sent orders to Murtaza Khan to present a sum of money on his behalf to the son of Wajih-ud-din as his good conduct and excellence had been reported to the Emperor.

[16] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1933-4 (Supplt.) p. 33 ; Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains*, 99-100. The Masjid is called the Madresah Mosque probably from the fact that in the 17th century a scholar named Maulana Ishaq started a College there for teaching Arabic. He died in 1661-2 and is buried near the mosque.

[17] Mirza Aziz Koka had fallen into disgrace in the early years of Jahangir's reign for having instigated the revolt of Prince Khusru, to whom his daughter had been married, and whose cause for the succession he espoused at the death of Akbar. The question of putting him to death had even been under consideration for a time, but Jahangir had pardoned him at the intercession of the Begums of the zenana (*Maasir-ul-umrah*, trans. by Beveridge, I, 328).

his eldest son, Jahangir Quli Khan (Mirza Shams-ud-din), should proceed to the province as his deputy (Nov., 13, 1608). The Emperor refers in his *Tuzuk* to the presents received from the latter, including a silver throne inlaid with precious stones.[18]. An interesting memorial of the short rule of Jahangir Quli Khan as deputy Subahdar has been found in the form of a legal instrument recording a partition-deed executed at Ahmadabad on 12 Feb., 1611 (Samvat 1667 Phalgun Shukla 10), in which his name is clearly mentioned as the Hakem Nawab of Ahmadabad.[19] In 1609, Mirza Khurram, another son of the Khan-i-Azam, was appointed to the government of the peninsula (Sorath) with his headquarters at Junagadh.[20]

Raja Gopinath subdues the Hindu chiefs

In 1609 reports reached the Emperor of the refractory activities of some of the Hindu Chiefs on the eastern boundary of Gujarat. Rai Gopinath, the son of Raja Todar Mal, was, therefore, deputed to proceed to the province, with Raja Sursingh of Jodhpur and others, to restore order. He entered Gujarat by way of Malwa and arrived in the Surat district where he collected tribute from the local zamindars. The Chief of Belpar in the Rewa Kantha was defeated and taken prisoner; but the Hindu chieftains collected a large force of Kolis on their side, and, in the struggle that followed, Raja Sursingh's Rajputs were cut to pieces and his kettledrums were captured by the enemy. Rai Gopinath, thereupon, returned to Ahmadabad, and, gathering reinforcements, marched against the Chief of Mandwa[21] and took him prisoner. In another campaign he defeated and made captive the Thakor of the Kankrej Kolis.[22] All the three captives of note were taken in chains with him to the Emperor, and were, by the latter's orders, imprisoned for a considerable period in the fort of Gwalior. They were subsequently released on furnishing security for good behaviour in the future.[23]

Incursion of Malik Ambar, 1609

In 1609-10, Malik Ambar, the famous general and minister of the Nizam Shahi ruler, and at this time governor of Daulatabad, invaded Gujarat with a body of 50,000 horse, and, after plundering the villages in the districts of Surat and Baroda, retired as quickly as he had come. His action was evidently intended to be a retaliation for the Mughal

18 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 144, 153, 163, 168. Mirza Shams-ud-din's (Shamsi's) son, Bahram, is said to have populated a place, called after him Bahrampur, when in Gujarat (Blochmann, *Ain*, 450).

19 Mohanlal D. Desai, Intrn. to *Bhanuchandra-Charita*, p. 51, Note No. 82.

20 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 155.

21 Mandwa is in the petty sub-division of Atarsumba under Dehgam, till recently in the Kadi division of Baroda State, and now in the Mehsana district.

22 Kankrej is the ancient name of the territory in the extreme north of Gujarat stretching for about 35 miles along both banks of the Banas river. In the beginning of this century it contained 26 independent estates held by Koli Thakardas. (Bom. Gazettr., V, 331). Kankrej is now a sub-division of the Banas Kantha district in Bombay State.

23 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 273.

invasions of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar since the commencement of the reign of Akbar. In order to prevent future inroads into Gujarat, a body of 25,000 horse was, under imperial orders, posted for four years at Ramnagar (Dharampur) on the eastern frontier of the province, for it was at this point that the Deccanis entered Gujarat by way of the Nasik district. The force was made up of contingents to be provided by the Subahdar and his nobles, and also by the tributary Hindu rulers of Gujarat, who were bound to furnish military help to the viceroy whenever required to do so. The details given by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* help to give us an accurate list of these Hindu principalities in Gujarat and their relative resources[24].

Abdulla Khan Firuz Jang, 1611-1616

In 1611, in succession to Mirza Aziz Koka, the government of Gujarat was, for the next four or five years, entrusted to Abdulla Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang,[25] an able and trusted general and a mansabdar of 6,000 horse, who had distinguished himself in the Mewar campaign. A considerable period of his term of office was, however, spent outside the province, because of orders to co-operate with the imperial generals who were carrying on ineffective campaigns against the Nizam Shahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar and its great general Malik Ambar. In 1612, with an army numbering nearly 14,000, which was led by able amirs such as Raja Ramdas, Saif Khan, and others, Abdulla Khan marched into the Deccan by way of Nasik and Trimbak and arrived as far as Daulatabad. But he had failed to co-ordinate his movements with those of another imperial army from Berar led by Raja Man Singh, Khan Jahan, and others. The result was that he found himself in the heart of the enemy's country surrounded by hostile bands of Bargirs (Maratha cavalry) in the service of the Abyssinian general. He was defeated

24 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 274. The force of 25,650 horse was made up of contingents as follows :

The Viceroy at Ahmadabad	4,000
The Mughal nobles of his court	5,000
The Chiefs of Salher and Mulher (Baglan)	3,000
The son of th ruler of Cutch	2,500
The Chief of Navanagar	2,500
The Chief of Idar	2,000
The Chief of Dungarpur	2,000
The Chief of Banswada	2,000
The Chief of Ramnagar	1,000
The Chief of Rajpipla	1,000
The Chiefs of Ali Rajpur and Ali Mohan (Chhota Udaipur)	650
	25,650 horse

25 Khwaja Abdulla entered the service of Jahangir when a Prince, and commenced his career as an ahadi or foot-soldier. He was successively promoted till he reached the rank of a mansabdar of 6,000. However, during the latter part of this reign, he became the chief lieutenant of Prince Khurram, and fought for him in the Civil War against the imperialists, and Jahangir gives him the epithet of *La'nat-ullah*, 'the curse of God.' He died in 1644 at the age of seventy. (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 27, 155,157 ; II, 255).

and forced to retreat to Gujarat by way of Baglan.[26] In 1616 Abdulla Khan was again, in company with Prince Shah Jahan, directed to move against Ahmadnagar, and this second expedition was successful.

Abdulla Khan's relations with the English

Some details about Abdulla Khan's relations with the newly established English factory at Ahmadabad during the last year of his stay in Gujarat as viceroy are available from the Journal of Sir Thomas Roe who was then with the Emperor at Ajmer. In his entry for May 3, 1616, Roe records that he received letters from the factors at Ahmadabad that Abdulla Khan, who had returned from the campaign in the Deccan, had, at their demanding the return of 500 rupees taken from them, sent the Kotwal to take their house by force for one of his 'train,' and that they had resisted the attempt and desired relief. Thereupon, Roe visited the great minister Asaf Khan[27] to acquaint him with the affront and to seek his advice, 'pretending I was unwilling to complain to the King and provoke his indignation against a great man who had contemned his Majesty's farman that commanded all sort of good usage to our nation, ... if I could by any fair way procure remedy.' Asaf Khan assured the Ambassador of securing for the English speedy redress and desired him to forbear from complaining to the Emperor. He also promised that he would write to Abdulla Khan and to other friends there, 'who should be solicitors for the English.' Two days later, on May 5, Roe received from Asaf Khan, and despatched to Ahmadabad, three letters, one for Abdulla Khan and the others for the latter's brother and his Bakhshi, signifying to them the King's pleasure for the good treatment of the English, 'and his own desire and favour on their part,' requesting the viceroy to allow them to reside in their house and to carry on their trade freely, 'for otherwise complaints would be addressed to the King by the Ambassador.' Roe also wrote on his own part to Abdulla Khan, 'in fair terms, to procure him my friend, but withal letting him know I must perform my duty if he neglected his.'[28]

The Subahdar recalled in disgrace

Some months later, in the same year 1616, Abdulla Khan was recalled by the Emperor on account of his high-handed administration, and the circumstances under which this was brought about are related at some length by Jahangir in his *Memoirs*. Abid Khan, the son of the historian Nizam-ud-din Bakhshi, who held the office of *wakia-navis* or royal newswriter at Ahmadabad, complained to the court to the effect that, having been displeased at certain events being recorded, Abdulla Khan had sent a body of men against him and had insulted him by carrying him away from his house. Jahangir decided to recall the viceroy in disgrace, but,

26 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 200, 219-21.

27 Asaf Khan was the son of Itimad-ud-daulah and brother of the Empress Nur Jahan.

28 *The Embassy of Sir T. Roe to India*, Ed. by Sir W. Foster, I, 170, 173.

in order to find out the true situation, he sent an officer named Dayanat Khan to Ahmadabad with instructions, if necessary, to bring Abdulla Khan to the court on foot. When this news reached the viceroy, he was in great alarm, confessed his offences, and started for the court on foot. On his way, Dayanat Khan encountered him and, finding him in a sorry plight, with feet hurt by walking, he put him on horseback and brought him to the court. As the proud noble had now been sufficiently humbled, and as his patron, Prince Khurram, interceded for him, he was pardoned and allowed to come and pay his respects to the Emperor.[29]

Sir Thomas Roe's Journal provides us with the details of the ex-Subahdar's arrival at Jahangir's court at Ajmer in a state of abject submission. In his Diary for Oct. 10, 1616, Roe records: 'Abdulla Khan, the great governor of Amadavaz, being sent for to Court in disgrace for many insolences and neglect of the King's authority, and thought that he would stand on his guard and refuse, but Prince Khurram, with a view to put so great a noble under his obligation, prevailed with him on his word to submit: So that, coming in Pilgrim's clothes with 40 servants on foot about 60 miles in counterfeit humiliation, he finished the rest in a palanquin until he arrived near the court.' But this powerful noble had taken good care to keep his powder dry, for we are told that 'one day's journey behind he had 2,000 horse attending.' On Oct. 10, when the Emperor was seated at the *jharokha* to give public audience and to hear complaints, Abdulla Khan was brought up, 'chained by the feet and barefoot between two noblemen.' He pulled his turban on his eyes, 'because he would see no man before he had the happiness to behold the King's face.' After he had offered his reverence and Jahangir had asked a few questions, His Majesty forgave him, caused his irons to be removed, and presented him with a vest of cloth of gold, as also a turban and a girdle, as was customary.[30] A few days later (Oct. 16), Roe records a visit paid by Abdulla Khan to his patron, Prince Khurram, in his camp, 'so bravely attended as I have not seen the like.' First came 20 men on horse with drums and music; then 50 peons with white flags, followed by 200 soldiers, well mounted, in coats of cloth of gold, velvet and rich silks. Abdulla Khan was surrounded by 40 soldiers armed with swords and bucklers and in like

His arrival at Ajmer

29 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, R and B, I, 331, 335-36.

30 *The Embassy of Sir T. Roe*, Ed. by W. Foster, II, 278. More than a year later, in Jan., 1618, when Jahangir was at Ahmadabad, he was informed that Abdulla Khan, when viceroy, because of his quarrel with Abid Khan, had cut down the trees in the garden laid out near the Kankaria tank by Nizam-ud-din Ahmad when he was Bakhshi of Gujarat under Akbar, and that he had, at a wine party, ordered a slave to cut off the head of an unfortunate drunken clown for some unseemly jests. The Emperor, thereupon, ordered Abdulla Khan's jagir to be substantially reduced (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 420-21).

livery as the above. After offering obeisance, he presented to the Prince a black Arab horse richly caparisoned.[31]

An interesting account of Ahmadabad at this period is available in the Diary of Nicholas Withington, an English factor who made a short stay in this city in 1613. The historic factory of the East India Company had been established at Surat, after considerable difficulty, at the end of 1612, and, in October 1613, its Chief, Thomas Aldworth, accompanied by Nicholas Withington and two others, left Surat for Ahmadabad to arrange for the purchase of some indigo. They arrived there three weeks later, and we find the following record made in Withington's Diary which was published in England some four years later :

Two contemporary accounts of Ahmadabad

'The twenty-second day [Oct., 22, 1613] we came to Amadavar, which is the chiefest city of Guzerat and is very near as big as London, walled round with a very strong wall. Here are merchants of all places residing, as well Christians as Moors and Gentiles. The commodities of this place are cloth of gold, silver tissue, velvets (but not comparable to ours), taffetas, and other stuffs, and diverse drugs with other commodities. Here we took a house to hire in a place where diverse Armenian merchants lye and other Christians. The next day we visited Abdolla Khan, Governor of this place (a nobleman of 5,000 horse pay), and presented him with a vest of cloth and other trifles of small value'.[32]

William Finch, the English adventurer to whom reference has been made earlier, also gives us a short account of the city of Ahmadabad in 1611, which deserves to be compared with that given in his diary by Nicholas Withington as quoted above. His description well brings out the wealth and prosperity of this provincial capital during the Mughal rule:

Ahmadabad as described by Finch

'Amadabade or Amadavar is a goodly city and situate on a fair river, inclosed with strong walls and fair gates with many beautiful turrets. The castle is large and strong ; where resideth Caun Asom his son [Khan Azam's son],[33] the viceroy in these parts. The buildings comparable to any city in Asia or Africa, the streets large and well-paved, the trade great (for almost every ten days go from hence two hundred coaches richly laden with merchandise for Cambay), the merchants rich, the artificers excellent for carvings, paintings, inlaid works, embroidery with gold and silver'.[34]

31 *The Embassy of Sir T. Roe*, II, 292.

32 W. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 206. Withington's account of the Fateh Wadi near Sarkhej has been given in the Appendix to Chapter II. He was sent in the same month (Nov. 1613) to Cambay to purchase commodities worth 200 rupees, and, thereafter, ordered to proceed to Sind, via Radhanpur, to meet an English ship that was reported to have arrived at Laribandar in Thatta.

33 This viceroy was Jahangir Quli Khan, the son of the Khan-i-Azam, Mirza Aziz Koka, who was nominally viceroy and sent his son to be his deputy.

34 W. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 173.

An interesting epigraphic record at Ahmadabad, generally but little known, records, in old Gujarati, the fact that in 1616 three Hindu widows immolated themselves as satis on the banks of the Sabarmati when Abdulla Khan was the viceroy The epigraph is carved in Devanagri characters on the borders of a marble memorial slab which contains in bold relief the figures of a man on horseback along with three women standing near each other. This slab or *palia* is embedded in the wall of a fine old historic well[35] situated in a field adjoining the Municipal water-works on the Sabarmati. The translation of the inscription is as follows:

The practice of 'Sati' at Ahmadabad, 1616

'In the year 1672 of the Samvat era, on Thursday,[36] the third day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaishakha (9 April 1616), Rupshri, Kama and Kesara, wives of Sha Rupchand, son of Sha Sompal, all three accompanied their husband in death (*i.e.* became *satis*). Their union (with the deceased husband) took place on the banks of the Sabarmati near the city of Ahmadabad during the victorious reign of Badshah Salim (alias) Jahangir of Delhi.

'(Commemorators) Kumarpal and Sompal,[37] sons of Rakhabhdas of the Lodha family in the Vriddha Shākhā, belonging to the Osavali community.'[38]

The successor of Abdulla Khan Firuz Jang as viceroy of the province was Muqarrab Khan, a noble who had been for several years (1608-15) governor (*mutasaddi*) of the ports of Surat and Cambay, and had long importuned his master to appoint him Subahdar of Gujarat.[39] As the intimate friend and confidant of Jahangir's youth, and as a surgeon of repute, Muqarrab Khan held rank among the 'ancient servants' of the state. During the period that he was in charge of the seaports mentioned above, he had ample opportunity for satisfying the Emperor's childish greed for curiosi-

Muqarrab Khan's early services

35 This beautiful well resembles very closely other similar wells of the Mughal period in the seventeenth century, such as those in the historic Shahi Bagh, which will be later referred to, and the fine well near the railway line at the fort of Kāli, adjoining the village of the same name, about six miles to the north of Ahmadabad.

36 According to the *Indian Ephemeris* the date fell on a Tuesday and not on Thursday.

37 It appears that Sompal, the father of Rupchand, conjointly with his elder brother Kumarpal, set up the inscription to commemorate the immolation of his three daughters-in-law.

38 This inscription was translated by my friend the late Diwan Bahadur K. H. Dhruva. For the Gujarati text of the inscription and other details see Ratnamanirao Bhimrao's *Ahmadabad—the Capital of Gujarat*, 668-70.

39 Jahangir appointed Muqarrab Khan as Subahdar of Gujarat some time before Sept. 5, 1616, for Roe says in his Diary for that date that this noble was expecting to depart from Ajmer to his government at Ahmadabad within ten days. On Sept. 19, Roe writes that Muqarrab Khan had taken leave of the Emperor and departed to his camp a *kos* out of the town, where on Sept. 23 the Ambassador paid him a visit in his nts. In a letter to the factors at Ahmadabad about this time, Roe says: 'Mokrab tehan hath vowed by all his Gods that you shall be as his sons and no injury offered you Kall be unrequited... The Prince (Khurram) hath also entrusted to him a superintensbncy over Surat, wherein he will favour us all he may.' (*The Embassy of Sir T. Roe*, de262, 268 and *n* 3).

ties and rarities of all kinds. In 1608 he sent from Cambay a piece of European tapestry of great beauty, and, two years later, he waited in person at the court and offered his master gold and silver vessels made in Europe, besides male and female Abyssinian slaves, Arab horses, etc. In 1612, he again presented himself before the Emperor on his return to Cambay from an embassy to Goa bringing with him all sorts of rarities purchased at this Portuguese capital. Among these were some turkeys which Jahangir had never seen before and which the Emperor describes in his *Memoirs* with the zeal of a naturalist. In 1613, Jahangir received the news that the Portuguese had taken and plundered four ships in the neighbourhood of Surat and made the Muslims in them prisoners. Enraged at this insult, the Emperor ordered Muqarrab Khan to proceed to Surat, which was in his charge, and to obtain compensation for the affair, giving him a horse, an elephant, and a dress of honour at his departure. In 1615, his mansab was raised to 5,000, and the next year he obtained his cherished desire and was appointed in charge of the province.[40]

His short term as viceroy, 1616-18

Muqarrab Khan had, however, little aptitude for administration or experience in war, the high honours to which he rose being due not to any military service rendered but to his early friendship with Jahangir, his skill as a surgeon, and other causes mentioned above. Under him was placed Muhammad Safi Khan, who was appointed Diwan and Bakhshi in 1616, and who was destined to play an important part in the province during the civil war caused by Prince Khurram's rebellion in 1622-23. Muqarrab Khan was at Ahmadabad when the Emperor arrived there early in 1618 during his prolonged visit to Gujarat, and it was he who made the necessary arrangements for the royal stay in this capital. In the same year he was displaced by the appointment of Prince Shah Jahan as viceroy of Gujarat.

Pahar Khan of Jalor executed

Some deplorable events in the history of the Afghan dynasty of Jalor and Palanpur which occurred during the reign of Jahangir may be here noticed. After the death of the well-known ruler Ghazni Khan in 1616, his widow had secured the succession for her son Pahar Khan, though the young man's far more able uncle Firuz Khan deserved to hold the *gadi*. Pahar Khan had been appointed governor of Burhanpur in Khandesh, but he belied the virtues of his ancestors, and grew up into a profligate young man and abandoned himself to low company. His mother, Banu Begum, in vain tried to remove him from the influence of his associates, and even went in person from Jalor to Burhanpur to win over her son, but failed. On the contrary, Pahar Khan

40 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 27, 144, 167, 215-16, 255, 303, 331. Muqarrab Khan's relations with the newly settled English merchants at Surat when he was governor of that port will be described in a chapter in Vol. III of this work.

was goaded by his vile companions to commit the sin of matricide to get her out of their way. These events were reported to the Emperor by Khan Jahan Lodi who, on receipt of orders, made Pahar Khan a prisoner and sent him off to the court to meet the punishment for his offence. It is related in Jahangir's autobiographical Memoirs that when, after nearly three years stay at Ajmer,[41] his camp was near Ujjain in Malwa in 1617, Pahar Khan was brought before him as a prisoner in chains. After investigating the matter fully, the Emperor gave orders for his immediate execution for so foul and unnatural an offence, by having him trampled under the foot of an elephant.[42]

Jalor lost to its Afghan dynasty

This painful episode in the history of the Jalori family did not end with the death of Pahar Khan, for its immediate political consequence was the exclusion of the dynasty from the pargana of Jalor for about 64 years, from 1617 to 1680, *i.e.*, from the middle of Jahangir's reign till the middle of the reign Aurangzeb. During this period of over half a century, the administration of Jalor was handed over either to the Rathor rulers of Jodhpur or to Mughal officials stationed in Gujarat. Firuz Khan, the uncle of Pahar Khan, appears to have retired to other parts until 1635 when he settled at Palanpur in the reign of Shah Jahan, and from that date forward Palanpur became, and remained for over 200 years, up to the merger of 1949, the headquarters of the Jalori dynasty.

Events at Nawanagar, 1591-1608

The course of events connected with the feudatory states of Nawanagar and Halwad at this period also requires to be briefly traced. It has already been related how, in 1591, on the fatal field of Bhuchar Mori, near the town of Dhrol, Jām Satrasal (Sataji), who had espoused the cause of Sultan Muzaffar III, received a signal defeat at the hands of the imperial forces led by the viceroy, Mirza Aziz Koka, in person. In this disaster, Prince Ajoji, the eldest son of the Jām, perished, along with the Jām's minister and the pick of the Jadeja troops. After the Mughal viceroy had sacked Nawanagar, Jām Satrasal was restored to his capital in a subordinate position, and an imperial deputy was appointed to carry on the government of the state in concert with the Jām. This arrangement lasted till the death of Sataji in 1608 after a long reign of nearly forty years. Jasaji, the second son of the late ruler, succeeded his father at Nawanagar (1608-24). He had been for some time kept under surveillance at Delhi after his father's defeat in 1591, and was now permitted to sit on the throne of his ancestors. Some ten years later, Jasaji waited on the Emperor in his camp at Balasinor, on its march to Dohad, during the imperial visit to Gujarat in the spring of 1618.

[41] Jahangir left Ajmer on 10th November 1616.
[42] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 353; Blochmann's *Ain*, I, 494.

Jam Jasaji's war with Halwad

The *Tarikh-i-Sorath* relates an interesting story about the origin of a war between Jām Jasaji and the Jhala ruler of Halwad State, now known as Dhrangadhra. Jasaji had married a daughter of Rana Chandrasingh of Halwad.[43] One rainy night, when the Jām was playing chess with his Jhali Rani, the latter got annoyed at the capture of her 'knight' by her husband. 'What manliness is there,' she protested, 'in taking a lifeless horse[44] from the hands of a woman. Let him who boasts of his valour take a horse from my father.' The Jām was so vexed at this taunt that he sent a large and well-equipped army against the ruler of Halwad.[45] In this pretty story the bards have tried to gloss over the usual clannish and personal factors that so frequently led to war between one state and another in Saurashtra. The hostilities lasted for six months, at the end of which, the Jām, being unable to effect anything, contrived with the help of a Nagar Brahman, named Shankardas, to take Chandrasinghji prisoner and caused him to be brought to Nawanagar, whence, however, he was speedily released.[46] Jām Jasaji died in 1624 and was succeeded by his nephew Lakhaji, the son of Kunvar Ajoji who had fallen at Bhuchar Mori in 1591. Lakhaji ruled for the next twenty-one years (1624-45), and he comes into notice at a later date by his defiance of Mughal authority during the reign of Shah Jahan when Azam Khan was viceroy of Gujarat. As regards Halwad, family strife appears to have been rife among the sons and grandsons of Raja Chandrasingh, and these disputes led to the rise, during the course of the seventeenth century, of several small independent principalities in Jhalawad, among these being Wankaner, Lakhtar, Wadhwan and Chuda.

APPENDIX I

Shaikh Wajih-ud-din and his Rauza at Ahmadabad

Maulana Wajih-ud-din was an accomplished Sufi scholar and recluse whose ancestor came from Mecca to India and settled at Muhamadabad-Champaner, and where he was born in 1504 (H. 910), and where he devoted himself to study and contemplation till he was 33 years of age. He later established a madrasah at Ahmadabad and maintained a large number of darvishes in a monastery attached to that place. He also devoted his spare time to writing literary works under the psuedonym of *Alwi*. He died at Ahmadabad in 1589

43 The *Tarikh-i-Sorath* says that the Jām had married the Halwad ruler's daughter. According to the Bombay Gazetteer (Vol. VIII) she was Rana Chandrasingh's sister.

44 A 'knight' in the game of chess is designated a 'horse' in Gujarati.

45 The *Tarikh-i-Sorath* by Diwan Ranchhodji Amarji, Ed. by Burgess, 251-54.

46 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VIII, 569; W. Bell, *History of Kathiawar*, 112. The accounts of these hostilities and of the part played by Shankardas differ.



JHALA VS. JADEJA IN SAURASHTRA: AN ATTACK ON THE FORT OF HALWAD BY THE JAM'S TROOPS. (p. 56) (*Fresco in the Darbargadh at Jamnagar*)

(H. 998) at the advanced age of 88 lunar years, and was buried near the rampart wall where he had lived and taught his disciples. His imposing Rauza is situated in the Khanpur ward, about 150 ft. north of the Bhadra wall, and was built by Shaikh Farid-i-Bukhari, entitled Murtaza Khan, who was Subahdar of Gujarat from 1606 to 1609. It is a beautiful monument, with its lofty dome at one corner instead of in the centre, and the windows show some delicate tracery-work. The grave of the Shaikh is of marble, as is also the pavement in the area in which it stands. The masjid adjoining the Rauza, and the reservoir, were constructed by Shaikh Haidar, a grandson of the saint, who was in charge of the 'prayer-carpet' when the Emperor Jahangir visited the place in 1618.[47]

Maulana Wajih-ud-din was, at one time, himself the spiritual disciple of a more widely known saint, *viz.*, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior, a famous Sufi teacher of Northern India who was held in great respect at the courts of Humayun and Akbar. When Sher Shah conquered Upper India in 1540, the Shaikh became alarmed because of his connection with Humayun, and fled to Ahmadabad, where he built a lofty *khanqa* or monastery. He returned to Agra soon after the commencement of Akbar's reign. At the instigation of the Sadr-us-Sadur, Bahram Khan, Akbar's guardian, treated him coldly, and he retired in displeasure to his residence at Gwalior where he died in 1563 and was buried in a splendid mausoleum.[48]

APPENDIX II

MUGHAL VICEROYS OF GUJARAT UNDER JAHANGIR, 1605-1627

1.	Qulij Khan and Raja Vikramajit	1605-06
2.	Murtaza Khan Bukhari	1606-09
3.	Mirza Aziz Koka, Khan-i-Azam (4th time) .. (Jahangir Quli Khan as deputy)	1609-11
4.	Abdulla Khan Firuz Jang	1611-16
5.	Muqarrab Khan	1616-18
6.	Prince Shah Jahan (through Rustam Khan and Sundardas, Raja Vikramajit)	1618-23
7.	Prince Dawar Bakhsh (Khan-i-Azam as *Ataliq*)	1623-24
8.	Khan Jahan Lodi (through Saif Khan) ..	1624-27

[47] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* Supplt., by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 60-61; Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 416; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 425-26 and *n*; J. Burgess, *Muhn. Arch. of Ahmadabad*, II., 53.

[48] Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus-al-alam resided for 12 years in the practice of asceticism in the hill-country of Chunar in Bihar where he wrote in 1523 his book called the *Jawahar Khamsa* (the Five Jewels) at the age of 22. He received from Akbar a pension of a crore of dams and held, besides, a jagir of nine lakhs of rupees and had 40 elephants. At one time, Akbar was his disciple, though Abul Fazl has glossed over the fact. (*Maasir-ul-umara*, trans. by Beveridge, I, 88-90).

CHAPTER V

JAHANGIR'S TOUR IN GUJARAT AND HIS VISIT TO ITS CAPITAL, 1617-18

FOR a period of full five years and four months, from Sept. 6, 1613 to Jan., 1619, the Emperor Jahangir was away from his capital at Agra on an unusually prolonged tour of the Western provinces of Ajmer, Malwa and Gujarat, during which he resided for extensive periods at the towns of Ajmer, Mandu and Ahmadabad. In an empire so vast as that of the Mughal, and with powers so absolute, such a tour as the Emperor now carried out had much to recommend it, for it brought him into personal touch with his subjects, as also with his high nobles and officials whose loyalty and efficiency it thus ensured. Of this period of over five years, Jahangir spent no less than three in the pleasant town of Ajmer where he held his court from 8 Nov., 1613 to 2 Nov., 1616. It was here that Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador accredited by King James I to the Great Mughal, arrived at the court from Surat at the end of 1615 with his large retinue, and he remained with the Emperor till the latter's final departure from Ahmadabad for Agra in Sept., 1618. From Ajmer, Jahangir proceeded by leisurely marches to the lofty hill-capital of Mandu where he arrived on 3 March 1617. After an eight months' stay there, he left this capital for his tour in Gujarat (Oct., 1617 to Sept., 1618). Roe's famous Journal supplies us with much first-hand information about the character of Jahangir and of his activities during the years that Roe was in attendance at the court.

Jahangir's tour of the Western Subahs, 1613-18

Besides Roe's Journal, we have another English work which, though it gives a general account of India, supplies us with details of some important incidents connected with Jahangir's tour. This was written by the Rev. Edward Terry,[1] Roe's chaplain, and entitled *A Voyage to East India*. Terry had himself seen only a few parts of Malwa and Gujarat before he left

E. Terry on Jahangir's camp

[1] The Rev. John Hall, the Chaplain who came out with Sir T. Roe from England, having died on August 19, 1616 at Ajmer, the English factory at Surat supplied him with another in the person of Rev. Edward Terry. The latter returned with Roe to Surat in September, 1618, and some months later, in February, 1619, sailed with the Ambassador for England, where he wrote the account of his observations on India, which was first published in 1625 by Rev. Samuel Purchas in his *Pilgrimes*. In 1655, Terry himself brought out a revised and enlarged edition of his work which was entilted *A Voyage to East India*. He died in 1660.

for England in 1619, and this fact has to be borne in mind when reading his generalisations about India. That his pedantic work, full of laboured sermons and sentiments, is nevertheless of some use to us may be seen from his account of the effects of the plague at Ahmadabad among Roe's suite, to which we shall refer later, and from the following account of an imperial Mughal camp on its march. There is reason to conclude that the reference is to Jahangir's march from Ajmer to Mandu and from thence to Gujarat:

> 'We travelled two years with the Great Mughal in progress, in the temperate months twixt October and April, there being no less than two hundred thousand men, women and children in this laskar or camp (I am hereof confident), besides elephants, horses, and other beasts that eat corn ; all which notwithstanding, we never felt want of any provision, no, not in our nineteen days' travel from Mandu to Amadawar, through a wilderness, the road being cut for us in the main woods. The tents were of diverse colours, and represented a spacious and specious city. The King's tents red, reared on poles very high, and placed in the midst of the camp, covering a large compass, encircled with canats (*kanats*), guarded round every night with soldiers. He removed ten or twelve miles a day, more or less, according to the convenience of water.'[2]

But the most complete and authentic account of the Emperor's tour in the Western provinces of his Empire is to be found in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, the memoirs written by the Emperor himself. He records that in the autumn of 1617, when he held his court at the hill-capital of Mandu, on the lofty heights of the Malwa plateau, he decided to visit the province of Gujarat and its famous metropolis. In his diary he says : 'As I had never in my life had any elephant-hunting, and had a great desire to see the province of Gujarat and to look on the salt sea, it occurred to me to travel through Ahmadabad and to look on the sea, and having hunted elephants on my return, when it was hot and the season for hunting them, to go back to Agra.'[3] The reference to elephants points to the fact that the forests near Dohad, the frontier district between Malwa and Gujarat, were at that period famous for these animals which were captured there in large numbers.

Purpose of the tour in Gujarat

On October 22, 1617, Jahangir left Mandu, having despatched his royal mother and many other Begums and a large part of his establishment to Agra. The march was as usual of a leisurely character, the Emperor hunting on the way, receiving in audience distinguished nobles, and halting at all the principal stages. After passing through Dhar, the former Hindu and Muslim capital of Malwa, he reached Dohad on December

From Mandu to Cambay

[2] E. Terry's *A Voyage to East India*, printed in Sir W. Foster's *Early Travels in India*, 329.

[3] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 401.

1, and records in his Diary that, from this stage, he noticed a complete change in the character of the country, the trees, the people, the language and the methods of cultivation. He also refers to the sandy nature of the soil, by reason of which much dust was raised when any large number of people were on the move, and at this early date we find him recording his opinion that Ahmadabad should be called *gardabad* (the abode of dust.) Passing through the parganas of Mundha, Nadiad and Petlad, scattering rupees among the populace at every large town, he at last arrived at Cambay, 'the place of the descent of prosperity,' on December 19, 1617. On the road to it, Muqarrab Khan, the viceroy of the subah of Gujarat, waited on his master and presented as an offering a pearl which he had bought for 30,000 rupees.

Jahangir at Cambay

Jahangir halted at Cambay for ten days. He says that the port was at this period one of the largest in Hindustan, though, being situated on a firth, large ships could not reach it, but had to cast anchor at Gogha, the cargoes being carried to and fro in small boats called *ghurabs* (grabs). Some vessels from European ports were at this time in Cambay harbour, and these were gaily decorated in honour of the Emperor. Like his father before him, Jahangir sailed over the waters in a boat, to a distance of about a *kos*. He tells us that in the time of the Sultans the customs of this port came to a very large sum, and he takes credit for the very low duties imposed by himself in the interests of trade and merchants. During his stay at this seaport, the Emperor faithfully carried out his duties to his people as he conceived them, and,summoning merchants, tradesmen, monks and indigent persons before him, he gave to each a dress of honour or a horse or money or other assistance according to his condition. He was here also waited upon by some of the famous holy men of Ahmadabad, among them being Saiyid Muhammad, the descendant of Saint Shah Alam; Shaikh Haidar, the grandson of Saint Wajihu-d-din ; and the sons of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. At Cambay, the Emperor noticed that the *khichri* made of bajri or millets was peculiar to the people of Gujarat, and records : 'As I had never eaten it, I ordered them to make some and bring it to me. It is not devoid of good flavour, and it suited me well. I ordered that on the days of abstinence, when I partake of dishes not made with flesh, they should frequently bring me this *khichri*.'

Novel mintage at Cambay, H. 1027

The Hijri year 1027 began on December 29, 1617, when the royal camp was stationed at Cambay, and it was probably to celebrate this occasion that the Emperor gave orders for a novel form of coin to be minted in this town. It was to the effect that *tankas* of gold and silver should be coined twice the weight of the ordinary muhrs and rupees. 'In no reign except mine,' he says with great pride, 'have *tankas* been coined except of copper; the gold and silver *tankas* are my invention.' The legends on these coins are of special interest to us in as much as they

commemorate the royal visit to this province. On the silver coins was engraved on one side, *Sikka, Jahangir-shahi, 1027*, and round it the verse, *King Jahangir of the conquering ray struck this.* The reverse of the coins bore the legend, *Coined at Cambay in the 12th year of the reign*, with this second hemistich : *When, after the conquest of the Deccan, he came to Gujarat from Mandu.*[4]

After the Emperor had enjoyed the sight of the sea and the ebb and flow of its tides for ten days at Cambay, the royal standards started for Ahmadabad on December 30, 1617, and passing through the pargana of Matar and the village of Bareja, the camp was pitched at the Kankaria tank outside the city of Ahmadabad. Among the officials functioning in the Subah of Gujarat, at the time of Jahangir's arrival and stay at Ahmadabad, was a nobleman named Muhammad Safi, who was the Bakhshi of the Subah, and whose name deserves to be noted as he attained high honours for his services to the Emperor during the Civil War in Gujarat at the time of Shah Jahan's revolt (1622-23), and he later became for some years the Subahdar of the province. Jahangir gives in his Memoirs an account of the history and condition of the Kankaria tank at the time of his visit in 1618, and states that the buildings in the Nagina Bagh, situated in the tank, had all become dilapidated, and that 'there was no place left to sit in.' He then proceeds: 'At the time when the host of prosperity was about to proceed towards Ahmadabad, Safi Khan, Bakhshi of Gujarat, repaired, at the expense of Government, what was broken down and in ruins, and clearing out the little garden erected a new building in it. Certainly it is a place extremely enjoyable and pleasant.'[5] Some days later, after a wine party on the banks of the tank, the Emperor bestowed his favours on the officials of the Subah, and among these Safi Khan received a horse and a robe of honour.[6] Safi Khan was evidently fond of building as is amply attested by the laying out, after 1623, of a beautiful garden with a pleasure-house at Jetalpur, some five miles to the south of Ahmadabad, and by the erection of a masjid and a madresa at the

Safi Khan's repairs at the Kankaria Tank

4 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 418. In 1573, along with the rest of Gujarat, the city of Cambay passed under the Mughal Empire, though Akbar does not appear to have exercised in this city the sovereign's right to issue coins bearing his name. Under Jahangir we meet, for the first time, with a reference to a distinctively Cambay coinage, and even then the issue was probably not for currency purposes but merely in commemoration of the Emperor's visit to the city. The Persian text of the *Tuzuk* records the very words of these *tanka* legends. Not a single specimen of these Jahangiri *tankas* of Cambay is, however, to be found at the present day in any numismatic cabinet. The earliest known coin from the Cambay mint is a rupee of the Hijri year 1051 (A.D. 1641). This mint was very active from the reign of Shah Jahan to that of Alamgir II, *i.e.*, from H. 1051 to 1173, and the story of its coinage is told by the late Dr. Geo. P. Taylor in *Numismatic Supplement* No. XX (Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII, No. 11 (N.S.), 1912, pp. 545-56).

5 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 420.

6 ibid, 439.

capital. A roughly carved inscription, located on the city-wall of Ahmadabad in the Raekhad locality, near the gateway of the Gaekwad's Haveli, dated 16 February 1619, reads :

> 'Built by Safi Khan, Bakhshi-ul-mulki, on the 1st of the month of the Rabi-ul- awwal, in the year H. 1028.'[7]

This inscription is evidence of some repairs to the river walls carried out by the Bakhshi about a year after the Emperor's visit.

At Nizam-ud-din's garden and Shah Alam's Rauza

The Emperor found the Kankaria lake exceedingly pleasant and enjoyable. Adjoining its causeway there was another garden on the banks of the tank which had been laid out during Akbar's reign by a former Bakhshi of the province, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the well-known historian and author of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*. Jahangir now received a representation to the effect that the powerful nobleman Abdulla Khan Firuz Jang, the former viceroy of the province (1611-16), had cut down the trees of this garden in consequence of a dispute that he had with Abid Khan, the son of the historian. The Emperor was much shocked and he ordered a reduction in the jagir of this able but high-handed nobleman. All traces of Nizam-ud-din's garden have long since disappeared. Passing at this stage by the famous mausoleum of saint Shah Alam, the Emperor recited there the *fatiha* or the Muslim burial creed. In his account of the shrine, which he says cost a lakh of rupees to build, Jahangir refers to this saint's miraculous powers and to the belief entertained in Gujarat, by high and low alike, that he used to raise the dead, and adds : 'After he had raised several dead men, his father (Qutb-i-Alam) became aware of this and sent him a prohibition, saying,"it waspr esumption in him to meddle with the workshop of God, and was contrary to true obedience" '[8].

Efficiency of the imperial dak system

The regularity with which, during their imperial tours, the Great Mughals used to receive the choicest fruits from cold and distant countries, testifies to their efficient *dak* system for maintaining communications. When encamped at Kankaria, the Emperor received a stock of melons from Kariz, a town dependent on Herat in Khurasan. They arrived very fresh and ripe though from a distance of 1,400 kos, which it took the caravans five months to cross. At the same time came fresh oranges from Bengal, 'a distance of 1,000 kos,' brought by post-runners who passed the parcels from hand to hand. Jahangir devoutly adds : 'My tongue fails me in giving thanks to Allah for this.'[9]

7 M. Abdulla Chaghatai, *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad through their Inscriptions* (1942), pp. 38-39.

8 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, R and B, I, 421.

9 ibid, 422-23.

On Monday, the 25th of the Divine month of Deh, being January 5, 1618, Jahangir turned towards the capital city of Ahmadabad, 'in pleasure and prosperity at the propitious hour,' mounted on his favourite elephant, an animal described as perfect in appearance and in disposition. The imperial visit naturally attracted crowds of citizens, men and women, who waited for the procession in the streets and the shops, at the gates and on the walls, and the Emperor passed through them scattering money as he went. Jahangir's first impressions of Ahmadabad, as those of many a modern visitor to the city, were not favourable, and he says that the town did not appear to him as worthy of praise as he had heard. The main road of the bazar is described as wide and spacious, but the shops on either side were not suited to the breadth. Moreoever, there was dust all the way from Kankaria to the Bhadra citadel where the Emperor took up his residence. The old palaces of the Sultans of Gujarat were by this time in ruins ; but the Mughal viceroys had put up other buildings, and the Subahdar of the time, Muqarrab Khan, after news of Jahangir's departure from Mandu for Ahmadabad, had done up some of the old mansions and prepared other accommodation such as a *jharokha* and a public audience hall.[10]

State entry into Ahmadabad

The day of Jahangir's state entry into the capital of Gujarat was also the auspicious date of his son Shah Jahan's twenty-seventh birthday, and, as usual, the Prince was weighed against gold and other things. 'I hope,' says his fond parent, 'that the giver of gifts will bestow them on this suppliant at His throne and let him enjoy life and prosperity.' Little was the Great Mughal aware that this same Prince, on whom he lavished all his love and gifts and honours, would be up in arms against his authority in little less than five years. Jahangir, on this occasion, presented the jagir of Gujarat to Shah Jahan, and appointed him viceroy of the province (January 5, 1618).[11]

Shah Jahan made viceroy of Gujarat

The next day, the Emperor visited the famous Jami mosque built by Sultan Ahmad, the founder of the city, and he has given in his Memoirs a fairly full description of this imposing monument. He refers to the dimensions of the spacious courtyard, to the size of the *maqsura* (the holy of holies), and to the large number of pillars which are so characteristic a feature there. Also to the well-shaped minarets, with three storeys, on either side of

At the Jami Masjid

10 The account of Jahangir's first visit to Ahmadabad (from January 5 to February 10, 1618) is based on the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, transl. by Rogers and Beveridge, I, 419-35.

11 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 424. Shah Jahan was nominally Subahdar of Gujarat from 1618 to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1622. He, however, left the province along with his father, and the administration was carried out successively by Rustam Khan (1618-22) and Raja Vikramajit (1622-23) as his deputies.

the main arch, and to the marble floors. He specially enlarges on one feature of the mosque, viz., the Muluk-Khana, or the royal gallery, which is a platform standing on pillars and enclosed up to the roof with beautiful stone trellis-work. This arrangement, which is peculiar to some of the Ahmadabad mosques, enabled the Sultans to come, by a separate entrance, to the House of Prayer with their courtiers for Friday service or the 'Id', and to perform their devotions at a distance from the crowded parts of the mosque. The enclosure permitted the royal ladies also to enter the mosque privately and sit in it without being seen.

At Wajihu-d-din's monastery

The monastery and tomb of Shaikh Wajihu-d-din, situated outside the north-west wall of the Bhadra, were next patronised by the royal visitor. The Rauza over the tomb of this famous Sufi saint was built by Shaikh Farid-i-Bukhari when he was viceroy some ten years before Jahangir's visit to Ahmadabad, and the monastery had been built by Sadiq Khan, a nobleman of Akbar's court. Shaikh Haidar, a grandson of Wajihu-d-din, whose visit to Cambay to pay his respects to the Emperor has already been mentioned, was at this time in charge of the shrine, and, like his grandfather, looked after the welfare of the darvishes who resided in the monastery. It being at this time the anniversary festival of the saint, Jahangir made large donations in charity to the faqirs who were present in the monastery, and also made presents to Shaikh Haidar and to his relatives and adherents.

Visit to the author of the 'Mirat-i-Sikandari'

The famous historian of Gujarat, Shaikh Sikandar, the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, who was alive at this time, had next the honour of a visit from the Emperor, who specially devoted his attention to the garden attached to the historian's mansion where some excellent figs had grown. Jahangir plucked the fruit with his own hands and tells us naively that as he had never done so before it gave him quite a peculiar pleasure. We gather from the Emperor's diary that Sikandar had been admitted into the royal service some time about 1610, probably because of his literary attainments and his wide knowledge of the history of the Gujarat Sultans.

Raja Kalyan of Idar pays his respects

Among the feudatory Hindu rulers of Gujarat, who came to pay their homage to the Emperor ('to kiss the threshold') during his stay at Ahmadabad, was Raja Kalyan, zamindar of Idar State. He brought as offering nine horses and an elephant. We know that the Raja's ancestors had for two centuries braved the might of the Sultans of Gujarat, and, though often reduced to obedience, had never been completely subdued, nor had they ever waited personally on the Sultans. After the Mughal conquest of the province by Akbar, their attitude had changed; they enrolled themselves among the imperial feudatories, waited on the representatives of the Emperor at Ahmadabad, and sent up their contingents for military service whenever required.

Jahangir next turned to visit the historical monuments in the vicinity of the capital on the other side of the Sabarmati. On January 16, he went to see the famous Fateh Bagh, or 'Garden of of Victory,' near Sarkhej, and as the mausoleum of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu was not far off, he first visited this holy shrine and the *fatiha* was read there. He describes the various buildings erected at this sacred spot, including the mausoleum of Sultan Mahmud Begada and his successors, who were laid to rest on one side of the large tank, at the feet of the Shaikh. Some days later, the Emperor sent two of his noblemen, Azamat Khan and Mutaqid Khan, with 3,000 rupees, to the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu to be distributed among the faqirs and indigent people who had taken up their abode there. Jahangir was delighted with the Fateh Bagh. 'One may say,' he writes, 'that in the whole of Gujarat there is no garden like this'; and his judgment has been supported by all the European travellers who visited this capital during the 17th century. The Khan Khanan had evidently spared no labour or expense in laying out his 'Garden of Victory,' which was surrounded by a lofty stone wall, 'and included many large pleasure-houses by the side of the Sabarmati.' Jahangir estimated its area at 120 *jaribs* of land and he says that it may have cost 200,000 rupees. It being Thursday, the Emperor had his usual *mubarak-shamba* feast on this pleasant spot and 'bestowed cups of wine on his private servants.'

Visit to Sarkhej and the Fateh Bagh

An interesting account of a unique entertainment given to the Emperor at the Fateh Bagh by Khair-un-Nisa Begum, the daughter of the Khan Khanan, has been given to us by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, based evidently on certain copies of the Memoirs of Jahangir. This lady, at the time of the Emperor's visit to Sarkhej, requested and obtained permission to give him a reception in the garden laid out by her father, and asked that the visit might take place after a few days to enable her to complete the necessary arrangements. We may note here that it was the season of the cold weather, and most of the trees and shrubs in the garden had shed their foliage and were equally bare of fruit and blossom. The Khan Khanan's daughter was evidently as original in her plans as she was resourceful in their execution, for, in the space of five days, by employing four hundred of the most skilful and expert artificers and decorators that could be secured in Ahmadabad, she is said to have effectually transformed the whole appearance of the garden, and in the depth of winter introduced the illusion of spring. By the use of wax and variegated coloured paper, every tree and shrub was so abundantly provided with leaf and flower and fruit as to reproduce the freshness and bloom of spring and summer. The fruit trees included the orange, the lemon, the peach, the pomegranate and the apple, and among the flowering shrubs were to be seen varieties of roses and garden plants of every possible description.

Entertained at the Fateh Bagh

On the day appointed, the Emperor arrived at the Fateh Wadi accompanied by the ladies of the harem. So perfect was the deception produced, and the artificers had copied the beauties of nature with such surprising truth and accuracy that, on his first entry into the garden, Jahangir entirely forgot that it was no longer the spring of the year and unwittingly stretched forth his hand to pluck the fruits and the flowers. But very soon realising the illusion, he felt highly gratified, and expressed his delight at the wonderful skill of the artificers and the genius of the lady who had conceived the idea for his recreation. Moreover, the different avenues of the garden were furnished with tents and pavilions made of velvet of the deepest green, which harmonised with the verdure of the lawns and contrasted with the variegated tints of the rose and other flowers, and produced the most pleasing impression on the mind. After spending three days amidst these delectable surroundings, and after bestowing most valuable presents on Khair-un-Nisa for this exquisite reception, the Emperor retraced his steps to Ahmadabad.[12] This pretty episode has probably no historical foundation.

Jahangir's delight at the illusion

Some idea of the cruel penal system which was in vogue in India, as in every other civilised country of the time, is obtained from a few incidents that took place during the Emperor's stay at Ahmadabad. The Kotwal, or Police Superintendent, of the city caught a thief and brought him up before the Emperor. The man had been guilty of several thefts before, and they had cut off a member of his body every time ; first his right hand, then the thumb of his left hand, the third time his left ear, the next they hamstrung him, and the last time his nose. But with all that, the rogue was not deterred from crime, and on this occasion he had entered the house of a grass-seller, who, offering resistance, had been wounded and killed. Jahangir ordered that the man should be handed over to the relatives of the deceased so that they might wreak their vengeance on him. On another occasion, it was reported to the Emperor that a servant of Muqarrab Khan had cut down some *champa* trees alongside the river, probably near the royal palace in the Bhadra. After ascertaining the truth of the offence, the Emperor ordered both his thumbs to be cut off as a warning to others. Jahangir was indeed a strange mixture of cruelty and kindness. He could put a man to death because he frightened away his game, and also pity the royal elephants in his camp because they shivered in the winter when they sprinkled themselves with cold water.[13]

Cruel penal system of the time

12 *The Memoirs of Jahangir*, trans. by Major David Price, 1829, pp. 115-116. The Persian manuscript translated by Price is now known as the garbled memoirs of Jahangir. Its authorship is unknown and the work is at present generally rejected as unreliable. (V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, 465). This particular episode, however, has acquired some credence as it has been repeated by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 192.

13 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 410.

Jahangir now further showed his regard for Shah Jahan by presenting him with a royal elephant at an entertainment given to him by his son at his residence in Ahmadabad. It was the best among the private elephants in speed and beauty; it competed with horses, and had been much liked by Akbar. Shah Jahan had requested this gift frequently from his father, and seeing no way out of it, the doting parent now gave it to him with all its gold chains and other trappings.

Royal elephant given to Khurram

The Emperor had been so charmed with the Khan Khanan's garden near Sarkhej during his first visit that, on January 30, he paid a second visit to the place to enjoy the sight of the red roses and the tulips and to taste the delicious figs. After gathering some of these with his own hands, he weighed the largest one and found that it came to 7½ tolas. In view of the frequent references that we find at this time to the cultivation of figs in the gardens at Ahmadabad, it is a pity that the culture of this delicious fruit is at present absolutely abandoned not only in this city but throughout Gujarat. On the same day, 1,500 melons reached the Emperor from Kariz near Herat, and these were distributed among the zanana ladies, the holy Shaikhs of the capital, and the royal attendants.

Second visit to the Fateh Wadi

It is unfortunate that, though Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, was resident at Ahmadabad in attendance on the court for a period of nearly nine months (from December 15, 1617 to about September 26, 1618), his Journal ends abruptly after an entry on January 22, 1618, and we cannot but regret the loss of the missing portion which might have supplied us with much useful information about events connected with Jahangir's long stay in this capital. We must be content, therefore, to note what meagre details are available. Roe left the camp on its march from Mandu and reached Ahmadabad some three weeks before the Emperor's arrival there from Cambay on January, 5, 1618. Three days later, in his entry for January 8, Roe says that he and Prince Shah Jahan were invited by Jahangir to wait on him at a garden about a mile and a half from the town, upon the banks of the river. They went, the Prince in a palanquin and Roe in a coach, well attended by the Prince's and the royal servants. On arrival, the ambassador found the Emperor was with his women, and later 'the king appeared not but privately stole away leaving us all sitting in expectation.'[14] After waiting till nightfall, the envoy was for returning to the city, 'not having eaten or drunk,' but the King's attendants respectfully detained him. What followed may be given in the words in his Diary: 'We sat an hour. Suddenly news came to put out all lights, the King was come; who entered on an open wagon, with his Normahall

Roe's reference to Jahangir's joy-ride

[14] This might be the Rustam Bagh on the banks of the Sabarmati. The more famous Shahi Bagh had not yet been laid out.

(Nur Mahal), drawn by bullocks, himself Carter, and no man near. When he and his woman were housed, the Prince came in a-horseback, and entering in called for me.'[15]

Some five days later, in the entry in his Diary for January 13, 1618, Roe records the arrival at Ahmadabad of a Dutch embassy headed by Pieter Gilles van Ravesteyn, the Chief of the Dutch factory at Surat. He says that 'they were not suffered to come near the third degree,' *i.e.*, not very near to the Emperor's person at the Darbar. On Prince Shah Jahan asking Roe who they were, and if they were friends to the English, Roe replied that they were Hollanders resident at Surat, and that 'they were a nation depending on the King of England but not welcome in all places.' The Prince then desired the Ambassador, perhaps to his disgust, to call them up as they were friends, and so Roe 'was enforced to send for them to deliver their presents,' which consisted of china-ware, sandalwood, parrots and cloves. They were placed at the Darbar by the side of the Eglish merchants, 'without any speech or further conference.'[16] Ever since the arrival of the first Dutch merchants at Surat and the settlement of their factory there, there had been considerable rivalry and bitterness between the representatives of the two nations. Roe, however, was for settling their differences amicably.[17]

A Dutch embassy at Ahmadabad

In a long letter to the East India Company, dated Ahmadabad, 14 February, 1618, which deals with miscellaneous topics, Sir Thomas Roe conveys the information that the Portuguese viceroy at Goa had also despatched an envoy to wait on the Emperor, and that he had arrived at Bulsar, but that he was refused an audience. The facts may be expressed in Roe's own words:

Portuguese envoy refused audience

'The King (Jahangir), being near the sea, the Viceroy (which never before was done) sent an Ambassador toward the court to congratulate in the name of the King of Spain.[18] He yet stays at Baltasare (Bulsar), the confines of this territory below Surat. The Jesuit (Fr. Corsi)[19] moved his admittance, and the King replied: "if he come with presents fit for his master to send and me to receive,

[15] *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India* (1615-19), Ed. by W. Foster (Hakluyt Society), II, 457-8.

[16] ibid, 459.

[17] In a letter from Van Ravesteyn to his masters, dated February 14, 1619, after mentioning Roe's courtesy to him, both at Surat and at Ahmadabad, the Dutch Chief says, 'I found him a very peace-loving man, who is very sorry for the differences between us and the English, and would gladly see an agreement arrived at.' (ibid, 518 *n*).

[18] The Kingdom of Portugal was united with the Crown of Spain from 1580 to 1640.

[19] Fr. Corsi was a member of the Third Jesuit Mission at the Mughal Court (1594-1618), and appears to have been in attendance on the Emperor during Jahangir's stay at Ajmer and Ahmadabad. He had frequent intercourse with Sir T. Roe, especially on the subject of negotiating a peace between the English and the Portuguese viceroy to prevent hostilities on the Indian seas.

he is welcome; if not, I shall not acknowledge him for the person he pretends nor give him honour.'''[20]

Though no date is mentioned for the above mentioned events, we may put it at some time after the Emperor's arrival at Ahmadabad in January, 1618. In a later paragraph of the same letter, Roe again refers to the subject:

'The new pretended Spanish ambassador is refused audience, being come as far as Cambay, within two days of Court, principally because his presents were not of great value.'[21]

The Emperor being ashamed to put forth 'so base a reason' for refusing to admit the envoy, based his refusal on the pretext 'that he was no right ambassador.' At the same time, he asked Roe, through Asaf Khan, if he would avow this person as an envoy, to which Roe replied that he was bound to do so if he saw his master's letters; otherwise, he was only a messenger. Jahangir next demanded to know from Fr. Corsi if the envoy had any letters, to which the Jesuit priest replied that he had not any from Spain, and that he had come only from Daman, being sent in a hurry by the new viceroy who had not had time to prepare a fit present or letters; also that the object of sending him was to congratulate the Emperor, in the name of the viceroy and the city, on his approach in these parts. Jahangir then gave Fr. Corsi to understand that if this person came to see him he would be welcome; but if the viceroy sent him, or any other person, with presents and authority in the name of the King of Portugal, he would be received with honour. Roe adds: 'The Jesuit is somewhat troubled, and the ambassador, who came on in great bravery, takes himself scorned. They pretend that another shall return with ample powers. For my part, I am not sorry for any distast begun, and think not that the Portugal will stoop so far as to send another, nor presents, upon such a demand and affront.'[22] We have no further reference on the subject, but it is clear that the viceroy at Goa, being informed of Jahangir's arrival at Cambay, not very far from the Portuguese settlement of Daman on the same coast, was anxious to send an Envoy to convey his formal compliments to so powerful a neighbour as the Great Mughal.

Jahangir's queries to Roe and to Fr. Corsi

On February 10, 1618, after a stay of one month and five days, Jahangir left Ahmadabad on his return journey towards Malwa, little aware that circumstances would compel him to return to this city in April for a more prolonged stay there. The royal camp halted, as usual, for three days at the Kankaria tank outside the walls. Before it advanced, Muqarrab Khan submitted some presents to his royal

The Emperor's departure from Ahmadabad

20 *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, II, 471.
21 ibid, II, 483.
22 ibid,

master. The Emperor writes that there was nothing rare among them, nor anything that he took a fancy to, 'and so I felt ashamed,' but he adds that he 'graciously' accepted jewellery and cloths and decorated vessels to the value of a lakh of rupees! Though the government of the province of Gujarat had been bestowed on Shah Jahan, the imperial prince did not remain behind at its capital, but accompanied his father's camp. In his absence, the administration was placed in charge of his deputy, Rustam Khan, a favourite of the prince, to whom the Emperor gave a standard and drums at his departure, an honour that had never before been granted to an officer of the heir-apparent under any preceding Mughal ruler. Jahangir had already presented this nobleman with the magnificent garden on the Sabarmati to the north of the city, known under the name of the Rustam Bagh, which had originally been laid out by his royal brother Prince Murad, who named it after his own son.[23] In recording this grant, the imperial diarist refers to the association of identical names as a factor in making this particular gift.[24]

Return journey up to Dohad

Jahangir had left Ahmadabad in February, 1618, with the full resolve of returning to Agra after enjoying on the way the sport of elephant-hunting in the forests of Dohad.[25] But news of the plague at Agra made him decide to return to the capital of Gujarat after an absence of only two months. The Emperor's first visit had been during the cold months of the year, and on the whole he had enjoyed it. His second visit covered the hot burning months of the year and the subsequent rains; and the choice expressions of disgust given vent to by this imperial potentate at the discomforts of the summer season in Northern Gujarat have been handed down to posterity in his Autobiography, and will be related in the next chapter in our account of his second stay in the capital.

23 For the location of the Rustam Bagh, laid out by Sultan Murad, Akbar's second son, when he was viceroy of Gujarat in 1593-94, see *ante* Chapter III, p. 35.

24 In succession to Rustam Khan (1618-22), Prince Shah Jahan appears to have appointed his trusted officer, Raja Sundardas, on whom his father had recently bestowed the title of Raja Vikramajit, as his deputy in charge of the government of Gujarat (1622-23). *Tuzuk*, II, 261-62.

25 Dohad is the ancient Dadhichipur (named after a sage) or Dadhipadra, which has been corrupted into Dahod or Dohad. It stands on the Dadhimati river and the town has a temple of Dudheshwar Mahadeo (Dadhichi Muni). The popular idea is that Dohad is so named because it stands on two frontiers.



Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India

DARBAR HALL IN THE SHAHI BAGH PALACE AT AHMADABAD, c. 1618-22

(p. 101)

CHAPTER VI

JAHANGIR'S SECOND VISIT TO AHMADABAD

(APRIL—SEPTEMBER, 1618)

WE shall now trace Jahangir's march from Ahmadabad to the frontier district of Dohad, where he indulged in hunting elephants, and describe the circumstances which necessitated his return to the Sabarmati. On leaving Kankaria tank, the Emperor halted at Vatva at the shrine of the Bukhari saint Qutb-i-Alam, the father of the more famous Shah Alam, where 500 rupees were distributed to the guardians. The next stage was at the town of Mahmudabad (now called Mehmdabad), where Jahangir entered a boat and went a-fishing on the Vatrak. Here he also visited the mausoleum of Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari, a nobleman who had played an important part in the political dissensions of the declining period of the Saltanat. The tomb, which is situated within a walled enclosure of stone on the river bank, is an imposing monument with a lofty cupola, and was erected by Saiyid Mubarak's son, Saiyid Miran. The Emperor estimated its cost at more than two lakhs, and he tells us in his Diary that none of the tombs of the Gujarat Sultans which he saw came up to one-tenth of it. The mausoleum of Saiyid Mubarak has been ranked by archaeologists also among the most beautiful specimens of the Indo-Saracenic style of architecture in Gujarat.[1]

Jahangir at Vatva and Mehmdabad

A week later, Jahangir dismissed the officers of the province of Gujarat, who had accompanied his camp, after bestowing suitable favours on them. At the same time, the Shaikhs of Gujarat, who were in attendance, were allowed to depart after being presented with robes of honour and lands. The Emperor gave to each of them a book from his special library, bearing on the Quran or the life of the Prophet, and wrote on the back of these books the day of his arrival in Gujarat and the date of the presentation. In recording these incidents, Jahangir dwells at some length on the manner in which he had endeavoured, during the period of his stay at Ahmadabad, to do his duty by the Almighty and by his subjects, by day and by night, in searching out necessitous persons

Jahangir's conception of his duties

[1] For the career of Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari, who was killed in a battle with Itimad Khan in 1558, see Vol. I of this history, pp., 460-62. An illustration of his mausoleum, located at the village of Sojali near Mehmdabad, will be found facing p. 461 of that volume.

and bestowing on them money and land. 'God is my witness', he adds, 'that I did not fall short in this task. Although I have not been delighted with my visit to Ahmadabad, yet I have this satisfaction that my coming has been the cause of benefit to a large number of poor people...My sole endeavour was that as I, a King, had come to this country after many years, no single person should be excluded.'[2] Whatever the merits of this form of charity, there is a ring of genuine sincerity in the Emperor's words.

Jam Jasaji in the royal camp

Passing through the town of Balasinor, Jahangir halted on the banks of the Mahi, where Jam Jasaji, the feudatory Raja of Nawanagar, arrived to offer his duty, and presented 50 horses. We are told that he maintained some 6,000 horse for the service of the Mughal, and in time of war could supply nearly double that number. After a short stay in the royal camp, the Jam was dismissed to his native country with several presents, including a jewelled waist-sword, a rosary and two horses, one a Turki and the other from Iraq.

Elephant hunt in the Panch Mahals

At Dohad, on the frontiers of Gujarat and Malwa, Jahangir celebrated, on March 10, 1618, 'in joy and thanksgiving,' the commencement of the 13th year of his accession to the throne. On the following day, the ceremonies associated with his fifty-first birthday, according to the lunar year, were carried out by the weighment of the Emperor against gold and silver, and other festivals. After a halt of several days, the party proceeded to the hilly country surrounded by jungle, some 10 *kos* away from Dohad, for the elephant-hunt to which the Emperor had been looking forward ever since he first entered Gujarat. The grazing-ground of the elephants was in the forests at the foot of a hill called 'Rākhshas Pahār,' or demon hill, by some thought to be the great hill of Pavagadh in the Panch Mahals. On all sides the jungle had been surrounded by a large body of horse and foot, and a ring-fence arranged in the manner known as a *qamurgha* among the Mughals. Outside the jungle, a wooden platform was put up on a tree for the Emperor, and seats were provided on other trees for the nobles. Two hundred decoy male elephants and many female ones had been got ready, and on each of them two *mahuts* or drivers were seated with strong nooses. These were to drive the wild elephants from the jungle towards the royal presence so that he might witness the hunt. Unfortunately, when the men placed round the ring-fence entered the jungle, the chain was broken owing to the thickness of the forest and the hills and the hollows, and the circle of the *qamurgha* did not remain perfect. The wild elephants in bewilderment rushed in every direction, but about a dozen of them appeared on the side where the Emperor was seated. The tame elephants were now brought under requisition and

2 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 440

with their help several of the wild ones were captured. Of these two were very handsome in shape and with 'perfect marks,' and these were named by Jahangir as 'Pavan Sar' and 'Ravan Sar'.

Leaving the Darogha (Superintendent) and the head huntsman, Baluch Khan, to carry on further operations during the remainder of the season, Jahangir retraced his steps from the forest. Some four months later, when he was again at Ahmadabad, the officers in charge of the hunt waited on him with the news that altogether 185 elephants had been caught, of which 73 were males and 112 females. This large haul was the result of the combined operations of the imperial huntsmen and fauzdars and the huntsmen of Prince Shah Jahan.[8] It seems no scientific measures were taken, in the generations that followed, for the preservation of elephants in the Dohad forests, for to-day the region is almost destitute of these animals.

Total number captured in 1618

It was at this stage, when the Emperor was in the pargana of Dohad, that he decided to abandon his journey to his imperial capital at Agra, and on March 30, he 'turned the reins of the army of prosperity towards Ahmadabad.' There were several reasons which prompted Jahangir to this rather unexpected resolve. Soon after leaving Ahmadabad, when halting at Balasinor, reports had reached him from the imperial news-writers that plague had broken out in a rather virulent form in Kashmir; and now, when at Dohad, the disconcerting news arrived that the epidemic had made its appearance also at Agra. Moreover, the summer season had now set in, and the heat was so great that, even at this early date, marching by night had to be resorted to. Under the circumstances, a long journey of 600 miles was thought to be out of the question. It is interesting to peruse Jahangir's own entry in his Memoirs in connection with the abandonment of the march northwards. He is quite frank and does not attempt to conceal his fears and uneasiness at the news of the plague, though he naively attributes his decision to divine inspiration:

March to Agra abandoned

'As in consequence of the great heat and the corruption of the air I would have had to undergo much hardship, and would have had to traverse a long distance before reaching Agra, it occurred to me not to proceed at this hot season to the capital. As I heard much praise of the rainy season in Gujarat, and there was no report about the evil reputation of Ahmadabad (*i.e.*, no epidemic there). I finally conceived the idea of remaining at that place. Inasmuch as the protection and guardianship of God (to Him be praise) was in all places and at all times extended to this suppliant, just at this crisis news arrived that signs of the plague had shown themselves again at Agra, and many people were dying, my intention of not going to

[8] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, 5, 24.

Agra, which had thrown its rays on my mind through Divine inspiration, was confirmed.'

The royal camp thus turned back leisurely towards the capital of Gujarat, passing through Jhalod, and along the Mahi and Vatrak rivers, until, by the middle of April, 1618, it arrived again at the usual encampment on the Kankaria tank outside the city walls of Ahmadabad.

On the 7th of the Ilahi month of Ardibehest, being the 15th April, 1618, the Emperor re-entered Ahmadabad, 'with all enjoyment,' at a propitious hour, scattering several thousand rupees on the way as he hastened to the palace. On alighting, Shah Jahan presented to his royal father a jewelled aigrette valued at 25,000 rupees as an offering, and the other officers in charge of the subah offered *nazarana* according to the usual etiquette. If the Emperor thought of escaping the calamity that had visited his capital at Agra by remaining in Gujarat, he soon found himself mistaken. The plague made its appearance at Ahmadabad, and there were few, either in the city or in the royal camp, who were not down with it for two or three days at least. The victims were attacked by inflammatory fever, or by pains in the limbs, and were so prostrated that even after recovery they remained for a long time weak and languid. Jahangir had to admit that he much regretted having come to the city. 'I trust,' he says, 'that the great and glorious God, in His mercy and grace, will lift up this burden, which is a source of uneasiness to my mind, from off the people.' Neither the Emperor nor his son escaped illness. About May 24, the former was down with fever for two or three days; though, directly he was better, he resumed his usual number of cups of wine. Prince Shah Jahan also contracted fever on the same day as his father, and was confined to bed for ten days. Even after his recovery, he looked very weak and powerless as if he had been ill for a month or more.

Plague at Ahmadabad

Some idea of the havoc which the plague must have wrought in the city may be formed from the casualties in the small suite of the English Ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, the details of which are thus given by his chaplain, Edward Terry, in his *Voyage to East India*:

Mortality in Sir T. Roe's suite

'The city Amadavar (at our being there with the King) was visited with this pestilence in the month of May (1618), and our family was not exempted from this most uncomfortable visitation; for, within the space of nine days, seven persons that were English of our family were taken away by it; and none of those which died lay sick above twenty hours, and the major part well, and sick, and dead in twelve hours. As our surgeon (who was there all the physician we had), and he led the way, falling sick at midday, and the following midnight dead. And there were three more that followed him, one immediately after the other, who made as much haste to the grave as

he had done ; and the rest went after them, within that space of time I named before. And all those that died in our family of this pestilence had their bodies set all on fire by it, so soon as they were first visited ; and when they were dying, and dead, broad spots of a black and blue colour appeared on their breasts ; and their flesh was made so extremely hot by their most high distemper that we who survived could scarce endure to keep our hands upon it. It was a most sad time, a fiery trial indeed. All our family (my Lord Ambassador only exempted) were visited with this sickness.'[4]

Jahangir disgusted with the city

The Emperor evidently did not relish this second stay in the capital of Gujarat. Weary of the dust, disgusted with the hot winds of May, and altogether peevish with the fever and the pestilence, he gave vent to his feelings by heaping bad names on the city in its day of sore affliction. In his Autobiography he gives free expression to his fretful humour :

'I am amazed to think what pleasure or goodness the founder of this city could have seen in a spot so devoid of the favour of God as to build a city on it. After him, others, too, have passed their lives in precious trouble in this dust-bin....Its water is very bad and unpalatable, and the river, which is by the side of the city, is always dry except in the rainy season. Outside the city, in place of green grass and flowers, all is an open plain full of thorn-brakes (*zaqqum*), and as for the breeze that blows off the thorns, its excellence is known.

'O thou, compendium of goodness, by which of thy names shall I call thee? I had already called Ahmadabad *Gardabad* (the abode of dust). Now, I do not know whether to call it *Samumistan* (the place of the simoom), or *Bimaristan* (abode of sickness), or *Zaqqumzar* (the thornbed), or *Jahannamabad* (the house of Hell), for it contains all these varieites. If the rainy season had not prevented me, I would not have delayed one day in this abode of trouble, but, like Solomon, would have seated myself on the throne of the wind, and hastened out, and released the pople of God from this pain and trouble.'[5]

Public audience in the Bhadra

From the date on which he entered Ahmadabad, Jahangir was not unmindful of his duty towards his people, and, in spite of the great heat,[6] he sat for two or three hours every day, after the midday prayer, at the *jharokha*, or audience-window, of the royal palace in the Bhadra, facing the Sabarmati, to administer justice. He informs us that access was free to all and there was no bar in their way of gates or guards. Even during

[4] Terry, *Voyage to East India* (Ed. 1777), pp. 226-27.

[5] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, 13.

[6] James Forbes, who was at Ahmadabad in 1781, in the summer, writes: 'I have seldom experienced greater heat than during the hot winds at Ahmadabad. Situated at a distance from the sea, and not refreshed by its breezes, the external atmosphere, for many hours in the day, was insupportable ; the heavens were as brass, and the earth like heated iron,and we were obliged to confine ourselves in dark rooms,cooled by *tattis*, or screens of matted grass, kept continually watered.'—*Oriental Memoirs*, III, 126-27.

the period when he was weak from his illness, he continued this custom, 'though in great pain and sorrow, looking upon ease of body as something unlawful (*harām*) for me.' Jahangir's main object was to see that none of the men from his camp should enter the houses of the citizens and oppress them, for he found the people of the city exceedingly 'weak-hearted.' He also wanted to make sure that neither the Qazi nor the Mir 'Adl should temporise, and allow the guilty party, if powerful, to go unpunished. There is no doubt that Jahangir invariably prided himself on his strict desire to see justice administered in his Empire as one of the most fundamental duties of a sovereign, and even at the present day he has a reputation in India for his love of justice. He himself tells us that it was his practice not to spend more than three hours of the night in repose. The reason given for this is equally creditable : 'God forbid that this life of a few days should pass in carelessness. As a heavy sleep is in front, I must reckon as a gain this time of my wakefulness, which I shall not see again in sleep.'[7]

The Rao of Cutch pays homage

About July 3, Rao Bharmal I, the ruler of Cutch, the most important 'zamindar' under the Mughal subah of Gujarat, came to Ahmadabad to pay his respects. During the Emperor's first stay in the city, the Rao had not come to wait on him, and so Prince Shah Jahan had appointed his trusted officer, Raja Vikramajit, to lead an army into Cutch. Rao Bharo, therefore, hastened to render submission with a handsome present of 2,000 rupees and a hundred horses. Jahangir was very gratified at the honour done to himself, as none of the Rao's ancestors had ever come in person to render homage to the Sultans of Gujarat. Rao Bharo was at this time over 80 years of age, but in full possession of his powers of body and mind. Later on, at Mahmudabad, the Emperor presented him with two elephants, a jewelled dagger, and four rings set with precious stones, and granted him leave to go.[8]

The 'Jahangirnama' and its frontispiece

Jahangir was at this time informed by his private libarian that the records of the Imperial autobiography (the *Jahangirnama*) had been completed for the first twelve years of the reign. He ordered these records to be bound in a single volume, and a number of copies prepared of the same, to be presented to trusted servants of the throne or to be distributed in the cities of the Empire 'for study and example.' The very first copy, when ready, the Emperor presented to Shah Jahan,

7 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, 14.

8 Rao Bhārmal I of Cutch, or Bhāro, as he is familiarly known, ruled from 1586 to 1632. During the early part of his reign, he had given, along with the Jam of Nawanagar, active help to the ex-Sultan Muzaffar III, when the latter was being pursued by Mirza Aziz Koka and the Imperial troops. We are told that, on the present occasion, Jahangir gave him permission to mint *Koris*, and also withdrew the tribute levied on his kingdom, on condition that Bharmal should grant a free passage on his ships to all pilgrims who embarked at the port of Mandvi for the pilgrimage to Mecca.

at this time his favourite son, inscribing therein the date and place at which it was given. Some days before this, Abu-l-Hasan, the court painter, who had the title of Nadiru-z-Zaman ('the wonder of the age'), had made a present to the Emperor of a painting, representing the imperial accession to the throne, to be placed as a frontispiece to the *Jahangirnama*. Jahangir, with his usual indulgence in superlatives, described the picture as one of the masterpieces of the age. He had, no doubt, a good judgment on the fine arts and prided himself on being a *connoisseur*. Here is his none too modest description of his abilities:

> 'As regards myself, my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that, when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or of those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eybrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eyebrows.'[9]

Festivites at Kankaria Tank

The festival of the *Shab-i-barāt* of the Hijri year 1027, which took place on the 21st of July 1618, was celebrated by the Emperor in the capital of Gujarat with befitting magnificence. He ordered the steps of the Kankaria tank, and the buildings and palaces around the lake, to be illumined with variegated lanterns, to which were added all kinds of artifices that are practicable with lamps and fireworks. Jahangir went to enjoy the sight at night, and, no doubt, must have invited the citizens to witness the illuminations. His special domestics were on that night 'regaled with cups of joy,' as he says in his *Memoirs*. Indeed, to the Merry Monarch of India, wine and joy were convertible terms. The climate of Gujarat, however, did not quite allow of his usual indulgences in this matter, and, by the advice of his physicians, he made a slight reduction in the daily potation, to wit, from six cups holding 45 *tolas* of wine every evening to six cups of 37½ *tolas*. This reduction by 7½ *tolas*, or the weight of one cup of wine, was gradually effected in the course of a week.

Parsi priests wait on the Emperor

We learn from an Imperial Mughal farman, now in the possession of the Dordi family of the Parsis of Navsari, that, about 15 August 1618, during the Emperor's stay at Ahmadabad, two prominent Parsi priests from Navsari, by name Mulla Jamasp and his nephew Mulla Hoshang, waited upon him and presented him with four goblets of the otto (*attar*) of jasmine. In appreciation of this present, Jahangir gave them, in court, a donation of one hundred rupees, and ordered that land measuring 100 *bighas*, and situated in the *qasba* of Navsari in the district of Surat,

[9] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, pp. 20-21. Among the other celebrated Mughal painters of the age were Ustad Bihzad and Ustad Mansur, styled Nadir-ul-'Asr.

should be settled on them and their children in perpetuity, free from all taxes whatsoever. This Persian farman, which bears the Imperial seal of 'Nuru-d-din Muhammad Jahangir Badshah Ghazi,' is still preserved by the descendants of the two beneficiaries.[10] It appears from the genealogy of the priestly family mentioned above, that the original name of Mulla Jamasp, the first donee of the grant, was Chāndji Kāmdin. Authentic local tradition, recorded at the end of the 18th century, says that this Chāndji had received the title of Mulla Jamasp from the Emperor Akbar. It is thus possible that he was one of the Parsi priests who accompanied the learned Meherji Rana to the court of Akbar and there took part in the theological discussions at Fathpur Sikri. Pleased with his services, Akbar may have conferred upon him the name and style of Mulla Jamasp. Moreover, ever since the time of Akbar, the Parsis and their ancient Iranian religion and calendar had stood in high favour at the Mughal court. Jahangir, though an orthodox Muslim, dates his autobiography according to the new Ilahi era with its Iranian names for the months of the year. He must have been very gratified when two Parsi priests made a special journey to Ahmadabad to wait on him. Navsari was at this period, according to Abu-l-Fazl, famous for its manufacture of *attar*, the like of which was not produced anywhere else in India. The nature of the present was, therefore, such as would appeal with great force to Jahangir who was fond of perfumes and considered himself an expert in the matter.[11]

Issue of the Zodiacal coinage

To numismatists in particular, Jahangir's stay in Gujarat has an importance all its own. It was about this time that the Emperor conceived the idea of issuing the famous Zodiacal coins which form a series quite the most beautiful of all issued during his reign. On these celebrated coins, instead of the name of the month of issue, there was stamped the figure of the sign of the Zodiac (a ram, a bull, etc.) corresponding to the particular month. While the issue of the Zodiacal gold muhrs was seemingly reserved mainly for the mint at Agra, we find that it was during his second stay at Ahmadabad that most of the Zodiacal rupees were struck at the mint of that city.[12] Jahangir, in his *Memoirs*, claims the issue of these

10 Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the 'Grand Old Man of India', and the first Indian to enter the British Parliament, was a member of this Dordi family of Navsari and was born in this town. He was ninth in descent from Mulla Jamasp of the farman.

11 For a translation of this farman, and an elaborate commentary on it, and on the documents relating to the land, see Dr. J. J. Modi's paper, *A Farman of the Emperor Jahangir in favour of two Parsis*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XXV, No. 3, (1920-21).

12 It was probably during the reign of Jahangir that a new and special building was put up at Ahmadabad to serve as the Mughal mint. H. G. Briggs, writing of his visit in 1848, says that the Mint of Jahangir was situated in the heart of the city. It stood within 'a quadrangular yard built in the old form of a Mughal fortification, with an arched stone entrance and lodges on either side for guards.' Adjoining it, he saw a large Hindu temple, the construction of which was ascribed to Samaldas, 'the last mint-master,' the coinage struck under his superintendence being still known at this period as the 'Samalshai Rupee.' (*Cities of Gujarashtra*, 224.)

coins to be specially his own invention,[13] and we may accept his statement, particularly as the story recorded by Tavernier, that these Zodiacal muhrs and rupees were struck by Nur Jahan during the four and twenty hours that Jahangir permitted her to reign in his stead, has been definitely consigned to the domain of fiction and has no historical basis to support it.[14]

Not less interesting than the Zodiacal coins are the celebrated muhrs and rupees that bear, along with the Emperor's name, that of his ambitious queen, Nur Jahan. The issue of these coins from the Surat mint seems to have been fairly plentiful; but it is very exceptional to find a gold muhr or a silver rupee of this kind struck at Ahmadabad. This type continued to be minted during the last four years of Jahangir's reign, *i.e.*, from H. 1034 to H. 1037 (A.D. 1624-27). The obverse and reverse of these issues, read consecutively, yield the following 'felicitous couplet':

Nur Jahani couplet on the coins

'By the order of Shah Jahangir money gained a hundred beauties
Through the name of Nur Jahan Padshah Begum'.[15]

The English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, had been in attendance at Jahangir's court for nearly three years, from his first arrival at Ajmer on December 23, 1615, till his final departure for Surat about 24 September, 1618 after Jahangir had left Ahmadbad for Agra. While greedily accepting and demanding all the costly presents and curiosities that the ambassador offered to him, Jahangir did little to satisfy Roe's desire for formal 'capitulations' or treaty between the Mughal and the English King. On the contrary, his favourite son Shah Jahan, who held the jagir of Surat, thwarted the envoy at every turn.[16] During the last eight months of his stay, however, Roe received two formal letters from Jahangir for being delivered or transmitted to King James, in reply, no doubt, to the letter that Roe had brought out for the Mughal ruler from the English sovereign. Their translations have been preserved, one in the Public Record Office in London, and the other (in Roe's own handwriting) in the British Museum. The earlier of the two is dated at Ahmadabad, 20 February 1618, a few days after Jahangir left

Jahangir's letters for King James I

13 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, R and B, II, 6-7. See also S. H. Hodivala, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, 171-72; Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX (1902), pp. 426-28.

14 Tavernier's account is found in his *Six Voyages*, trans. by J. P. (John Phillip), London, 1678, Part II, pp. 10, 11. It has been omitted in V. Ball's later edition of 1889.

15 G. P. Taylor, Article on *The Coins of Ahmadabad*, J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XX (1902), 429, and Fig. 37; and on *The Coins of Surat*, J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXII (1908), 250-51, and Plate I, Fig. 3.

16 When the Prince arrived in state at Mandu in October 1617, after his victorious Deccan campaign, Roe wished to pay him a visit to welcome him, but was told to come at his Durbar the next morning, upon which he records in his Journal, 'This I took in extreme scorn, his Father never denying me access; and his pride is such as may teach Lucifer' (*The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, Ed. by Sir W. Foster, II, 424).

the city after his first visit to it. The second bears the following subscription : 'Written in Amadavaz, the chief city of Guzeratt, Anno Domini 1618, mense August, die 8'; and below it, 'Sewed in a purse of gold and sealed up by the Diwan at both ends, (and) sent to the ambassador.'[17]

Jahangir made his state departure from Ahmadabad on September 2, 1618, and encamped for three nights at Kankaria tank, where he entertained the Shaikhs and other religious men of the city. After leaving the capital, the camp halted at Mahmudabad on the Vatrak, the city which had been founded by Mahmud Begada, and which was regarded for a short period, under Mahmud III, as the capital of the province owing to this Sultan's long residence there. Jahangir was pleased with the water and climate of the place, which he thought much superior to those of Ahmadabad. The Emperor halted for more than ten days at this spot, not only because he was very delighted with its climate, but also because it was impossible to proceed further as the river Mahi was in flood and not yet fordable. At this stage, Jahangir dismissed the local officers, zamindars and holy men who had accompanied his camp from the capital of the province. Rustam Khan, whom Shah Jahan had appointed to the charge of Gujarat as his deptuy, and all the other imperial servants of the subah, were honoured with gifts and given permission to depart. The following day, Rao Bharo, the aged ruler of Cutch, took leave to go to his territories, receiving on the occasion a dress of honour, a jewelled sword and a horse. Next, Saiyid Muhammad, the descendant of the saint Shah Alam, and the head of the Bukhari Saiyids of Gujarat, was ordered, before he departed, to ask for whatever boon he desired, the Emperor taking an oath on the Quran to grant it. The Saiyid, who appears to have been a cultured and accomplished ecclesiastic, asked for a copy of the sacred book so that he might always keep it with him. Jahangir presented him with a small elegantly bound copy, with his autograph, and asked him to translate the book word by word into Persian in plain language without any refinements. The work, when completed, was to be forwarded to the court in charge of the son.[18] In fact, the Emperor was extremely pleased with the excellent disposition and character of both the Saiyid and his son, Jalal-ud-din, who later became the chief ecclesiastical officer (*Sadr-us-Sadur*) of the Mughal Empire during the reign of Shah Jahan.

Encamped at Mahmudabad

17 *The Embassy of Sir T. Roe*, II, 557-60.

18 Saiyid Muhammad (entitled Maqbul Alam) lived on into Shah Jahan's reign, and died in 1636, with the reputation of an accomplished scholar and Sufi. He is buried in the second of the two great mausoleums at Rasulabad (Shah Alam) outside Ahmadabad, which was built by the Subahdar Saif Khan, and his tomb may be identified by the alleged foot-prints of the Prophet carved on it.

After a fairly long halt at Mahmudabad, Jahangir would not wait longer till the Mahi was fordable, and despatched his chief Bakhshi, Khwaja Abu-l-Hasan, with an active force, to throw up a bridge across the river so that the 'sublime camp' could pass it. In the absence of any boats on this river, a bridge of boats was not possible. Though the water was very deep and flowing rapidly, the Bakhshi managed to build a very strong causeway, 140 yards long and 4 yards wide. In order to test its capacity, Jahangir ordered one of the biggest and strongest of the royal elephants and three other female elephants to be sent across it. But the structure was so firmly built that its supports did not shake when these beasts, 'of mountainous form,' were made to walk upon it. After he had crossed over, the Emperor remained about four days encamped by the river-side, partly because of the entrancing beauty of the spot, as also to enable his large retinue to cross over in safety without creating any confusion. As usual, a wine-feast was held on the banks of the Mahi, and those of the intimate officers who had admittance to such convivial parties, 'had their hearts delighted by brimming cups.'

Bridge across the Mahi

Beyond the Mahi, on the way towards Dohad, the little Prince Shuja, the second son of Shah Jahan, 'who was being brought up in the chaste lap of Nur Jahan Begum,' became seriously ill with an infantile disease. The child fainted and its life was despaired of. Jahangir was evidently extremely fond of his grandchild, for he says that it was dearer to him than life itself, and that its insensibility (*bi-hūshi*) took away his senses (*hūsh*). When all human remedies failed, the Emperor turned in supplication for the Divine mercy. He remembered a vow which he had taken seventeen years before at Allahabad that, when he had passed his fiftieth year, he would give up hunting with gun and bullet. He now repeated this solemn pledge to give up shooting in the hope that, 'if the child's life became the means of preserving the lives of many animals, the Almighty might restore it to him.'[19] At any rate, after this, the child's illness declined and it recovered.

Jahangir abjures shooting

On October 24, 1618, the royal camp reached Dohad, the frontier town of Gujarat, and on this day the wife of Prince Shah Jahan, the beautiful Mumtaz Mahal, gave birth to a son, who was to be famous in history as Aurangzeb. The birthday entertainment for his son was given later on by Shah Jahan at Ujjain. Here then we take leave of Jahangir on his leisurely progress towards his capital, by way of Chambal, Ujjain and

Comments on Jahangir's visit

19 Almost four years later, Jahangir retracted his resolution and resumed his practice of shooting with a gun to indicate his bitterness at Shah Jahan's rebellion. (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, 236.)

Ranthambhor, hunting *nilgaus* and tigers on the way,[20] and receiving distinguished persons from all parts of the Empire. The imperial assemblage of 1618 at Ahmadabad must be regarded as one of the most interesting episodes in the history of this city, by virtue of the long period which the Emperor spent here, the personages who accompanied him, and their position in the Empire. Nur Jahan was here, the first Mughal Empress of India, whose name was engraved on the coins of the realm. Here were also Itimad-ud-daula, the Empress's father, honoured with the title of Madäru-l-Mulk (Pivot of the Kingdom), and her powerful brother Asaf Khan. Prince Shah Jahan was here, fresh with the laurels of his Deccan campaign and high in the love and esteem of his father. Sir Thomas Roe was also here with his suite and his worthy chaplain, the Rev. Edward Terry. In view of the minute details which the Emperor Jahangir records throughout his autobiography, and the special interest with which he describes the arrival and departure of embassies, the complete absence of all reference to Sir Thomas Roe, who resided at his court for so long a period at Ajmer, at Mandu and at Ahmadabad, cannot but be a matter of some surprise. It may, perhaps, be explained by the fact that to the Great Mughal the only foreign courts that mattered were those of Persia and Turkey, and that the arrival of the representative of a distant and unknown Prince from far off Europe, whose subjects were suppliants at his ports for the privilege of settling down as mere traders, was much too insignificant an event to deserve record in the imperial diary.

Was Nur Jahan governor of Ahmadabad?

We shall conclude this chapter by a reference to the famous historical tradition to the effect that, during the imperial stay in Gujarat, Jahangir appointed Nur Jahan 'Lady Governor' of Ahmadabad and subahdar of the province. This tradition, first mentioned in the pages of M. Anquetil du Perron in 1771, was taken up by Robert Orme, the historiographer of the East India Company, at the end of the eighteenth century, was reproduced by Henry George Briggs in his *Cities of Gujarashtra* in the middle of the nineteenth century, and has been handed down to us by Sir James Campbell in the Ahmadabad volume of his monumental *Gazetteers* and by Mr. James Douglas in his charming book ***Bombay and Western India.*** That so many and distinguished writers should have unquestioningly accepted as history this tradition need cause no surprise if we remember how extraordinary was the influence in state affairs which Nur Jahan exercised during her husband's reign, and how intimately she was associated with the political affairs of the Empire. The

20 Jahangir's passion for hunting is seen from a statement in his *Memoirs* to the effect that he had killed no less than 17,167 animals and birds with his own hand between the twelfth year of his age to his 50th lunar birthday (A.D. 1580 to 1617). Of these, 3,203 were quadrupeds, comprising, among others, 86 tigers, 889 *nilgaus* or blue bulls, 64 wolves, 36 wild buffaloes, 90 boars and 1670 antelopes, *chitals* and mountain goats. Besides these animals there were 13,064 birds. (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 369).

substance of the accounts given by these writers is contained in the following statement by H. G. Briggs :

'Ahmadabad was one of the four cities allowed to coin gold for the Imperial administration, according to the Ayin Akbari. M. Anquetil du Perron mentions that Nur Jahan held the government of Gujarat for a season, when rupees were struck at Ahmadabad with the following inscription: "In the 13th of the installation, 1028 of the Hijra, Nur Jahan, wife of King Jahangir, son of Akbar, being Lady Governor of Ahmadabad."[21]

A Zodiacal coin misread

This interesting tradition, however, has no foundation in history, and is based on a numismatic error which was exposed by the late Dr. Geo. P. Taylor of Ahmadabad in a scholarly paper contributed to the *East and West* in 1901. He pointed out that the whole stream of evidence in support of Nur Jahan's governorship of Ahmadabad can be traced back to a single source, *viz.*, Anquetil du Perron, a French scholar who visited Surat in 1771, and who, in turn, rests his authority on his reading of a silver rupee of the type known to numismatists as the Zodiacal Leo and struck at Ahmadabad during the 13th year of Jahangir's reign. Dr. Taylor proceeds :

'While now writing, I hold in my left hand a rupee of the very type described in detail by M. Anquetil du Perron. His, I doubt not, was a specimen inferior to mine, otherwise to have fallen into so many mistakes in deciphering it had been impossible. At one time or another I must have had in my possession some half dozen of these rupees and the solitary one that now remains with me is certainly the best specimen of them all. On one side is depicted a Lion passant to left surrounded by solar rays, and on the Lion's flank are clearly stars, presumably intended to represent the constellation Leo. Between the Lion's feet, fore and hind, are the words transcribed by M. du Perron, *Saneh 13 julus*—the year 13 after the accession. The other side of the coin bears an inscription, every single letter and figure of which stands out perfectly distinctly. And without the least shadow of a doubt this is what the legend reads :—

Zar Ahmadabad ra dad zewar
Jahangir Shah Shahanshah Akbar

'To the gold of Ahmadabad gave adornment,
King Jahangir, (son of) Akbar, King of Kings.'[22]

21 H. G. Briggs, *Cities of Gujarash'ra*, 224-25. Du Perron gives his transliteration of the Persian legend on the coin as follows: *Ahmadabad ra daver Nur Jahan Jahangir Shah Akbar* (*Zend Avesta* (1771), I, Pt. I pp. cclxvii and dxiv).

22 Dr. G. P. Taylor's Article in *East and West*, November 1901, pp. 76-82. A full account of the coins struck at Ahmadabad during Jahangir's reign, covering the great variety of his coin-legends, is given in Dr. Taylor's paper in Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX (1902), pp. 424-31.

CHAPTER VII

PRINCE SHAH JAHAN'S REVOLT AND THE CIVIL WAR, 1622-23

AS stated in the previous chapter, when the imperial court was about to leave Gujarat at the end of the rains of 1618, Shah Jahan appointed one of his nobles, Rustam Khan, to administer the province as his deputy, which the latter continued to do for about four years, until his recall in 1622. The English merchants at Ahmadabad were quite pleased at his departure, for they write: 'We are glad Rustom Khan, that old cur, so false to his promise, is excluded from that place and government.'[1] In succession to him, Shah Jahan appointed his most trusted lieutenant, and perhaps the ablest among his officers, the Hindu Raja Vikramajit, to the government of the province. During his very short tenure of power (1622), the Raja conducted an expedition against the predatory Koli tribes, to the north of the capital, which were for generations a terror to all travellers in northern Gujarat.[2] Being a Hindu, he forbade the slaughter of cows and buffaloes, one result of which order was that the skins of these animals were not available to the merchants for packing their goods for transport.[3] Though perhaps less tyrannical towards the merchants than his predecessor had been, the English factors at Ahmadabad were glad when he too was called away by Shah Jahan from Gujarat to accompany him in his campaign against his royal father in the north. 'All men rejoiceth,' they write, 'at his going, and hope never to see his return...Many complaints of his false and cruel dealings, which would be admonition sufficient to us in our dealings with him if he had stayed.'[4] As will be seen later, Raja Vikramajit was killed the next year in the battle of Baluchpur fighting against the imperial troops.[5]

Rustam Khan and Raja Vikramajit

1 *English Factories*, Ed. by Sir W. Foster, 1622-23, p. 87.
2 ibid, 153.
3 ibid, 110.
4 ibid, 162.
5 This Hindu chief and court noble, whose name was Sundardas, should be distinguished from Rai Rayan Patardas, who also bore the title of Vikramajit. Sundardas was a Brahman and joined the service of Prince Shah Jahan as Mir Saman (major domo). For securing the submission of the Rana of Udaipur on behalf of the Prince, he received from Jahangir the title of Rai Rayan (1614). He was next sent to the Deccan with Afzal Khan to give counsel to Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, with the result that he obtained 15 lakhs as tribute for the Emperor, and, for this service, Jahangir bestowed on him the title of Raja Vikramajit at the end of 1617. In 1620 he invested the im-

The English at Ahmadabad oppressed

The year 1622 was, on the whole, a period of trial for the English merchants at Ahmadabad, who complain of the 'increased height of present insolence and our miserable thraldom.' The Diwan of the province, Safi Khan, claimed a sum of 23,000 laris (£9,686) from them for goods seized by the Portuguese in one of the Mughal vessels, and he detained their goods in this city and at Cambay until they had at last to satisfy his demands. In September, 1622, Nathaniel Halstead, the Chief of the factory at Ahmadabad, died, whereupon the Kotwal came up with his men and took charge of everything in the factory on the ground that the estate of an alien was forfeited to the state. All the money, goods and clothes, belonging not only to the deceased but to the other factors as well, were sealed up, 'not leaving one rag to shift us nor bed or cot to lie on.' The account books, documents, and other articles were also stamped and taken charge of. Not content with this, the Kotval 'disgracefully beat us, and would have carried us bound to the bazar and there inflicted further punishment upon us, but by means of a bribe we stopped their fury. The body of our friend they kept so long above ground that he began to be noisome and when we buried him we had no other clothes than our shirts and (breeches) to accompany him to his grave.'[6]

Causes of the civil war—Nur Jahan and Khurram

We shall now turn to review the crisis in the history of the Empire brought about by the rebellion of Shah Jahan against his royal father, which plunged the country into civil war and led to an important campaign near Ahmadabad. The cordial relations between the Prince and Nur Jahan, which had deen so much in evidence during the year 1617-18, had by 1622 given place to complete estrangement, because of the latter's designs to secure the throne for Jahangir's youngest son, Shahriyar, who had married Nur Jahan's daughter by her former husband. This scheme clashed with the natural expectations of Shah Jahan, who had hitherto been the Emperor's favourite son and was regarded by all as the heir-apparent. He had in 1620 removed from his path one possible competitor for the throne by conniving at the murder of his elder brother, Prince Khusru, whom his father had weakly placed under his charge. In March 1622, Shah Jahan received orders to repair to the court with all speed and to bring up with him his forces, his elephants, and his artillery. He was to be entrusted with the operations for the defence of the great trans-frontier fortress of Qandahar, which had been besieged by Shah Abbas I of Persia, who claimed that

pregnable Hindu fort of Kangra, near Nagarkot, which had hitherto defied the Mughal generals, and secured its surrender after 14 months. At the time of his death, he had attained the rank of a mansabdar of 5,000, and 'there was no greater officer than he in the Prince's service.' His brother Kanhar was appointed by him as his deputy at Ahmadabad when he left that city to join the Prince's army in the north. (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 273-4, 368, 402; II, 185, 255-56; *Maasir-ul-umara*, trans. by Beveridge, I, 412-19).

[6] *English Factories*, 1622-23, p. 125.

the fort rightfully belonged to him. The Prince saw in this order an attempt on the part of Nur Jahan's faction to remove him to a great distance and to detach him from his armies and adherents in Hindustan. He, therefore, temporised, and demanded certain guarantees, which were refused. Confident in the support of the Khan Khanan and several leading nobles of the Empire, and in the vast resources at his disposal in the Subahs of Gujarat, Malwa, Khandesh and the Deccan, which had been placed under his charge, the Prince unwisely decided to assert his position in arms against his imperial father.

Jahangir was in Kashmir when news of the siege of Qandahar, and the later tidings of the rebellious conduct of his son, reached him. Though in feeble health from attacks of asthma, he proceeded by slow stages to the Panjab in order to supervise the operations for the relief of Qandahar and to take action against his son's undutiful attitude. In his Memoirs he gives bitter expression to his feelings of mingled pain, sorrow and resentment at the conduct of his favourite son, on whom he had hitherto lavished all his affection:

Jahangir's resentment

> 'From the kindness and favours bestowed upon him, I can say that until the present time no King has conferred such on his son. What my reverend father did for my brothers I have done for his servants, giving them titles, standards, and drums...When, with a father like me, who in my own lifetime have raised him to the great dignity of Sultanship, and denied him nothing, he acts in this manner, I appeal to the justice of Allah that he may never again regard him with favour. By successive marches I proceeded to punish that one of dark fortune, and gave an order that henceforth they should call him *Bi-daulat* (the disloyal wretch).'[7]

The leading nobles of the Empire had perforce to take opposite sides according as they upheld or were indifferent to Shah Jahan's claims to the succession. The Commander-in-chief, Abdurrahim Khan, the Khan Khanan, now seventy years of age, sided with the Prince, and was during a great part of the war in the latter's camp at Mandu and other places. 'When nobles like the Khan Khanan,' writes Jahangir with bitter rage, 'who have been distinguished with the rank of Atalik, make their faces black with rebellion and ingratitude, how could one complain of others? His father [Bairam Khan] at the end of his life behaved in the same unbecoming way towards my reverend father. He, following the example, at his age made himself accursed and rejected to all eternity.'[8] A greater disappointment was in store for the Emperor when, during the progress of the first battle of the war, Abdulla Khan Bahadur Firuz Jung, ex-viceroy of Gujarat and a mansabdar of 6,000 horse, deserted the royal cause to join the prince. The great Mahabat Khan, however,

The nobles take sides

7 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* II, 248,256.
8 ibid, II, 250.

remained loyal to his master on this occasion, and later helped him to secure the last great military success of the war. So also, Asaf Khan, Khwaja Abu-l-Hasan, and many other Muslim and Rajput nobles of the northen and eastern provinces, sided in general with Jahangir. Among the adherents of the Prince, the ablest commander was undoubtedly the Hindu Raja Vikramajit, whom the Emperor describes as the 'ring-leader of the people of error and the chief of the seditions.'[9]

The rest of the year 1622 passed away in communications and hostile preparations on both sides, and the civil war began in the spring of 1623 when Shah Jahan advanced with his forces from Mandu for the north. He was foiled in his attempt to secure the royal treasures in the fort at Agra, which stronghold had been put in a state of defence by the royalists, and he found the gates of Fathpur Sikri closed against him. Raja Vikramajit was, however, able to enter the defenceless town of Agra, which was sacked, and the leading nobles there were robbed of their wealth. After some manoeuvring on both sides, the first pitched battle of the war took place in the plains of Baluchpur, forty miles to the south of Delhi. Neither the Emperor nor the Prince took a personal part in the action, but directed the operations from a distance. The imperial troops were placed under Asaf Khan, Abdulla Khan Firuz Jang and Khwaja Abu-l-Hasan, the Bakhshi. The nominal command of the Prince's army was in the hands of Darab, the son of the Khan-Khanan, but the actual leader and guiding spirit was Raja Vikramajit. The battle was fought in March, 1623, and ended in a victory for the imperialists. Soon after the encounter began, Abdulla Khan, one of the ablest generals of the day, who had been placed in charge of the vanguard of 10,000 cavalry and of the intelligence department, deserted to the Prince, and for a time threw the royal camp into confusion. Jahangir speaks bitterly of him as the 'black-faced one to all eternity,' and throughout his account o lthe civil war refers to him under the title of *Lanat-ullah* (God's curse).

The Prince routed at Baluchpur, March, 1623

This defection in the royal camp was, however, more than compensated for by the death of Raja Vikramajit, the ablest of Shah Jahan's generals, by a chance shot, and 'at his fall the pillars of the courage of the rebels shook' and the cause of the Prince was lost. We are told that, when the Raja's body was taken to a neighbouring village to be burnt, and they were about to light the pyre, some troops being seen at a distance, everyone took to flight. The muqaddam of the village cut off the Raja's head and took it to the Khan Azam, by whom the man was taken before Jahangir. The head was quite recognizable, but the ears had been cut off for the sake of the pearls in them. Thus perished the hero of the conquest of Kangra and the ex-deputy Subahdar of Gujarat in the first and most decisive battle of the civil war.

Death of Raja Vikramajit

[9] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, 249.

An echo of the civil war in Gujarat, indicative of the restrictions imposed at Ahmadabad at the outbreak of the war, is heard in the pages of the Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle, who arrived in Gujarat early in 1623, and found some difficulty in leaving Ahmadabad with his young Georgian lady-ward, in order to proceed to Cambay on the 28th February of this year. The gates of the city appear to have been closed under orders from Shah Jahan, whose object was to guard against the danger of defection among his troops by preventing their wives and families from leaving the capital. The European traveller, having a lady with him, thus found it necessary to secure the necessary permit. He says :

P. Della Valle at Ahmadabad

'At our setting forth we met with a little obstacle, for, by reason of the new commotion between the Moghul and his son Sultan Chorrom (Khurram), who was become master of these parts of Guzerat, there was a fresh prohibition in Ahmadabad that no soldiers' wives nor other person of quality should go out of the city by land. Husbands are in a manner necessitated to abide where their wives and houses are. So that, by reason of this prohibition, I could not have got away, having my Sig^ra^ Mariuccia[10] with me, unless I had obtained express leave in writing from the Governor; in order to which it was needful for me to make it appear that we were strangers, and not people of the country, and to pay some small sum of money, besides going backward and forward, whereby we lost much time.'[11]

Some details about the civil war and its repercussions at Ahmadabad are also available from the letters sent by the English factors in that city to Surat. In January, 1623, there was great scarcity of money at the capital consequent on the Prince sending orders that all the treasure (*khazana*) was to be transported to Mandu by the shroffs.[12] On April 5, the factors convey the news of the battle near Agra between the armies of the Emperor and the Prince in which some 5,000 persons were slain on the two sides, among them being 'the Raja of this place' (Raja Vikramajit) and Rustam Khan's son. Also that the Raja's moneys had been conveyed by his brother into the hands of several friends, and the same had been done by Muhammad Taqi also, the Prince's diwan. Further that the Bakhshi of the province 'standeth gaping for other news, that he might seize of all the treasure that is here for the King's use, which is 14 lakhs of rupees ready money, besides the

Information conveyed by the English factors

10 This refers to an orphan girl, a Georgian by birth, who had been adopted by Della Valle's wife during their travels in Persia. After the latter's death near Persepolis, her husband took the girl under his protection. She was the companion of his travels for many years, and Della Valle married her after reaching Rome, his native city. (*Travels of P. Della Valle in India*, I, pp. IV, 24 *n*).

11 *Travels of P. Della Valle* (Hakluyt Society), I, 102.

12 *English Factories*, 1622-23, p. 181.

takhat (throne) and what else soever of the Prince's.'[13] Writing again some days later, the factors refer to the 'daily expectation of the downfall of that villainous Prince;' also that Abdulla Khan, who had gone over to Shah Jahan, and had been appointed by the latter to the government of Gujarat, had despatched a servant of his (a eunuch named Wafadar) to Ahmadabad to take over charge, 'who is here arrived with 200 horse and not suffered to come into the city.'[14] On May 23, news is conveyed to the effect that Safi Khan, acting in the interests of the Emperor at Ahmadabad, had imprisoned all the Prince's servants, especially Muhammad Taqi, whose house had been completely robbed, and that some indigo, belonging to the Prince, had been 'sold by armfulls, and happy he that would carry away most.' Also that Cambay, Dholka and other towns had been seized upon in the King's name; that Raja Vikramajit's brother had fled leaving his goods behind him; and that the royal treasure 'had been sent for back.'[15]

Safi Khan's loyalty to Jahangir

The details given above find confirmation in the imperial autobiography. According to the *Tuzuk*, after his defeat and retreat, the Prince had sent orders to Kanhardas, Raja Vikramajit's brother, and to Safi Khan, the Diwan of the province, to repair to his court at Mandu, and to bring with them all the royal treasure at Ahmadabad, as also the jewelled throne and belt (*pardala*) prepared by his orders in this city for being presented to the Emperor, the throne being valued at five lakhs of rupees and the belt at two lakhs. As Safi Khan and Shah Jahan had married two sisters, the daughters of Asaf Khan, the Prince expected that the Diwan would take his side in his revolt against his father. But Safi Khan secretly espoused the interests of his sovereign, and, by his energy and resourcefulness, Gujarat remained loyal to Jahangir, and the Prince suffered a serious military disaster in the province. The Diwan, however, could not prevent Salih Beg, the fauzdar of Petlad, who was in the Prince's interest, from marching off to Mandu taking with him the jewelled belt and ten lakhs of the royal treasure from Ahmadabad, though the golden throne had to be left behind on account of its weight. Pretending to side with the Prince, Safi Khan left Ahmadabad, and entered into secret communication with other loyal fauzdars of the towns of Gujarat, and arranged that they should all enter the capital with their forces on a fixed date. At the critical moment, he returned, and, entering the city with his troops by the Sarangpur gate, took possession of the castle and boldly proclaimed himself in the interests of the Emperor. The disloyal officials, including Muhammad Taqi, the Prince's diwan,

13 *English Factories*, 1922-23, p. 218. According to the *Tuzuk*, the throne was later broken-up by Safi Khan to pay his soldiers.

14 ibid, p. 226.

15 ibid, p. 233.

were seized in their houses and made prisoners. Wafadar,[16] the eunuch sent by Abdulla Khan to be his deputy, who had taken refuge in the house of Shaikh Haidar, the grandson of the saint Wajihu-d-din, was now brought before Safi Khan with his hands tied to his neck. The jewelled throne, and cash to the value of two lakhs of rupees, as also the property and effects of the Prince, were now distributed among the imperial troopers, the throne being broken up for the purpose. At the same time, all the feudatory Hindu princes of Gujarat, including Raja Kalyan of Idar, were summoned to the capital with their contingents to defend the province in the interest of the Emperor.[17]

Abdulla Khan's defeat at Jetalpur, 1623

When news reached Shah Jahan at Mandu that Ahmadabad was in the hands of his opponents, and that the province of Gujarat was slipping from his control, he sent forward Abdulla Khan, now his most important officer, with an army for its recovery. The latter advanced with some 5,000 horse, and by forced marches arrived at Baroda within eight days. The imperialists, led by Safi Khan, Nahir Khan, Raja Kalyan, Saiyid Dilir Khan and others, issued from the capital, and, proceeding by way of the Kankaria tank, encamped at the village of Vatva near the mausoleum of Qutb-i-Alam. Abdulla Khan now advanced first to Mahmudabad and then to the village of Bareja. The place where he halted, was, however, full of thorn-brakes and narrow lanes, and he was therefore anxious to cross the river and advance to the plains of Sarkhej which would be more favourable for his strategy. But, before he had gone far, he was attacked in the flank, and the battle was precipitated. The site of the action was near the village of Jetalpur, and here the imperialists won the second great success of the civil war (June 14, 1623). The battle began before daybreak and lasted for three hours. The Prince's army was defeated with 3,000 killed, among whom were Himmat Khan, the governor of Broach, and Salih Beg, the governor of Petlad. The heads of these two nobles, 'with some 200 heads of the chiefest,' were brought into the city of Ahmadabad. The spoils of the vanquished army, including horses, elephants, camels, tents, etc., were looted by the victors. Abdulla Khan was himself wounded and fled by way of Baroda to Broach, where his arrival with 2,000 horse caused alarm as the people were afraid of being robbed by his troops. The sons of Himmat Khan, however, refused to admit him into the fort

16 An English traveller, Sir Thomas Herbert, who was at Surat in 1627, makes an interesting reference to this upstart in his fairly long account of the Civil War. He says: 'The eunuch in good equipage travels thitherward, and, by the inhabitants of Ahmadabad, was received with due ceremony; but not able to bear with modesty the greatness of that command, was so puffed up with simple apprehensions of his high station that he looks upon all others within the circle of his government as abject persons; which pride in the end rendered him ridiculous, and made him the contempt of diverse, among which was Nawab Safi Khan, an eminent officer, being no less than Chancellor to the Mogol in those provinces. (Herbert's *Travels into Africa and Asia the Great*, London, 1677, pp. 81-83).

17 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, 262-64.

though they sent him 5,000 mahmudis by way of maintenance. After a three days' stay outside its walls, he proceeded by sea to Surat which was part of Shah Jahan's jagir. Here he exacted nearly four lakhs of mahmudis from the local officials, and, after collecting together his scattered forces, he joined the Prince at Burhanpur.[18]

There was great consternation at Ahmadabad before the issue of the battle was known. The approach of Abdulla Khan's army from Baroda to Mahmudabad and then to Bareja had struck terror among the citizens: the city gates were closed and no one was permitted to pass in or out on horseback. The confusion was increased by the influx of refugees from the adjoining places, including a vast multitude from Cambay, who came to the capital for safety.[19] After the victory at Jatalpur, the successful Diwan, Safi Khan, and his troops entered the city with great pomp, and the heads of the partisans of the Prince were brought in and a pillar formed of them in the chief market-place. The citizens showed their joy by hanging up velvet cloth and other decorations in the principal streets. The Banyas at the capital received the victorious generals with applause and offerings of presents as if they had been delivered from bondage. 'And to say the truth', says Nicholas Bangham, the Chief of the English factory in Ahmadabad, 'myself in heart rejoiced with them for the delivery from so tyrannical a crew'.[20] Evidently, the administration of Shah Jahan's officers at the capital must have been of the most oppressive type.

Joy among the citizens of Ahmadabad

After the victory at Baluchpur, the Emperor, who had gone to Ajmer, had appointed his grandson, Prince Dawar Bakhsh (also known as Sultan Bulaqi), the son of the murdered Khusru, as viceroy of Gujarat with a *mansab* of 8,000 *zat* and 3,000 horse, and two lakhs of rupees for the expenses of his army (May 9, 1623). But, as he was only a boy of fifteen, his maternal grandfather, the veteran Mirza Aziz Koka, the Khan-i-Azam, was nominated as his guardian (*ataliq*), and was entrusted with an army to recover Gujarat from the officers of Shah Jahan.[21] But, before Aziz Koka arrived in the province, the royal standard had been unfurled by Safi Khan and other nobles, as related above. A fortnight after the victory at Jetalpur, the young Prince, accompanied by his guardian and the latter's son, Mirza Shadman, entered Ahmadabad with the army from the north. The English merchants, who witnessed the arrival, were not much impressed by the cavalcade, and describe it as 'a poor laskar, at the most five thousand horse, meanly accoutremented and in very small pomp.'[22] They also give expression to the

Dawar Bakhsh as viceroy, 1623

18 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, 265-67; *English Factories*, 1622-23, pp. 239-42.
19 *English Fact ries*, 1622-23, p. 239.
20 ibid, 1622-23, p. 241.
21 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, 260-61.
22 *English Factories*, 1622-23, p. 244.

current rumour that the despatch of Prince Bulaqi at so tender an age to Gujarat was the result of the machinations of Nur Jahan, and that she wanted to remove the young prince from the court so that his presence there might not remind the Emperor of his murdered son Khusru, 'which gave him much distress.'

The victory of the imperialists at Jetalpur was won by Safi Khan on June 14, 1623, and, on July 3, young Prince Dawar Bakhsh, accompanied by his guardian, entered Ahmadabad. The next step was to send an army to recover two of the principal towns of Gujarat, *viz*, Surat and Broach, from the hands of Shah Jahan's partisans. On hearing of the defeat of Abdulla Khan, the inhabitants of Broach had declared for the Emperor, and had refused to allow the Prince's officer to cross over from Ankleswar, by detaining all the boats on their side of the river. A detachment sent by Safi Khan from Ahmadabad occupied the town on July 7. On August 19, an army which had been sent under Nahir Khan took Ankleswar without resistance. One Bahadur Khan, who had arrived in Gujarat with Jahangir's army, and had been made governor of Baroda by the Khan-i-Azam, was now appointed governor of Surat, and he marched to secure that important city in the royal interest. Evidently, the people of Surat had already tendered their allegiance to the Emperor, but Hakim Abdulla, the Prince's governor, and Jam Quli Beg, the commandant of the castle, took refuge in this stronghold and retaliated by firing on the town.[23] About a fortnight after the arrival of Bahadur Khan at Surat, there were some overtures for a settlement, and, on October 11, he obtained the conditional surrender of the commandant and was received in the castle where the royal standard was hoisted. As stated in the English factory records:

Recovery of Surat and Broach

> 'This day, Bahadur Khan hath been by water (accompanied by one or two) received into the castle, where the keys thereof were delivered him, the King's drums beaten and colours advanced, but the castle left still in their keeping who had it before, and the doors [*i.e.*, gates] all shut; the governor returning after two grees' (*gharis*') stay, and dispeeded suddenly a messenger to the Prince, and Khan Azam with advice of his victory (though poorly obtained).'[24]

On or about October 15, 1623, Prince Bulaqi, along with the Khan-i-Azam, his son Mirza Shadman, and Safi Khan, reached Surat, and encamped at the suburb of Jahangirpur, which not being found spacious enough for the large army with them, they removed to the village of Bhatha on the right bank of the Tapti. An English factor's letter says that the great Khan refused to promise to spare the lives of those who stood out within the castle, 'saying not a dog shall live that hath been or shall be found within it, and (he) begins to torture the

Prince Bulaqi and the Khan-i-Azam at Surat

23 *English Factories*, 1622-23, pp. 243, 246, 256, 259, 262.
24 ibid, 1622-23, p. 276.

friends of such as are now within the same, so that Jam Quli Beg hath shut the gates against them and intends to end his days therein.' Negotiations appear, however, to have been resumed, for we find that, on October 29, the commandant, after receiving from the governor, Bahadur Khan, an assurance, with an oath on the Quran, to guarantee his safety, surrendered the castle. He was sent to the court of Jahangir (which was then at Ajmer) with a guard of 200 soldiers along with some of the former leaders under the Prince. Early in November, 1623, a Farman arrived from the Emperor directing Prince Bulaqi to return presently to Ahmadabad and the Khan-i-Azam to repair to the court at Ajmer, and on the 29th of the same month we find both of them back at Ahmadabad from Surat.[25]

The Emperor was not slow in heaping rewards on Muhammad Safi Khan and others whose loyalty and gallantry had helped to crush Shah Jahan's rebellion in Gujarat. The Diwan was ennobled with the title of Nawab Saif Khan Jahangir Shahi. We shall presently refer to the garden which the Nawab laid out at the village of Jetalpur and which came also to be called Saif Bagh. He also established at Ahmadabad, in the vicinity of the Bhadra, a college, a mosque and an hospital which were for long known under his name. With the defeat and flight of Abdulla Khan, the cause of Shah Jahan was lost, though he continued in revolt for the next three years in various distant parts of the Empire. The nominal rule of Dawar Bakhsh in Gujarat, however, did not last long, for, on the death of his aged guardian in the following year, the Prince was recalled to the court and Khan Jahan was appointed in his place.[26] After him, till the end of Jahangir's reign in 1627, Saif Khan was practically Subahdar of Gujarat. This noble was dismissed on Shah Jahan's accession, but appears to have been appointed again as viceroy in 1635-36, and he died at Ahmadabad in 1640.

Rewards for Safi Khan

To commemorate his decisive victory over the Prince's army in Gujarat, Nawab Saif Khan laid out, near the village of Jetalpur, a beautiful garden, with a walled enclosure, known as the Jit Bagh[27] (or the Garden of Victory), which has been described by some 17th century European travellers who visited it. It was situated five miles from Ahmadabad, on the main road which leads from the south or

The Jit Bagh near Ahmadabad, c. 1623

[25] *English Factories* 1622-23, pp. 288, 297, 299, 328.

[26] Khan Jahan was the son of Daulat Khan Lodi and his original name was Pir Khan. Jahangir bestowed on him the title of Salabat Khan and later (1607) that of Khan Jahan. In the *Tuzuk*, the Emperor refers to him throughout as his *farzand* who was not less to him than his own sons. He also adds : 'Today, there is not in my government any person of greater influence than he, so much so, that on his representation, I pass over faults which are not pardoned at the intercession of any of the other servants of the Court.' In later years, Khan Jahan was governor of Agra and Multan before he was sent to Ahmadabad. (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 87, 89, 128 ; II, 81, 191).

[27] The account of the Jit Bagh given in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* is explicit. It says:

Jamalpur gate of this city to Cambay, by way of Bareja, Mātar and Sojitra. Among these accounts the most detailed is that given by the German traveller Mandelslo who visited the garden in 1638, though, for lack of accurate historical knowledge, he says that it was built in honour of a victory over the last Sultan of Gujarat, thus confusing this garden with the Fateh Wadi constructed by the Khan Khanan, Abdur-rahim Khan, near Sarkhej, after his great victory over Sultan Muzaffar III in 1584. In fact, these two famous gardens practically faced each other with the stream of the Sabarmati between them. Except for the inaccuracy mentioned above, this traveller's account of the garden, though somewhat exaggerated as regards its comparative excellence, may be regarded as substantially true to facts.

Mandelslo's account, 1638

Mandelslo, who saw the Jit Bagh on his return journey from Cambay to Ahmadabad, within less than fifteen years of its creation, when it must have been in its original beauty, describes it as under:

'This garden which, no doubt, is the most delightful of any in the Indies, is also the most considerable of any in the whole country, not only in respect of the victory which the Mogul gained in that place over the last king of Guzuratta, and which gave it the name of Tzeitbag (Jitbag), that is to say, 'the garden of victory,' but also in respect of its magnificent structures and the noble fruits which grow there in great abundance. It is seated in one of the most pleasant places in the world, upon the side of a great Pool, having on the side towards the water several pavilions, and on that towards Amadabat a very high wall. The sumptuousness of the buildings speaks the great spirit of the Prince that founded it, as doth also the caravansarai adjoining thereto.

'There are in the garden many alleys of fruit-trees: as orange and citron-trees of all sorts; pomegranate-trees, date-trees, almond-trees, mulberry-trees, and trees which bear tamarinds, mangoes and cocos, besides many other not known to us; and there was such abundance of them, and they were planted so close, that we could walk about the garden in the shade, which was a great refreshing to us. The branches of all these trees were infinitely stored with apes, which added not a little to the divertisement and satisfaction of our walk. We stayed no longer in it than while our horses were baiting, in regard we were resolved to get that day to Amadabat, whither we came at night.'[28]

The great 'Pool', or reservoir, as also a pavilion by the side of the lake, to which reference is made above, may be seen to this day, though hardly any tradition exists in the neighbouring village of Jetalpur about their associations with the historical events of three hundred and thirty

'In the reign of Jahangir, Saif Khan, when he put to flight Abdulla Khan Firoz Jang, made this garden in the village of Jetalpur, belonging to pargana Haveli, in commemoration of his victory. It is now (c. 1761) included in the village lands' (*Supplt.*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 23-24).

28 *Travels of J. Albert de Mandelslo into the East-Indies*, trans. by John Davies (1662), p. 44.

years ago.[29] It is possible that the old Mughal fort at this site, whose lofty and massive brick walls are still imposing in their ruins, was built soon after this period.

The Khan-i-Azam of the Empire, the veteran Mirza Aziz Koka, who had been four times Subahdar of Gujarat since Akbar's conquest, died at Ahmadabad in 1624 (H. 1033) at the ripe old age of eighty. As foster-brother of the great Akbar, and as father-in-law of Prince Murad and Prince Khusru, his had been for over half a century a privileged position at the courts of Akbar and Jahangir.[30] His body appears to have been taken to Delhi and buried near the sacred shrine of Nizam-ud-din Auliya, not far from the tomb which contains the graves of his father and his mother Jiji Anaga.[31] Here a splendid mausoleum was erected over his remains, which is popularly known as the *Chausath Khamba* on account of its sixty-four columns. It is enclosed on all sides by beautiful latticed marble screens and contains the graves of Aziz and his wife. The great Khan's grave is ornamented with fine carving, and a Quranic inscription encircles it, concluding with the Hijri year 1033 (A.D. 1623-24).[32]

Death of Aziz Koka, 1624

The details of some minor local events in the closing years of Jahangir's reign in Gujarat have been preserved as they were recorded on three inscription-slabs, two of which were found at the seaport town of Mangrol[33] in Saurashtra and one in the old suburb of Salimpura near Ahmadabad. All three have been transcribed and translated in a small but valuable work, containing a collection of Persian and Arabic inscriptions, mostly located in the peninsula, which is entitled *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, and was published by the Bhavnagar State in 1889. Both the epigraphs at Mangrol bear on an identical subject, and they record

Three inscriptions of this period, 1624-26

29 The French traveller M. Jean de Thevenot, who was at Ahmadabad in 1666, says that it was 'a pretty handsome garden' by the side of a reservoir and that he walked in it and found a great many monkeys and peacocks there. The dwelling house in it was running into ruins, and the royal house, not far off, was also in very bad repair (*Travels of M. de Thevenot into the Indies*, trans. by A. Lovell, London, 1686, pp. 7-8).

30 Mirza Aziz was noted for his ease of address, his intelligence, and scholarship. When free from the cares of office he used to devote his time to reading history and moral philosophy and was known for his witticisms.

31 The Tomb of Shams-ud-din Muhammad Atgah Khan, the father of Aziz Koka, stands near the enclosure of Amir Khusru and opposite to the tomb of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din, and was built by his son Aziz in the year H. 974 (A.D. 1566-67). It has a walled enclosure and is constructed of red sandstone inlaid with marble and coloured tiles. (*A Guide to Nizamud-d-Din* by Maulvi Zafar Hasan, in *Memoirs of the Arch. Survey of India*, No. 10, 1922, p.31)

32 *A Guide to Nizamud-d-Din*, op. cit., 34, 35 and (2)

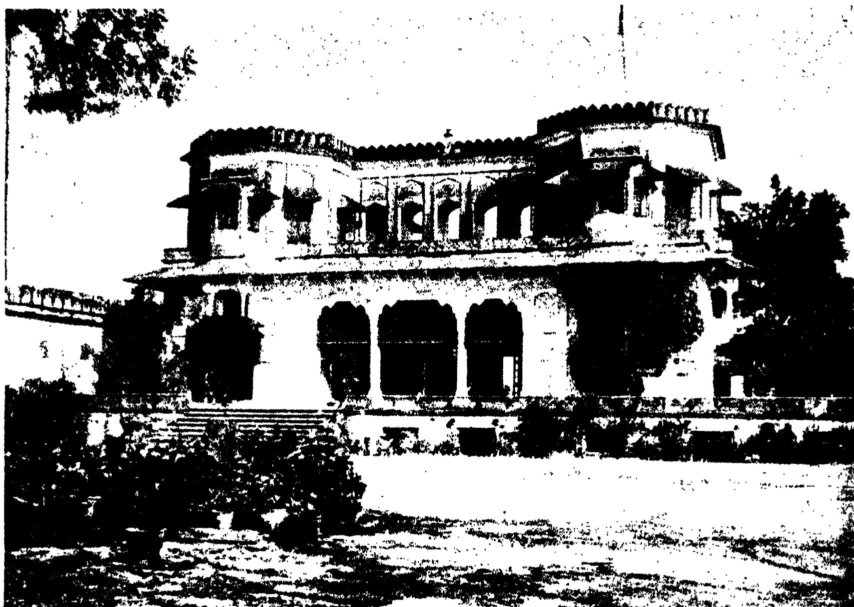
33 Mangrol (ancient Mangalpur) had become an important Muslim centre under the Imperial Tughlaqs before the end of the 14th century. (For its monuments and inscriptions, see Vol. I, Chap. VII, pp. 71-77). 'Save at Somnath Patan, there is, perhaps, no other place in Kathiawad where the followers of Islam have been so active in the conversion of Hindu temples to the service of Allah as at Mangrol, which is situated some 25 miles along the coast to the N.W. to that place. (H. Cousens, *Somnath and Other Temples of Kathiawad*, 64.)

the populating of a suburb, which was called Lalpur, near that town. They are engraved on slabs of yellow marble which were located in 1889 in the walls of the house of one Sadar Mian residing at Mangrol. Both are short records and they state that one Lal Beg, 'the slave of the king,' populated Lalpur 'through the grace of God,' and they enjoin that no pains should be spared for the welfare and prosperity of the place. The date on one of the slabs gives February 29, 1624, and on the other it is May 1, 1624. One of these slabs also bears an inscription of five lines in Sanskrit on the same subject.[34] The third marbie-slab was found fixed in the wall of a step-well (*wav*) situated in the now extinct suburb of Salimpura near Ahmadabad. It records that one Suleman, a Bohra inhabitant of the *kasba* of Modasa,[35] began the construction of the well on November 28, 1622 (4th of Safar H. 1032), and that it was completed, through the favour of God, on July 14, 1626 (29th of Shawwal, H. 1035), 'during the absolute dominion of Salim Jahangir, Emperor, and the viceroyalty of Nawab Khan Jahan, the son of Daulat Khan Lodi, and the Jagirdari of Khubi Jehanim Khan Dekni.'[36]

34 *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, 39, 41-42.

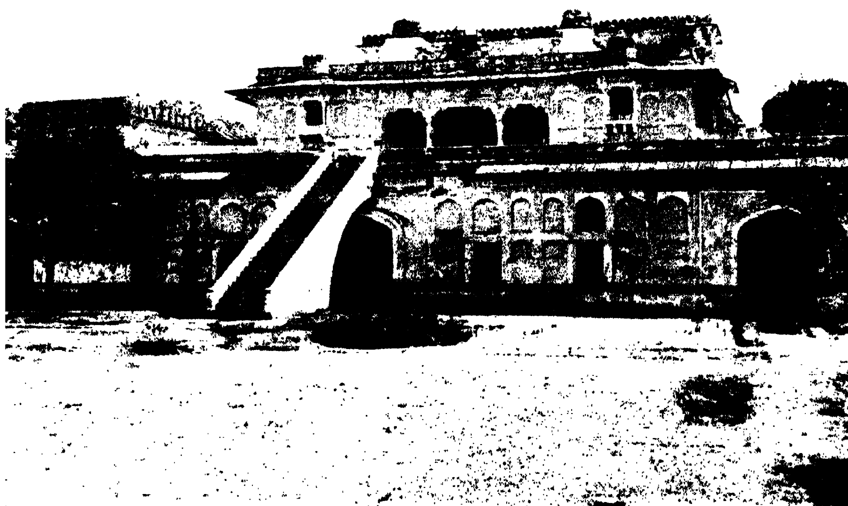
35 Modasa lies on the river Majham, 52 miles north-east of Ahmadabad. Under Muslim rule, its frontier position, between the settled districts of Gujarat and the hilly tracts of Idar and Dungarpur, made it an important station. It had a well-built fort, and, at the close of the 16th century, it was the chief place in a tract of 162 villages. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, IV, 346).

36 *Corpus Inscrip. Bhavnagari*, 42-43.



Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India

THE SHAHI BAGH PALACE ON THE SABARMATI AT AHMADABAD, c. 1618-22 (p. 101) (*Front view*)



Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India

THE SHAHI BAGH PALACE AT AHMADABAD (p. 101) (*View from the river*)

CHAPTER VIII

THE *SHAHI BAGH* AND ITS PALACE AT AHMADABAD, c. 1618-22

EARLY in 1618, when the Emperor Jahangir was at Ahmadabad, he appointed his favourite son Shah Jahan to be Subahdar of Gujarat, thereby displacing Muqarrab Khan, the former governor of Surat. Though the Prince left Ahmadabad for Agra towards the end of 1618, in the company of the Emperor, he continued during the next four years to govern the province through his deputies, Rustam Khan and Raja Vikramajit, until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1622. It was some time during this period that extensive grounds were acquired by the Prince's orders in the suburb of Maqsudpur on the banks of the Sabarmati, about a mile to the north of the Delhi gate, for the purpose of a Royal Garden, which came in time to be known as *Shahi Bagh*.[1] A total area of 105 *bighas* was encircled by a rampart wall; and in this enclosure a beautiful garden of the Mughal type was laid out, and some fine buildings were constructed, including a stately palatial mansion, which still remains among the few historical monuments that have come down to us from the Mughal period. 'There is no other garden in the country,' says the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 'which has so many beautiful and costly buildings and delightful avenues. From its gate to Hajipur,[2] the road on both sides is shaded by tall, green trees, beyond which lie the beautiful gardens of the Nazims and nobles. The whole scene appeared as a dream in emerald.' Within the enclosure, in addition to the palace and other residences, were 'porches, seats, twelve towers, eleven wells, a canal passing round the building, and many reservoirs.' For the upkeep of this extensive garden and its edifices, a costly establishment was maintained for several generations. It consisted of a hundred pairs of oxen for irrigation, seventy gardeners, a steward, a treasurer, and other staff, and all the charges relating to them were defrayed from the royal treasury at Ahmadabad by the Diwan of the Subah.[3] At the present day, though the central mansion and some other structures

A memorial of Shah Jahan's viceroyalty

1 The term 'Shahi Bagh' is now often loosely used to designate a locality far more extensive than the original grounds of the royal garden; the same is the case with the suburban locality of 'Shah Alam' to the S. E. of Ahmadabad.

2 Hajipur was the name of an old suburb outside the Shahpur and Delhi gates.

3 *Supplt. to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (2nd Ed.), trans. and ed. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 21

adjoining it are preserved intact, most of the original features of the Bagh-i-Shahi have disappeared owing to the vicissitudes of time. No traces now exist of the surrounding ramparts of the garden, and the modern enclosure of the former palace represents a very small portion of its original area. The avenues of shady trees, both within and outside its walls, have disappeared, and so have the garden's decorative structures, such as porches, seats, terraces and pavilions.[4]

Visit of Mandelslo, 1638

Though, under the Sultanate, as also under the Mughals, Ahmadabad was a city of gardens,[5] both public and private, it is evident from the accounts left by foreign travellers, as also by local chroniclers, that the Shahi Bagh was considered in the seventeenth century as the largest and best among them, and a tolerably accurate idea of the prominent features of this garden and its main building can be obtained from these descriptions. The earliest of them is by J. Albert de Mandelslo, a young German nobleman from Holstein, who arrived at Ahmadabad in 1638 and visited the Shahi Bagh within about twenty years of its creation. He says:

'One of the noblest gardens about the city is that of the Shahi Bagh in that part of the suburbs called Begumpur.[6] It is the King's Garden, very spacious, encompassed with a high wall, and hath within it a very fair house, the ditches whereof are full of water, and the apartments richly furnished. I went thence along a stone-bridge, which is four hundred paces in length, to another garden, called Niccinabag (Nagina Bag), that is to say, the Jewel. The garden is not very great, no more than the house within it; but both very advantageously seated in a place high enough to discover all the adjacent champion, and, upon the avenues of the bridge, to make the noblest prospect that ever I saw. The rain which falls in the winter (*i.e.* the monsoon) time supplies a great fish-pond or pool in the middle of the garden; but in summer they make use of certain engines, wherewith many oxen put together draw up the water out of wells, which are so deep that they are never dry.'[7]

Account by M. de Thevenot, 1666

Nearly thirty years after Mandelslo's visit, the French traveller Jean de Thevenot arrived at Ahmadabad in 1666, and was astonished at the large number of green trees within and outside the city which gave its approaches almost the appearance of a forest. Among other places of interest, he visited the 'Shahi' or Royal Garden, beyond the city-walls, on the

4 Some of the old wells may still be seen, notably a fine large one situated in the grounds of the late Sir Rustom Vakil's property.

5 The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, confining himself only to the *public* gardens of the Sultanate and Mughal periods, mentions the following in and near Ahmadabad: Bagh-i-Nagina, Shah Wadi, Bagh-i-Firdous, Bagh-i-Shaban, Halela Bagh, Rustom Bagh, Gulab Bagh, Bagh-i-Tut, Farman Wadi, Fateh Bagh, Jit Bagh, and the Bagh-i-Shahi.

6 In the supplement to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Begumpur is mentioned as an old suburb, and also as the site of a *mandvi* or custom-house in earlier days.

7 Mandelslo's *Voyages and Travels into the East Indies*, trans. by J. Davies, 1662, p. 33 (published with Olearius's *Voyages and Travels*). The Nagina Bagh mentioned here was probably attached to the Shahi Bagh and a part of it. There was another Nagina Bagh in the Kankaria Tank also.

banks of the river. According to his description, it contained long walks or avenues of trees planted in straight lines and resembling the *Cours de la Reine* at Paris. The garden was laid out in raised stages, one above the other, in the form of an amphitheatre, and the uppermost contained a terrace from which a commanding view could be obtained of the surrounding villages for many miles round. Thevenot also mentions four walks, arranged in the form of a cross, in the centre of which was a pavilion covered with green tiles. Here, he adds, went all the young people of the town to take the fresh air.[8]

Account in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi

Another account of the Shahi Bagh, a century later, is that given by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, who wrote after the middle of the eighteenth century, when the decline and fall of the Mughal power in Gujarat had been well nigh completed. Being written by a resident of Ahmadabad, who was himself the last imperial Diwan of the province, it is naturally both detailed and authentic. He tells us that, owing to the weakness of the central government, the greedy Nazims got hold of the garden, while the Maratha troops, during their frequent inroads on the capital, despoiled it and cut down the trees. During the regime of Najm-ud-daula (Momin Khan I), when there were heavy floods in the Sabarmati, the two-storeyed river-bastion (*Shah Burj*) collapsed and many other buildings were ruined. By 1761, the fruit-trees and rose-beds had all withered away, and only a few red tamarind trees were left, the fruit of which, made into a preserve, was exported to Arabia and Persia as a delicacy. The whole area was transformed into a vast field for the cultivation of millets.[9]

Visit of James Forbes, 1781

Subsequent accounts of the Shahi Bagh belong to the Maratha and British periods and give us an indication of its progressive decay; but the descriptions, especially of the palace, grow more full and detailed. The scholarly and accomplished James Forbes, when Collector of Dabhoi under the East India Company, paid a visit to Ahmadabad in 1781 in the course of a short tour. In his *Oriental Memoirs* he gives us a fairly detailed account of the Shahi Bagh.[10] He says that the park and pleasure-grounds were enclosed by a high wall which was then in ruins, but that the palace itself, 'pleasantly situated on the banks of the Sabarmati,' was in excellent repair. The central saloon is described as spacious and lofty, 'its walls covered with shell-*chunam* polished like the finest marble and the ceiling painted in small compartments with much taste.' The angular recesses of the saloon led to eight small rooms octagonal in shape, four below and as many above, with separate stairs to each: they were finished in the same style, 'the walls like alabaster and the

[8] *The Travels of M. de Thevenot*, Eng. trans., London, 1687, Part III, 10.

[9] Supplement to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 21.

[10] James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs* (1813), III, 136-38.

ceilings neatly embossed.' Standing on the flat roof, an extensive prospect of the surrounding country was obtained. Beneath the main saloon and its surrounding platform there were underground chambers (*tehkhana*), adorned with small canals and fountains, and providing a cool retreat during the hot summer months. These canals were on a level with the flower garden which extended up to the river. Though Forbes found the palace in excellent preservation, the adjoining grounds exhibited signs of neglect and decay, with broken fountains and aqueducts and a few trees. 'Amidst all this ruin and solitude,' says this writer, 'the princely gardens at Shahi Bagh still boast of some noble cypresses, cedars, palmettos, sandal and cassia trees, with mango, tamarind, and other spreading fruit trees.' Situated at a short distance from the royal mansion was the 'zanana or Sultanas' palace,'[11] also on the banks of the river, with its own separate gardens, baths and fountains. The apartments of the officers and attendants were still further detached.

Lieut. Ottley's journey through Gujarat, 1830

The next account of the Shahi Bagh, in chronological order, is that given by Lieut. Thomas H. Ottley about 1830. Ottley was a subaltern in the East India Company's service. Having, in this year, returned to Bombay from leave in England, he proceeded by sea up the coast of Gujarat on his way to join his regiment at Deesa. The country vessel (*patemar*), which had been engaged to transport him and his camp followers, was overtaken by a severe gale and narrowly escaped shipwreck. After the storm had subsided, the party landed at Tankaria on the coast of the Broach district. From this port, Ottley proceeded towards Ahmadabad travelling on horseback mostly by night to avoid the summer heat. The Mahi river was found to be in high flood owing to the burst of the monsoon; but it was crossed by the help of a 'craft' made of dry gourds fastened together in the form of a diamond. At last, Ottley reached Ahmadabad, which had come into the possession of the English at the end of 1817, and took up his residence in the old palace in the Shahi gardens. The heavy rains delayed his departure for Deesa for about a fortnight. During this period an old Muslim gentleman in his company, named Rustam Khan, related to the young officer, night after night, the unhappy story of his life and adventures, and this explains the title of Ottley's book.[12] The work itself is full of digressions and dissertations, and is of little historical or topographical value except for the description of the Shahi Bagh palace which is quoted on the next page:

11 This is probably the building commonly called the 'Chhota Shahi Bagh' and assigned for several years past as the residence of the District Superintendent of Police.

12 *Rustom Khan, or Fourteen Nights' Entertainment at the Shahi Bagh, or Royal Gardens, at Ahmadabad*, London, 1831.

'The royal residence, at which I had now been resting for a day or two, stands on a small spot of table-land formed by the projection of a portion of the shelving bank of the river Sabermuttie. Upto the general level of the gardens, extends a foundation work, supporting the terrace above, in the centre of which the building itself is raised. The whole of this under-work is arched, and divided into small apartments, for the conveniency of lodging domestics and followers, who are, in Eastern countries, particularly numerous. The house is approached by small stone bridges thrown across an artificial canal which surrounds the building and is cut into the terrace. The surface, when it was filled with water, was equal with the floor of the lower rooms. In the centre of this, and arranged at appropriate distances, a number of fountains were, in former days, kept constantly playing, for the purpose of cooling the breeze. These, however, now present, in some places, pieces of copper pipe, and in others, a small elevation of stucco which surrounded the spot in which they were fixed.

His account of the Shahi Bagh mansion

'The mansion is altogether a noble building, but the centre room alone can claim admiration from its immense size and neatly executed ceiling of carved stucco work. The whole comprises a square. In the centre is the hall of audience, and at the four sides octagonal rooms, the uppermost ornamented with balconies, leaving four main entrances between them. There is a first floor, in passing which, up stone staircases, you ascend to the terraced roof above, in the middle of which an elevation is raised. These staircases are covered over with a stone roofing, supported by four arches, opening on the terrace, and, at a distance, much resemble stacks of chimneys. Indeed, the whole appearance from the river side would cheat the spectator into a belief that he was approaching one of the many beautiful noblemen's seats his native country boasts of. A painted imitation of a Persian rug is the centre ornament of the ceiling of the hall of audience, of which the colours are remarkably brilliant even at the present moment.'[18]

When Henry George Briggs visited the Shahi Bagh on 7 January 1848, Ahmadabad had been for a generation under British rule, and had started on a fresh career of expansion and prosperity after over a century of disorder and decay. In his interesting work, *The Cities of Gujarashtra*, he refers to some of the traditions connected with this historic site, which were still current in the city. He was told that several hamlets had been demolished in the process of acquiring the extensive grounds required for the royal garden; also that Prince Shah Jahan, for whom the

Visit of H. G. Briggs, 1848

[18] T. H. Ottley's *Rustom Khan, etc.*, I, 265-67. About 1835 some additional structures were built close to the main palace. Mr. John Vaupell, a servant of the E. I. Company, who revisited the Shahi Bagh on Jan. 20, 1839, remarks: 'It has been greatly altered, since I saw it, by the late Mr. James Williams of the Civil Service—two entire wings added, and several other rooms and terraces built; how far this alteration is an improvement is very doubtful, it having entirely changed the character of the building.' *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, VII, 1844-46, p. 110)

palace was built, never entered the grounds, as the tall elephant on which he rode could not pass through the gate which gave entrance to them. Briggs describes the palace as a 'stupendous edifice', but he thought the apartments were designed without any view to comfort. The fountains and aqueducts had fallen into ruin; even the few cypresses, acacias and palmettos, which the gardens could boast of when James Forbes visited them in 1781, had quite disappeared, and the whole area presented a wild waste.[14]

Private claim to the Shahi Bagh. 1847

An interesting fact to be noted in connection with the royal garden and palace is that a hundred years ago, in 1847, a claim to this royal property, along with four hundred bigahs of land to the east of it, was submitted to the Government of Bombay by Shaikh Mahmudmia Chishti, son of Khubmia, then Qazi of the Shahpur ward at Ahmadabad.[15] In support of his petition, the Qazi produced before the Collector of the district, who was ordered to investigate the claim, several sanads and letters in Persian; but the fountain-head of his claim was a single document in the form of an imperial Mughal farman purporting to have been issued by the Emperor Aurangzeb in the twenty-first year of his reign (A.D. 1677) in favour of Hazrat Shaikh Yahya Chishti, a Sufi divine who was held in high esteem in Ahmadabad at that time for his saintly character, and who was an ancestor of the petitioner. This document, which is presumably still in the custody of the Qazi's descendants, was seen by the author many years ago, and, in view of its significance, a facsimile has been reproduced as an illustration here.

Farman of Aurangzeb, 1677

The above farman of Aurangzeb records the grant, on the 27th of Ramzan in the twenty-first year of his reign (13 November 1677), of the Bagh-i-Shahi with its original boundaries, and 400 bigahs of arable land on the east side, situated in the Haveli pargana of the Sarkar of Ahmadabad in the Subah of Gujarat, exempt from taxes, 'to help the livelihood (*madad-i-maash*) of His Holiness, the chief of the great saints, the Shaikh of the two noble sanctuaries,[16] etc., along with his successors, dependants

14 H. G. Briggs, *Cities of Gujarashtra*, 271-73. This writer says that the palace was 'only lately the dwelling place of the Political Residents of Baroda.' Subsequently, it was assigned to the District Judge, and still later it become the official residence of the Commissioners of the Northern Division.

15 The Qazi submitted two petitions in Persian to the Governor-in-Council on this subject. (i) The first was made in 1846 and was forwarded to the Collector of Ahmadabad, who reported that the petitioner 'himself admitted that he has not had possession for 40 years but he cannot or will not explain the circumstances under which he lost possession,' and his claim was, therefore, not admissible. The Qazi was informed accordingly. (Bombay Govt. Records, Rev. Dept., 1847, Vol. 120, pp. 215-23). (ii) the second petition was made on 24 Dec., 1847, and his claim, after being fully investigated, was finally turned down by Government on 15 Nov. 1848 (Bombay Govt. Records, Rev. Dept., 1848, Vol.157, pp. 67-126)

16 That is, the sacred towns of Mecca and Medina in Arabia.

and children in lineal descent.' The name of this holy man is not mentioned in the body of the farman, but we find it written at the top just above the imperial square seal. The reverse of this document contains, as usual, several endorsements in the *shikastah* script.[17] In addition to this farman, Qazi Mahmudmia produced before the Collector of Ahmadabad some other documents including several Sanads from Aurangzeb's successors.

Lack of historical support

Accepting the imperial farman of Aurangzeb as genuine, it has to be noted that we have no collateral historical evidence that any such alienation as is implied in the document did take place. The Shahi Bagh palace and garden were a conspicuous landmark near the city of Ahmadabad from the reign of Jahangir onwards, and any gift of such a place to an eminent Muslim divine by the Emperor would be widely known and certain to be mentioned in contemporary records. But the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, though it gives, in its *Khatima*, a long biography of Shaikh Yahya Chishti, and records several gifts made to him by Aurangzeb, both as prince and sovereign, makes no reference at all to such a gift. Again, though we have in the same workfrequent references to the Shahi Bagh, from its first construction to the date of writing the book, it is significant that there is not a word of such an important event as the alienation of this royal property to a private individual. But the historical evidence against such a grant rests not merely on what the historian omits to say. Another important reference he makes to the Shahi garden is actually inconsistent with the alienation. In the long account of the viceroyalty of Shujaat Khan, given in the pages of the *Mirat*, we find that in 1696-97 a report was sent to the Emperor by the provincial Diwan to the effect that the rich harvest of roses formerly gathered at the Shahi Bagh and the Gulab Bagh was no longer available because of the scarcity of water and the shade caused by a number of trees. The report suggests that if a sufficient supply of water could be secured, and if the high, umbrageous trees were cut down, the gardens could again be made to flourish. The Diwan, thereupon, received orders from the court to take steps to prevent the gardens from becoming waste land and to secure an abundant produce from them.[18] Thus it is clear that, twenty years after the date of the farman, the Shahi Bagh was being actually maintained as part of the royal property, and the Emperor Aurangzeb himself was being consulted for orders about details of its management. Moreover, there are repeated references in the *Mirat* to successive viceroys and other

17 The Chishti Qazis of the Shahpur ward in Ahmadabad still hold a considerable estate, as also a masjid, situated on the banks of the river Sabarmati, in close proximity of the Shahi Bagh mansion, which date from the Saltanat period. During the last century, this mosque and its adjoining grounds had been let for several years to the B. B. & C. I. Rly. Company and converted into a residence for their Resident Engineer stationed at Ahmadabad. (A. W. Crawley-Boevey, *Scheme for the Protection of Ancient Buildings at Ahmadabad*, 1886, LXVII).

18 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Pers. text., Ed., by Nawab Ali, I, 337-38.

nobles making use of the Shahi Bagh as their residence or camping place, which would hardly have been the case if the property had passed into the hands of the Chishti family. It can only be concluded, therefore, that the historical evidence at present available does not bear out the farman and is in conflict with it.

The claim a belated one

The records relating to the claim preferred by the Qazi further make it clear that, though the city of Ahmadabad passed into British hands at the end of 1817 by an arrangement with the Gaekwar, neither the petitioner's grandfather nor his father submitted any written application to the authorities on the subject of their claim to this historical monument. In fact, it was not till 1846 that the most important document in support of the claim, *viz.*, the royal farman of Aurangzeb, was produced for the first time before the Bombay Government by Qazi Mahmudmia, along with several sanads granted by later Mughal Emperors.[19]

The Collector's report on the subject

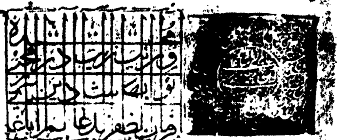
In arriving at a decision on the petition submitted by the Chishti Qazi, the Bombay authorities proceeded on the issue of possession. Mr. E. G. Fawcett, the Collector of Ahmadabad, to whom the petition was sent for opinion and report, did not raise the issue of the genuineness of the farman at all. He stated that 'the *sanads* are of the purport alleged and have no palpable appearance of not being genuine.' Nor did he enter into any historical investigation of the claim, for which there was no material before him at the time. In his Report to the Governor-in-Council, dated 4 October 1848, he says: 'Had the petitioner produced these *sanads* at or soon after the cession of Ahmadabad (1817), much might be said in his favour. But a period of about 30 years had passed since that time and even then he was not in possession.' Mr. Fawcett ends his remarks with the opinion that 'the absence of any satisfactory account of how possession was lost, or whether it was restored or not, leads me to the conclusion that, if he originally did hold the Shahibaug, and the 400 Bigahs of land, they were resumed by the Native Government previous to the British accession.'[20]

The claim disallowed

Mr. D. A. Blane, the Revenue Commissioner, who later became Member of Council at Bombay, concurred with the Collector's conclusions. He found 'the evidence of enjoyment, at the date of the accession of the British Government, altogether insufficient to afford any grounds for a reconsideration of the claim'; and he added that 'independently

19 The petitioner stated that his grandfather, Rashid-ud-din, had *verbally* urged his claim before Mr. Dunlop, the Collector, in 1818, and that his father, Khubmia, had in 1830 similarly sought the help of Mr. J. Sutherland, who became later Member of the Bombay Council. He admitted that both of them were asked to submit their claim in writing and to produce the original documents. But nothing was done till 1846. Even the fact of possession during the Maratha period could not be proved.

20 Letter from E. G. Fawcett to Government, dated 'Camp Koora, 4th Oct. 1848' (Bombay Govt. Records, Revenue Department, Vol. 157 (1848), pp. 67-68).



FACSIMILE OF AURANGZEB'S FARMAN OF 1677 ABOUT THE GRANT OF THE SHAHI BAGH TO SHAIKH YAHYA CHISHTI

(pp. 102-03)

of such enjoyment no value can be allowed to the old *sanads*, however authentic, since, if this most just and reasonable condition be relaxed, similar deeds from some of the intervening sovereignties might doubtless be produced in support of claims to the greater portion of the British acquisitions.'[21] The Governor-in-Council, in his Resolution, dated 15 November 1848, referred the Qazi to the decision made on his former petition and declared that it was final. Thus this interesting claim to the possession of a historical monument at Ahmadabad which had figured prominently in the history of Gujarat for over two centuries was declared to be inadmissible. Though at the end of his petition of December 24, 1847, the Qazi had begged that, if the Royal Garden along with 400 Bigahs of land be not restored to him, he might be permitted to go to London in appeal, we have no information that he did so.[22]

21 Letter from D. A. Blane, Revenue Commissioner, N. D., Poona, 31 October 1848 (Bombay Govt. Records, Vol. 157 (1848)

22 H. G. Briggs, who was at Ahmadabad in Jan. 1848, when the appeal was still pending, says that, during his stay in the city, he paid a visit to this Qazi and was told that his brother was daily expected back from Delhi where he had gone to seek the help of the last nominal Mughal Emperor (Bahadur Shah II) to establish the family claim to the Shahi Bagh property. Briggs remarks further that 'the British appear to have waived the demand of these parties and an appeal is being made to the Home authorities on the subject'. (*Cities of Gujarashtra*, 271-73).

CHAPTER IX

SHAH JAHAN IN GUJARAT AT HIS ACCESSION: EVENTS FROM 1627 to 1636

THE Emperor Jahangir died on his way from Kashmir to Lahore in October, 1627, and his death brought to the front the momentous question of the succession. To oppose the plans of Nur Jahan on behalf of Shahriyar, the Vazir Asaf Khan and other nobles set up Prince Bulaqi, the son of Khusru, as Emperor, with the object of securing time for Prince Shah Jahan to come up from the Deccan. It was generally acknowledged that the latter was the most deserving candidate, for not only was he popular with the army, but, as the Council of the English factory at Surat wrote, 'his best age, warlike disposition, travaile, and experience in the highest and [most] dejected fortunes, hath made him fittest for the rule and government of so many nations and spacious countries.'[1] The Prince was at Junnar[2] when he received the news of his father's death, and he decided to march at once with his army to Agra by way of his old province of Gujarat where he expected to secure both money and adherents. On December 2, 1627, he arrived within seven miles of Surat, which town was taken possession of by his agents, while Subahdar Saif Khan's servants and friends fled to the Castle which they would not surrender. By the Prince's orders, his agents demanded and secured a forced loan from the townspeople: the English paid 5,000 rials,[3] while several of the merchants borrowed from the Company 7,000 more in order to lend the amount to the Prince, 'thereby pretending their want.' After this, the leading merchants of the city, including Thomas Kerridge, the English President, and his Council, waited on the Prince in his camp, in company with the newly appointed governor, and 'had very gracious admittance' on the first night. The next morning the Prince set forth towards Broach, so that Kerridge and his colleagues had to follow his camp in order to await a convenient opportunity to deliver their presents. Shah Jahan's army

Shah Jahan at Surat. Dec., 1627

1 W. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1624-29, p. 207. Travail means severe toil or exertion.

2 Junnar is a taluka town in the Poona District and it has played a great part in history. The famous hill-fort of Shivner towers above the town. Here Shivaji was born, according to recent researches, in 1630.

3 A 'Rial of Eight' was equivalent to about 6*s* at this period. Thus 5,000 Rials would be equal to £1,500.

is described as including 5,000 'choice horsemen,' divided into two squadrons, marching half a mile distant from each other, and between them rode the Prince with the great general Mahabat Khan and the special members of his retinue:

'One of whom demanding if we would salute the King, made present way, and the Prince, perceiving us to alight, stayed his horse, admitted us to touch him, heard what we would say, and demanded some questions of us, which was accompted a very great grace. The same afternoon we delivered our present, being two fair horses (one Arabian, the other a Persian), 6 yards scarlet and six yards rich cloth of gold; all of which he liked very well, but especially the horses, causing them immediately to be fitted with rich furniture, and the next day rode one of them himself. The cloth and tissue he took with his own hand from mine and drew it out in length, demanding why we had cut it and where the rest was. Finally, we had gracious acceptance and general applause, himself willing us to demand what we would have. We showed him our late grievances. At night we were again admitted, and with grant of a large firman, promise of his further favour in our occasions, the gift of a horse and vest, were dismissed; and the next day had also the firman, so ample as we could well desire.'[4]

On his arrival near Broach, the governor of the place would not come out to meet the Prince, who, without halting, crossed the Narmada at the Baba Piyara ghat on his way to Ahmadabad, being well received at all other places on the march. At this stage he encamped near the town of Sinor on the banks of the river, and the festival of 'weighing' him on the completion of the 37th lunar year of his age was celebrated. A happy piece of news reached him on the same day, being a despatch from Nahir Khan at Ahmadabad reporting, on the authority of a letter from some Gujarati Hindu mahajans at Lahore, that the respective forces of Asaf Khan and Prince Shahryar had come into conflict, in which action the latter had sustained a defeat and had been taken prisoner, after which Shah Jahan had been proclaimed as sovereign.[5]

At Sinor on the Narbada

The viceroy of Gujarat at this time was Nawab Saif Khan, the same brave officer who had, during the civil war of Jahangir's reign, defeated Shah Jahan's army, led by Abdulla Khan, at the battle of Jetalpur. He had not sent any message of welcome to the Prince, probably because he was seriously ill at Ahmadabad and had been, according to the English

Nawab Saif Khan superseded

[4] *English Factories*, 1624-29, pp. 205-06. The Dutch Director at Surat at this period was Van den Broeck who declares that the Prince demanded Rs. 10,000 for his use from this nation. Broeck too visited the Prince in his camp near Surat with a present, and received in turn a fine horse (to which Mahabat Khan added another) and a farman. Thomas Herbert says that the English merchant ships in the harbour thundered forth a salute of '200 great shot' in honour of the Prince's arrival, which the latter 'most thankfully accepted of' (ibid, 205 *n*).

[5] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 202; Abdul Aziz, *History of the Reign of Shah Jahan*, in Journal of Indian History, April, 1928, pp. 251-2.

records, operated upon for the stone. On the other hand, Nahir Khan (Sher Khan Tur), another Gujarat official, who also owed his title to his support of the imperial cause in the battle mentioned above, submitted a petition to Shah Jahan in which he professed great loyalty and allegiance. When Shah Jahan neared the capital of the province, he issued orders by which the government of Gujarat was transferred from Saif Khan to Nahir Khan, and a trusted officer, named Khidmat Parast Khan, was sent to seize the ex-viceroy and to bring him up as a prisoner. But Shah Jahan's wife, the beautiful Mumtaz Mahal, was greatly attached to her elder sister, who was married to Nawab Saif Khan, and at her intercession these orders were cancelled. As soon as Khidmat Khan reached the suburbs of Ahmadabad, Nahir Khan came out to receive, with due respect, the farman about his appointment and the *khilat* sent for him.[6]

Shah Jahan at Ahmadabad: 20 laks extorted

When Shah Jahan's camp arrived at Mehmdabad, 20 miles to the south of the capital of Gujarat, the new viceroy hastened to greet him, accompanied by Mirza Isa Tar Khan and other nobles, and offered a thousand ashrafis as *nazar*. The richer merchants, however, made themselves scarce for fear of claims being made on their purses. The royal party at last reached on Dec., 17 the camping place at the Kankaria lake just outside the walls of Ahmadabad, and the new Emperor—for Shah Jahan had by this time been proclaimed at Lahore—halted in this capital 5 days. Saif Khan, though weak from the operation, was brought forward to do homage and was pardoned. Shah Jahan, however, took what he liked of Saif Khan's treasures, jewels, elephants, horses and servants.[7] After his short stay at Ahmadabad, Shah Jahan continued his march to the north on December 22, 1627, with a force of 25,000 horse. The records of the English factory supply the interesting information that, before his departure, he ordered the city gates to be locked for two days to prevent the rich Hindu merchants from taking flight, and extorted twenty lakhs of rupees from them with the aid of the new Subahdar. We are further told that, even after he had left, the newly appointed officials at Ahmadabad continued to obtain large sums with or without the royal permission, terrorising both the rich and the poor, and the panic was so great that there was a general exodus from the capital, 'the wealthy being unwilling to pay and the poor not able to do so.' This systematic plunder ended only when the people of the city obtained, through the intercession of the 'Queen' (Mumtaz Mahal) and her sister, an order from the Emperor forbidding the exaction of any more sums, especially from the poor.[8]

6 *English Factories.*, 1624-29, p. 206.

7 ibid, p. 206.

8 ibid, pp. 189, 191. We have here an interesting reference to Shantidas Jawahari : 'Santidas, the deceased King's jeweller, is arrived, but fearing to be known hath privately retired himself.'

Nawab Saif Khan, who was now displaced in Gujarat, was the son of Amanat Khan, and husband of Malka Banu, the eldest sister of Mumtaz Mahal, the wife of Shah Jahan, and generally known as the 'Lady of the Taj.' By virtue of this relationship, the new Emperor appears to have pardoned Saif Khan for his hostility to him during the Civil War in 1623. In 1628, Saif Khan was appointed Subahdar of Bihar, and he continued to govern that province till 1632, after which he was transferred to Allahabad. The English traveller, Peter Mundy, who was at Patna in 1632, describes him as 'a man of more than common eminence,' and writes of the great esteem in which he was held by the people of this province. The author of the *Maasir-ul-Umara* refers to the lofty public buildings constructed by Saif Khan at Patna. Mundy also mentions his famous *madrasa*, or college, for teaching Arabic, with a mosque attached to it, and to a garden laid out on the other side of the Ganges. This traveller is also lavish in his praise of Saif Khan's caravanserai, 'the fairest serai that I have yet seen, or think, is in India, not yet finished.' We have a reference by another writer to the town of Safiabad, near Monghyr, and to Safi's serai near it.[9] The details given above show Nawab Saif Khan's love for building, of which he had given early evidence in the lay out of the fine garden (called the Jit Bagh), with the Mughal pleasure-house near it, adjoining the lake at Jetalpur, near Ahmadabad, when he was Suhahdar of Gujarat under Jahangir.

Saif Khan's later career

During his stay at Ahmadabad, Shah Jahan kept himself in very close communication with Asaf Khan[10] who had espoused his cause at Lahore. The trusted Khidmat Parast Khan was entrusted with an autograph letter from the Emperor to this nobleman conveying the inhuman order for the execution of all the young Princes of the blood, with the object of removing from his path all possible competitors for the throne in future. Part of this fateful farman ran to the following effect: 'At this time, when heaven and earth are full of tumult and unrest, it will be advisable if Davar Bakhsh, son of Khusru, and his brother, and Shahryar, and the sons of Prince Danyal, are made to wander in the desert of non-existence, and the minds of well-wishers of the Empire set at rest.' In obedience to this message all the five princes, young and innocent of all offence, were executed on the night of 22 January, 1628.[11]

Execution of the royal princes

[9] Paper by Syed Hasan Askari on *Bihar in the time of Shah Jahan*, printed in Proceedings of the Indian History Congress for 1944, pp. 349-50.

[10] Asaf Khan was the son of Itmad-ud-daulah, elder brother of Nur Jahan Begum, father of Arjumand Banu Begum (known as Mumtaz Mahal), and father-in-law of Shah Jahan. After the failure of Nur Jahan's plans on behalf of her son, he had Prince Dawar Bakhsh (Bulaqi) proclaimed nominally as sovereign. The latter is described, however, as merely *gosfand qurbani*, 'a sheep for the sacrifice'. (*Maasir-ul-umra*, trans. by Beveridge, I, 291-92).

[11] Journal of Indian History, Apr., 1928, pp. 252-53.

Shah Jahan's formal installation as Emperor took place on February 4, 1628, but, before the date of this coronation, his adherents at Surat had, in their officious zeal for his cause, issued gold muhrs in his name from the mint of that city. At the provincial capital, however, according to the orders left by the Prince himself, the coins continued to be minted in the name of his late father Salim Shah. The premature issues of the Surat mint were thus not accepted at Ahmadabad, as being contrary to royal instructions, and they did not pass for some time in the capital of the province without a small discount.[12] Throughout the thirty years of Shah Jahan's long reign, the imperial mints were in full operation both at Ahmadabad and at Surat. We find, however, that, in striking contrast to the frequent changes in the legends effected from time to time in Jahangir's coinage, the inscriptions on the gold muhrs and silver rupees struck at Ahmadabad in the first year of Shah Jahan's reign (H. 1037) were retained, with only the slightest changes, till the close of the reign (H. 1069). The obverse of these coins reads:

Coinage of the reign

'Second lord of the conjunction, flame of the faith, Muhammad Shah Jahan, the victorious king.'[13]

The arrangement of the words and the designs vary in the coins of the later period of this reign, but the reverse on all Shah Jahan's coins invariably gives the Kalima or the Muslim creed.[14]

The first eight years of the reign of Shah Jahan saw the arrival and departure of not less than five successive Subahdars in the province of Gujarat, the post being granted to whichever of the court nobles was in a position to make valuable presents to the Emperor. The first to hold this office was, as we have said, Sher Khan Tur (Nahir Khan), who succeeded Nawab Saif Khan after the latter had been deprived of his office. In 1628, a farman was circulated to all the provinces of the Empire to the effect that the Ilahi era, based on the solar months and year, which had been introduced by Akbar and maintained by Jahangir, should be abandoned in favour of the lunar months and the old Hijri era. In 1629, Sher Khan led his army, under royal orders, to help Khwaja Abul Hasan who had been directed to attack the districts of Nasik and Sangamner. The latter took the fort of Chandor and returned with tribute from the chief of Baglan. In 1630, one Jamal Khan, who had gone to capture elephants in the forests of Sultanpur and Rajpipla,

Sher Khan Tur as viceroy, 1628-31

12 *English Factories*, 1624-29, p. 232. The English records also furnish us with an interesting piece of information, illustrative of the complete political eclipse of Nur Jahan Begum within a few months of her husband's death, to the effect that at Agra all rupees bearing her stamp were called in and 'were not to be uttered' (ibid, 241).

13 *Sahib Qiran-i-Sani Shihab-al-din Mahammad Shah Jahan Badshah Ghazi.*

14 *The Coins of Ahmadabad*, by Dr. Geo. P. Taylor in J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XX (1902), 431-33. For an account by this writer of Shah Jahan's coins struck at the Surat Mint, see the same Journal, Vol. XXII (1908), 251-56.

15 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 204.

which were included in the Subah of Gujarat, was able to secure 130 elephants, of which number only 70, both male and female, reached the court alive and were presented to the Emperor.[16] The year 1630-31 saw the terrible famine in Gujarat which was long remembered in the province as the *Satyasio Kal*, and was attended with unheard of mortality both among men and cattle, as will be related fully in a later chapter. (CH. XXVIII). The author of the *Mirat* says that, when the rains came and cattle were wanted, she-buffaloes were purchased for as heavy a price as seventy rupees each at Champaner. In 1631, Diyanat Rai Munshi, a Nāgar Brahman of Gujarat, who was famous for his knowledge of accounts, was appointed to the office of Daftardar or record-keeper of the crown (*khalsa*) districts of the province. In the same year, the viceroy Sher Khan Tur died in the Nasik district where he had proceeded with his army to co-operate with Khwaja Abul Hasan in the Deccan campaign.[17]

Charities in Mecca and Medina

In 1631-32, when Islam Khan was viceroy of the province, Khwaja Jahan, his diwan, asked for and obtained the royal permission to proceed to Mecca to perform the Hajj. Hakim Massih-uz-zaman, the famous court physician, also received a similar permission at this time. The Emperor had, during the crisis of the struggle for the throne, vowed that, if he was successful, he would send five lakhs of rupees in charity to the needy people of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and he had now an opporunity to fulfil this vow. Accordingly, orders were issued to the authorities of the province that they should purchase at Ahmadabad and Surat such goods as could find a market in the cities of Arabia, to the value of two lakhs and forty thousand rupees. These were to be handed over to Khwaja Jahan, who was known for his honesty and long service, and he was instructed to take them to Arabia to be disposed of there at a profit, after which the proceeds were to be distributed in charity among the poor in the two holy places.[18]

Nawab Saif Khan again viceroy

No important political events are recorded during the regime of the three nobles (Islam Khan, Baqir Khan and Sipahdar Khan) who succeeded Sher Khan Tur as Subahdars (1631-35), except the costly presents which they sent to the Emperor. In 1635, the last mentioned noble sent to the court from Gujarat, on the auspicious festival of the Nauroz, a velvet pavilion embroidered in gold and resting on posts of gold and silver. The details of this magnificent canopy, which was manufactured in the royal factory (*karkhana*) at Ahmadabad, will be given in a later chapter (CH. XXVI) dealing with the industries of the

16 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 205.

17 ibid, 206.

18 ibid, 207.

province during the first half of the 17th century. Saif Khan, the next Subahdar, was evidently Nawab Saif Khan Jahangir Shahi, the Emperor's brother-in-law, who had been in virtual charge of the province during the last years of Jahangir's reign and had been dismissed by Shah Jahan when he entered Ahmadabad in Dec., 1627 after his father's death. As stated above, he had been taken back into favour by Shah Jahan and appointed viceroy of the province of Bihar from 1628 to 1632. He was now sent again to his old province of Gujarat in 1635, but this second term of office lasted for less than a year, for in 1636 he was displaced by the famous Azam Khan who ruled till 1642. Saif Khan continued to reside at Ahmadabad after he had been relieved of his office and died there in 1640. He had been a devoted adherent of the Bukhari Saiyids, and was buried in the suburb of Rasulabad within the sacred enclosure which contains the beautiful Rauza of the famous saint Shah Alam. We are told that Saif Khan provided the gilded decoration inside the dome of the saint's mausoleum, which has now disappeared; also that he completed the lofty minars of the great Masjid at this place, and restored or enlarged the Jammat Khana or Assembly Hall located within the enclosure.[19]

Career of Saiyid Jalal Bukhari of Ahmadabad

Saiyid Jalal Bukhari, who in 1636 succeeded his father Saiyid Muhammad to the headship of the Bukhari Saiyids at Ahmadabad, was, after saint Shah Alam, the most illustrious member of his family. He had been introduced, as a young man of twenty-three, by his father to the Emperor Jahangir at Ahmadabad in 1618, and the latter's autobiography records: 'The Mir is proud of his son, and in truth he is worthy, as he is an excellent youth. The signs of piety and blessedness are distinct on his forehead.'[20] In 1628, he was sent by his father to Agra to congratulate the Emperor Shah Jahan on his accession to the throne, receiving on the eve of his return to Gujarat a dress of honour, an elephant and 3,000 rupees. After Saiyid Jalal had succeeded to the gādi of Shah Alam, we find him making frequent journeys to the court to visit the Emperor, and on all such occasions he returned with increased tokens of the royal favour. During the period when Azam Khan was viceroy of Gujarat (1636-42), no one in the province dared to bring his oppression to the notice of Shah Jahan, as the Subahdar was closely related to the royal house. At last, about 1642, Saiyid Jalal, during a visit to the court, brought the situation in Gujarat to the Emperor's knowledge, and explained how his own and other estates were being deserted by the peasantry through fear of the Subahdar. This led to the recall of Azam Khan, as will be related in the next chapter.

19 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 209-10.
20 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, 35.

In 1642, so high stood the reputation of Saiyid Jalal Bukhari, and so favourable an impression had he made on Shah Jahan by his great learning and attainments, that he was nominated to the important post of *Sadr-us-Sadur*, or chief ecclesiastical officer, of the Empire. He was at this time 49 years of age and had already been for several years head of the family. He was made, on his appointment, a mansabdar of 4,000, and received as presents 700 horse, an elephant and 30,000 rupees. As his new dignity entailed his presence at the court, his son Saiyid Jafar was given the Shah Alam *gādi*. Saiyid Jalal was subsequently raised to the mansab of 6,000 horse, and died at Lahore in 1647. With all his wealth and honours he continued to the last to live the simple life of a Sufi. His bones were brought to Ahmadabad and were buried in the suburb of Rasulabad in the second mausoleum within the sacred enclosure built by Saif Khan not far from the Rauza of Shah Alam.

He is appointed Sadr-us-Sadur

We may record here an important development that took place about this period in the history of the great Rajput house of the Jhalas of Halwad,[21] in the north of the Saurashtra peninsula, which had given allegiance to Akbar after the Mughal conquest of the province in 1573. The death, after a long reign (1584-1628), of its ruler, Maharana Chandrasinghji,[22] was followed by events which resulted in the partial disruption of the originally extensive Jhala dominion by the rise of two new Jhala principalities in Saurashtra, at Wankaner and Wadhwan respectively. His eldest son was Prithiraj, against whom the second and third sons had plotted with the object of supplanting him. They preferred some charges against him to the viceroy at Ahmadabad with the result that he was taken to that capital as a prisoner and probably died there. The second son, Askaranji, succeeded to the gādi at Halwad in 1628, but six years later, in 1634, he was killed by his younger brother Amarsinghji, who ruled till 1645. Meanwhile, Sultanji Jhala and Rajoji Jhala, the sons of Prithiraj, left their father's home and fled to their maternal grandfather at Bhadli. The former secured the help of Jam Jasaji of Nawanagar and conquered the pargana of Wankaner from the Mahias and the Babrias, which became an independent State under him and his descendants. For many generations, Wadhwan, with the villages under it, had been considered an appanage of the heir to Halwad. But now Rajoji, the second son of Prithiraj, captured it and thus it also became a separate state. Thus Prithiraj, though he lost his inheritance, became through his sons the

Rise of Wankaner and Wadhwan

21 After the capture and sack of Kuwa by Sultan Mahmud Begada in 1488, the Jhalas had established the chief seat of their house at Halwad near the Gulf of Cutch.

22 Chandrasinghji of Halwad is said to have married Satbhama, a daughter of Raja Surajsingh of Jodhpur. (Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, 426). The latter's sister was married to the Emperor Jahangir who in his Memoirs refers to Raja Surajsingh as 'the maternal uncle of my son Khurram' (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 140).

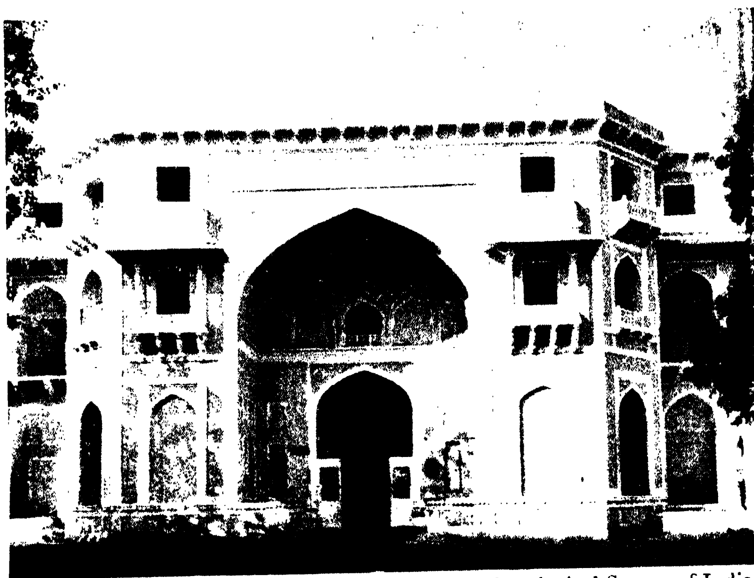
founder of the two houses of Wankaner and Wadhwan. The Jhala house of Limdi had been formed out of the main stock as early as the 12th century when the capital of the clan was still at Patdi. Already in his lifetime, Maharana Chandrasinghji had settled his fourth son at Lakhtar, and two generations later a descendant of Rajoji declared himself independent at Chuda. Thus we have no less than five Jhala houses carved out of the original Jhala dominion before the end of the 17th century. The rulers of all these offshoots, however, continued to acknowledge the titular headship of the rulers at Halwad who transferred their capital to Dhrangadhra in 1730.[23]

APPENDIX

Mughal Viceroys of Gujarat under Shah Jahan (1627-58)

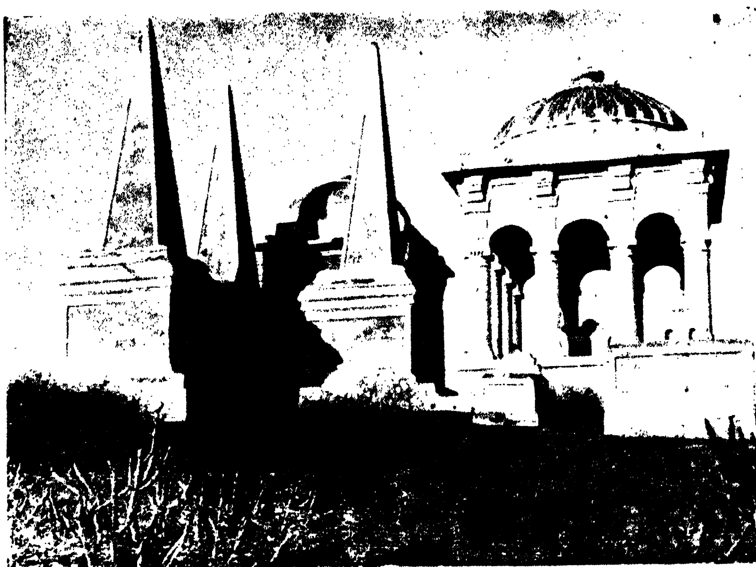
1.	Sher Khan Tur (Nahir Khan) ..	1628-31
2.	Islam Khan, Baqir Khan and Sipahdar Khan	1631-35
3.	Saif Khan	1635-36
4.	Azam Khan	1636-42
5.	Mirza Isa Tarkhan	1642-45
6.	Prince Aurangzeb	1645-46
7.	Shaistah Khan	1646-48
8.	Prince Dara Shukoh (by deputy) ..	1648-52
9.	Shaistah Khan (2nd time)	1652-54
10.	Prince Murad Bakhsh	1654-58

23 Bombay Gazetteer, VIII (Kathiawad), 426-27; Wilberforce-Bell, *History of Kathiawad*, 66-67, 112-13. In 1745, Sheshabhai Jhala, the second son of Raesinghji of Halwad and Dhrangadhra, conquered Sayla from the Khawad Kathis and established himself as an independent chief, thus giving rise to a sixth Jhala principality in Saurashtra.



Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India

FAÇADE OF AZAM KHAN'S SERAI AT AHMADABAD, 1637 (p. 118)



Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India

DUTCH TOMBS OF THE 17TH CENTURY NEAR THE KANKARIA TANK AT AHMADABAD

CHAPTER X

AZAM KHAN, 'THE GREAT GOVERNOR OF AHMADABAD', 1636-42

THE period of six years (1636-42) during which Azam Khan, a powerful nobleman of Shah Jahan's court, held sway over Gujarat, forms an eventful chapter in the history of this province during the seventeenth century. In 1636, the Emperor, having received information of the incursions made by the turbulent Koli and Kathi tribes in North Gujarat, and hearing also about the defiant attitude assumed by some of the feudatory rulers in Saurashtra, decided to appoint a really capable and energetic noble as the head of the province. Nawab Saif Khan, the Subahdar, was, therefore, displaced, and in his stead Azam Khan,[1] the imperial Diwan, was sent out as the twenty-third viceroy of Gujarat. It appears that Azam Khan's reputation for severity preceded his arrival, for we learn from the English factory records that, on the news of the appointment reaching Ahmadabad, the leading citizens forwarded a petition to His Majesty requesting him to continue Saif Khan in his post.[2] Though the latter had sufficiently abused his powers, the inhabitants of the capital evidently feared worse usage under his successor. The petition was not granted, and in the six years during which Azam Khan held office he restored peace and order throughout the province. In their letters to the Company, the English at Surat describe him as 'the great Governor of Ahmadabad', and they refer to 'his eminence, his power at court, and superintendency over all the provinces of Gujarat.'[3]

Azam Khan, a general and administrator of note

1 The original name of this nobleman, who belonged to the Saiyids of Iraq, was Mir Muhammad Baqir, and he was given the title of Iradat Khan in 1606 and of Azam Khan in 1630. In Jahangir's reign he was made governor of Kashmir and held the office of Mir Bakhshi or Paymaster-General. Under Shah Jahan he became Imperial Diwan and took a prominent part in the Deccan campaigns, and in 1636 became Subahdar of Gujarat. From this post he was recalled in 1642 and died in 1649 at the age of 76 at Jaunpur where he is buried in a garden laid out by himself (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, I, 174 ff).

2 *English Factories*, 1634-36, p. 259.

3 ibid, 1637-41, pp. 307-8.

He subdues the Kolis and the Kathis

During the regime of Nawab Saif Khan, a certain Kahanji, the leader of the Chunval[4] Kolis, had robbed the traders in that part of the country, and committed other acts of brigandage. When, therefore, Azam Khan, on his way south, arrived at Siddhpur in the Patan district, within sixty miles of Ahmadabad, the merchants were loud in their complaints. The new viceroy, thereupon, at once proceeded against this turbulent tribe, and hunted down the Koli chief, so that the latter was compelled to surrender in person, to reveal the place where he had concealed his spoils, and to offer security for future good conduct.[5] Within a few months after his arrival at the capital, Azam Khan encamped at Sarkhej with a force of 8,000 horse to start punitive operations against the marauding Kathi tribes which had become a terror to the cultivators and were ravaging the country round about Dhandhuka. As the robbers were sheltered from pursuit by the dense forest then covering the region, the Subahdar took with him a large force of labourers, armed with axes, to hew down the jungles in which they had found refuge.[6]

The Fort of Ranpur constructed

To mark the scene of his victories over the Kathi freebooters, and to hold them in check, Azam Khan erected at Ranpur[7] a formidable fortress as a military outpost on the borderland between Gujarat and Saurashtra. It was named the fort of Shahpur and it is situated on elevated ground about twenty miles to the west of Dhandhuka at the confluence of the Bhādar and the Goma rivers. The ruins of this old fort are of great historical interest and remind the visitor of the famous viceroy who established peace and order in these parts more than three hundred years ago. Though the greater part of its walls is now only a heap of ruins, the massive stone fortification on the side of the Bhādar river, with its overhanging balconies, presents an imposing appearance. There is little doubt that the present fort stands on the site of an older Rajput one built by the Gohel rulers of Ranpur who held sway in these parts before they were conquered by the great Sultan Mahmud Begada. The ancient shrine of *Kali Mata*, located in a small, dark, underground chamber in one corner of the fort, is probably a survival of Rajput rule in Ranpur, and the Hindu residents of the town still visit it in large numbers during the *navratri* festival. The deep well near by appears also to be ancient and probably dates from the Rajput period.

4 Chunval is one of the traditional tracts of the Ahmadabad district, in the north-east of the Viramgam sub-division. The name is shortened from *Chunvalis*, forty-four, this being the number of villages originally included in the division.

5 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 210-11.

6 *English Factories*, 1634-36, p. 293; *Amal-i-Salih*, II, 340.

7 Ranpur is a small town in the Dhandhuka sub-division of the Ahmadabad district.

The outer courtyard of the castle is in ruins, but a handsome stone gateway leads into the inner court which contains a small mosque, a *hammam*, and the old well mentioned above, all of which are in a fine state of preservation. There were other buildings in the north-west corner of this court which are now in a dilapidated condition. The most important inscription in the fort, which was originally inserted above the gateway, records as under:

Inscriptions in the Castle

'He is the Creator and the Omniscient. The great noble Azam Khan, the lord of his time, the like of whom was never given birth to by this world which is a bride, the intrepid lion, the bravest of the brave, the Khan of exalted rank, may his life be long, desired me to find out the date of this castle from which he ever removed the influence of the evil eye. Plunging into the ocean of thought, I impressed with the seal of my heart: *Azam-al-Bilad*, i.e., the greatest of cities.' (This chronogram represents the Hijri year 1048, i.e., A.D. 1638-9).[8]

The small mosque, though without any architectural pretensions, is also of historical interest. Its polished *chunam* walls look like marble and there is an inscription tablet over the central mihrab which records its construction by Azam Khan during the period of his rule over Gujarat in the reign of the Emperor Shah Jahan in the Hijri year 1050 (A.D. 1640-41). The fort is described as the Castle of Shahpur in this inscription. Facing the masjid is a fine *hauz* or reservoir which was supplied with water from the fort-well by means of covered stone channels. Two other inscriptions to be found at Ranpur also bear the name of Azam Khan. One of these records the construction of the bath or *hamam* and the other the building of a well attached to a garden on the banks of the river.[9]

The Masjid in the fort

The viceroy's zeal for building obtained for him a great reputation in Gujarat. At Ahmadabad, his memory is perpetuated by the handsome caravanserai which he built in 1637 in the south-east corner of the Bhadra,[10] and which remains, along with the Shahi Bagh palace, one of the very few secular architectural monuments in this city which belong to the Mughal period of Gujarat's history. Perhaps the most striking feature of this monument is the magnificent front entrance which is 18 feet in height. The fine Persian epigraph carved

Azam Khan's serai at Ahmadabad

[8] Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists*, 1897, p. 87. The Persian text has been transcribed in *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari* (Arabic and Persian Inscriptions), 1889. p. 44.

[9] See Appendix for a translation of these three inscriptions.

[10] The *Mirat* says that Azam Khan's famous *serai* was 'adjacent to the *naqārkhana* gate of the Bhadra citadel which was also built by him.' It thus appears that the imposing east gate of the Bhadra fortress, facing the two round towers, belongs to the early part of the seventeenth century. This gate and the frontage of the caravanserai form one continuous structure, and there seems no reason to reject this statement. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 212).

in relief on three sides of the recess at the entrance hardly attracts the notice of the visitor. This inscription, couched in the usual turgid style, records: 'This serai, the like of which the eye of the age has not seen, whose height towers above Saturn itself, and whose beauty and grace are like unto paradise, was erected by the fount of justice, the jewel among men, Azam Khan.' The date of the building, 1637-38 (H. 1047), is found in the Persian chronogram which says, 'The house of virtue and beneficence.'[11] The French traveller M. de Thevenot, who visited Ahmadabad about thirty years later, in 1666, also refers to this edifice as a 'caravansary, a great ornament to the square,'[12] *i.e.*, to the Maidan Shah, or royal park, which extended from the Triple Gateway to the main entrance of the Bhadra Citadel.

Its architectural interest

Though Azam Khan's serai was built to serve a utilitarian purpose, it is artistically an imposing monument in the Persian style common to many buildings in Northern India during the 17th century. The caravanserai at Surat, which was built only seven years later by the Killedar, Haqikat Khan, in 1644, and which still gives its name to the 'Mughal-serai' locality in that city, bears a striking resemblance to Azam Khan's serai at Ahmadabad. The latter building consists of a main block, 210 ft. wide by 240 ft., deep, with an extension to the north and another to the south. The handsome entrance on the east side, mentioned above, leads into an elegant octagonal hall, in the upper part of which is a projecting gallery faced in front by a low balcony of open cut stone.[13] Each section of the gallery is roofed by a cupola whose marble chequering is concealed by coatings of whitewash. Beyond this hall is a bare open court, 156 ft. wide by 146 ft. deep, having on three sides rooms in two storeys, evidently intended for the use of travellers putting up at the serai.[14]

Historical vicissitudes

This spacious serai erected by Azam Khan came, at a later period of Mughal rule, about the middle of the 18th century, to be used as an arsenal. During the Maratha occupation of the city it is said to have been the residence of one of their military chiefs. After the British Government came into possession of Ahmadabad at the end of 1817, this fine structure, this 'house of virtue and beneficence,' was turned to the purpose of a central prison and the rooms around the courtyard were converted

11 For the full text and translation of this long inscription see Dr. M. Abdulla Chaghatai's monograph *Muslim monuments of Ahmedabad through their Inscriptions* (1942), pp. 86-87.

12 *Travels of M. de Thevenot*, trans. by Lovell, London, 1687, Part III, p. 9.

13 Underneath this octagonal hall, and of the same shape, is a splendid vault (*tehkhana*), entered by a flight of steps at each side, and having a reservoir and a fountain in its centre.

14 J. Burgess, *Muham. Architecture of Ahmedabad*, II, 59. In the Ahmadabad gazetteer the Serai has wrongly been designated as Azam Khan's palace, and this error has been repeated by later writers. The great Subahdar never resided in this Serai. The royal palace, where the viceroys lived, was inside the Bhadra citadel, probably facing the river.

into prisoners' cells.[15] This arrangement lasted for nearly a century when, in 1905, the front portion of the building was utilised as the head Post Office of the city. Since 1931, it has ceased to house this public-utility service for which it was so little adapted. The *Maidan Shah*, or royal park, has now been largely built upon. The original layout of this beautiful park, with its fountains and rows of umbrageous fruit trees, has been described by travellers like Mandelslo and Thevenot who visited this city during the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century.

Kali Mata's image in the building

It may be pointed out that the small shrine of Bhadra Kali Mata, which is located in a corner room of Azam Khan's serai, adjoining the East gate of the citadel, very probably belongs to the Maratha period of the history of the city. It must have been installed there some time after the final siege and capture of Ahmadabad by the Marathas in 1758. Briggs refers to the image, 'with her necklace of human skulls, being as horribly bedaubed with red pigment as her whole person.' He adds: 'She was placed here by the Marathas, and has become the fashionable deity of the Hindus of Ahmadabad, from the very simple circumstance that she occupies her present conspicuous site leading into the vicinity of the Katcheri (the Collector's office) and the Adalat (the District Judge's Court); every suitor on his way to these offices makes his vow here; hence the popularity of this Indian Bellona.'[16] Briggs visited Ahmadabad in 1848, only thirty years after the British occupation of this famous capital, and his view about the period when the idol of Kali Mata was deposited in a niche in Azam Khan's serai is likely to be correct.

The Subahdar nick-named 'Udhai'

Turning again to Azam Khan's military activities, we may state that the rainy season was generally spent by him on the frontiers of his province in chastising again and again the predatory and turbulent Koli and Kathi tribes. He carried fire and sword through their territories, and established forts and military posts (*thānās*) wherever necessary. Clearing the jungles as he went, the great Subahdar terrorised them by the

[15] H. G. Briggs, who visited the Serai in 1848, states that it was converted into the great jail of the District sometime in 1820. The cistern in its court-yard, originally meant for the use of travellers, was supplied with water from the Sabarmati river by means of a Persian wheel, erected about 300 yards beyond, on what is called the Manek Burj bastion, which stands on the margin of the river (at the head of the present Ellis Bridge). Some of the prisoners were employed in operating this wheel, and the water was conveyed from the bastion to the precincts of the jail by an open aqueduct running along the southern side of the Bhadra wall. For guarding the jail, one of the native regiments in the station furnished daily fifty rank and file, with drum and fife, under command of an Indian Commissioned officer, and they were relieved at break of day. All the approaches to the jail were rigidly watched, and along the terraced roof at regular distances sentinels were to be seen maintaining their lonely guard. There was accommodation for about a thousand prisoners at the time of Briggs's visit. (*Cities of Gujarashtra*, 300-02).

[16] H. G. Briggs, *op. cit*, 303.

destruction of their crops and their plantations; and by virtue of this policy, says the author of the *Mirat*, 'he is to this day called by high and low alike by the name of Azam *Udhai*, because like the white ant he destroyed everything that came in his way.' The result was that, from Jalor in the north to the extreme limit of Saurashtra, peace was established and the highroads became again safe for merchants and travellers.[17]

The more effectively to control the marauders whom he had subdued, Azam Khan caused two more forts to be erected, one of which was called Azamabad, after himself, and the other Khalilabad, after the name of his second son.[18] The former was built on the banks of the Vatrak river to overawe the rebellious Kolis. In fact, twelve villages from the adjoining mahāls of Bahial and Kapadvanj were attached to this fort and a separate pargana was brought into existence, under the name of Azamabad, with a fort commander and a fauzdar with 500 horse in charge. The remains of this fort have been located some eight miles to the west of the town of Kapadvanj in the Kaira district.[19] The other fort of Khalilabad may perhaps be identified with the fine fort at the village of Kāli, seven miles to the north of Ahmadabad, on the way to Adalaj. Very reliable local tradition, collected by the late Mr. Kinloch Forbes almost a century back, connects the fort of Kali with Azam Khan Udhai, and it asserts that he also built the fort at Ranpur.[20]

The fort of Azamabad on the Vatrak

Of the stern repression and unbending severity that characterised the domestic policy of Azam Khan we find a striking illustration in the story related by the German traveller Mandelslo, who visited Ahmadabad in 1638, about the execution of some dancing girls[21] who had disobeyed his summons. Nor did the Subahdar lag behind his reputation on other occasions. The fact that the English and Dutch merchants at Ahmadabad were eagerly competing with each other for the purchase of the fine indigo manufactured at Sarkhej, led the

Indigo adulteration penalised

[17] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 213.

[18] *Supplement to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 163-64.

[19] A small hamlet known as Azamavat (Azamabad) Kot Wadi, under the village of Randavat on the Vatrak river, in the Kapadvanj taluka of the Kaira district, bears mute testimony to-day to the fort and the pargana created by Azam Khan three hundred years ago. The hamlet stands eight miles due west of Kapadvanj town. The ruins of the fort may yet be seen. They consist of an imposing gateway with some rooms on either side in a dilapidated condition and the remnants of the old wall of the fort. Nearby stand a few mud houses occupied by cultivators. It appears that the Vatrak formerly flowed past the walls of the fort, but the river-bed is now at a distance of about a furlong from the fort.

[20] *Gujaratna Aitihasic Sādhano* by N. V. Dwivedi (Forbes Gujarati Sabha), 216, 217.

[21] Mandelslo's detailed account of this tragic episode and of his interview with this viceroy will be given in a later chapter. (See Chap. xxxi).

producers to make the fullest use of their monopoly and to adulterate the commodity by the admixture of oil and sand. The English traders brought this fact to the notice of the great viceroy in 1640. Being convinced of the abuse practised, the latter caused more than a hundred of these indigo makers to be summoned in his presence, and, 'after discharging a whole volley of revilings' on them for their base methods, 'he threatened to punish with death any one who should thereafter dare to mix oil or sand or any other substance than what nature gave to indigo.'[22]

Imperial mint at Junagadh

By order of the Emperor Shah Jahan, a new mint was established at this period at Junagadh, one object of which was to melt down the *mahmudis*. But this experiment was found to affect adversely the royal mint at Ahmadabad, since the merchants, by reason of the convenience and the profit derived, took all the gold and silver which was imported at Div and other ports to Junagadh, and had the same coined there instead of bringing it to the capital at Ahmadabad. Some further details about the newly established Mughal mint at Junagadh will be found later at p. 165. It appears that the small silver coin known as the *mahmudi* was still very current in Gujarat, and the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* says that in his day all business in ghee was transacted in terms of this coin at Ahmadabad. He adds that the *mahmudi* was 4½ *mashas* in weight and that a rupee was equivalent to 2½ or 3 *mahmudis*.[23]

Expedition against Nawanagar

Ever since the extinction of the Gujarat Saltanat, the supremacy over the peninsula of Saurashtra had passed to the Mughal Emperors, whose authority was represented by a fauzdar, or governor, stationed at Junagadh and subordinated to the viceroy at Ahmadabad. Owing to the weak administration of several of these fauzdars, the feudatory Rajput chiefs of the peninsula were inclined to flout the imperial authority and to withhold the payment of tribute. Azam Khan, therefore, decided to set an example when, in 1640-41, Jam Lakhaji of Nawanagar failed to carry out his obligations, and continued to mint *koris* against royal instructions to the contrary. When the Subahdar arrived within seven miles of the capital of the Jam, the latter, finding himself quite unprepared for defence, submitted, and agreed to pay as tribute one hundred Cutch horses and three lakhs of *mahmudis*, and to cease coining money.[24]

22 *English Factories*, 1637-41, p. 274.

23 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 214.

24 The privilege of coining *mahmudis* had been granted to the rulers of Nawanagar by Sultan Muzaffar III and these issues were known as *Koris*. Though the mint at Jamnagar was closed, according to the agreement now entered into, its activity seems to have been revived at a later date, for the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (p. 214) informs us that *mahmudis* coined at this mint were in current use when he wrote his work, i.e., between 1746 and 1761. On one side of these coins (which were also known as Jāmis), was impressed the name of Sultan Muzaffar in Persian and on the other was that of the Jam in the Hindi language.

He was likewise ordered to surrender the refugees from the frontier districts of Gujarat who had taken up residence in his territory. The Jam also consented to send his son with a contingent of troops to the Subahdar's camp whenever the latter was engaged in chastising the *grasias* of the peninsula.[25]

In April, 1642, Azam Khan was recalled from Gujarat by the Emperor's orders. In spite of the success of his military expeditions, his administration of the province appears to have been unsympathetic and oppressive, so much so that the people fled to surrounding states. For some time, no one dared to bring this discontent to the notice of Shah Jahan, for not only was Azam Khan a powerful nobleman, but his daughter's marriage in the royal family had made his position more secure.[26] When, at last, Saiyid Jalal Bukhari, the descendant of Saint Shah Alam, placed the true condition of affairs before His Majesty, as stated before, the Emperor decided to recall Azam Khan, and to appoint in his place Mirza Isa Tarkhan, the fauzdar at Junagadh, an officer whose zeal for the welfare of the people had made him popular in the peninsula. To ensure prompt obedience to his orders, the Emperor wrote a despatch with his own hand to Isa Tarkhan with a farman addressed to Azam Khan commanding him to hand over charge and present himself before the throne. This farman, which is quoted in full in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, expresses the Emperor's displeasure towards the Subahdar for his misrule, in spite of repeated royal warnings for improvement. It runs as follows:

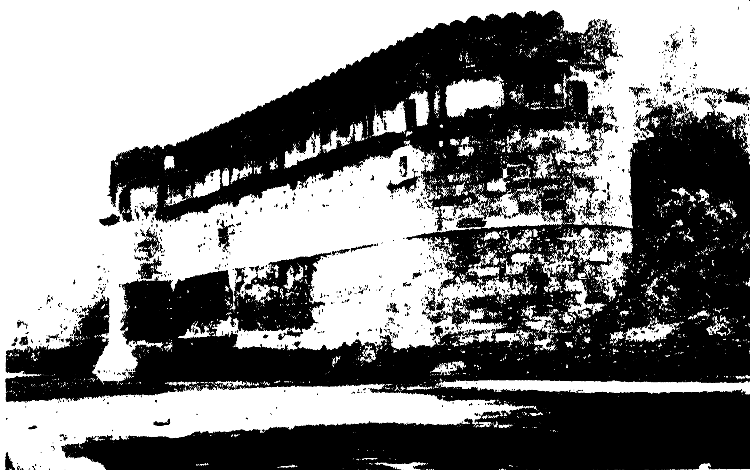
Azam Khan recalled, 1642

'Be it known to the Khan of auspicious signs, Azam Khan, who is honoured with the royal favours, that the ruin of the province of Gujarat and its people, and your misgovernment, have been brought to the notice of His Majesty, who had repeatedly asked you to protect the people and to increase the prosperity of the country, and had been expecting that you would listen to this. But you have paid no heed to the same and made the country worse, and the situation has become critical to such an extent that, if it is not improved, all remedy would soon be impossible. Therefore, having regard for the country and its inhabitants, His Majesty bestows, with effect from the autumn season, the government of the province on him who is the shelter of good fortune, the deserver of kindness and favour, Mirza Isa Tar Khan, who has made the ruined province of Sorath prosperous by his good treatment and protection of the people.

'When the aforesaid Mirza enters Ahmadabad, you should, after making over the province to him, proceed to the heaven-like court.

25 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 213-14.

26 In 1638, Azam Khan's prestige at the court, already high, was increased by the espousal of his daughter to Prince Shuja, the second son of the Emperor. The bride was escorted to the court at Delhi by her mother and her two brothers, Mir Khalil and Mir Ishaq, and the marriage ceremonies were performed in Bengal where the imperial prince was stationed as viceroy. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 212).



Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India

THE CASTLE OF SHAHPUR BUILT BY AZAM KHAN AT RANPUR ON THE FRONTIER OF SAURASHTRA (pp. 116-17)



Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India

RUINS OF THE PALACE IN AZAM KHAN'S CASTLE AT RANPUR

This should be regarded as incumbent and there should be no opposition and departure from it. Written on the 12th of the month of Muharram of the 15th year of the auspicious coronation, corresponding to 1052 H.' (April 2, 1642).

In succession to Azam Khan, therefore, Mirza Isa Tarkhan,[27] the governor of Sorath, became the next viceroy of Gujarat (1642-45). This noble had acquired a good reputation when in charge of Junagadh and it was expected that his rule would bring relief and prosperity to the much harassed population of Gujarat. By force marches, the new viceroy travelled from Junagadh to Ahmadabad, and, proceeding without delay to the Bhadra, delivered personally the imperial farman of 2 April 1642 to Azam Khan for his recall. Inayatullah, the son of Mirza Isa Tarkhan, was appointed governor or fauzdar at Junagadh in place of his father. Among the measures of the new Subahdar was the introduction in the province of the *bhagvatai* or share system of levying revenue in kind.[28]

Succeeded by Mirza Isa Tar Khan as viceroy, 1642-45

APPENDIX

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CASTLE AT RANPUR BUILT BY AZAM KHAN

There are four inscription-slabs in Persian located at various places within and near the fortress at Ranpur, which was named the 'Fort of Shahpur.' The earliest of these (1638-39) has been mentioned in the text. The translation of the other three is given below. They all belong to the last year of his rule over the province:

(i) Inscription over the pulpit of the masjid within the fort:

'God is great. In the reign of the King, magnificent as Jamshid, the just and the generous, Shahab-ud-din Muhammad, the second Sahib-i-Qiran, Shah Jahan, the valiant warrior—may the Almighty perpetuate his dominion—in the month of Zil-Hajj in the year 1050 H. (March, 1641), the humble slave of the Almighty, Azam Khan, during the term of his Subahship of Gujarat, laid the foundation of this sacred masjid in this castle of Shahpur, and completed it, so that the servants of the true God may worship Him.'

[27] Mirza Isa Tarkhan belonged to the Tarkhani dynasty of Sind and entered Mughal service in the reign of Jahangir. He held the post of governor of Sorath for seven years, for, when Prince Aurangzeb succeeded him as viceroy of Gujarat, he reverted to his former post. In the 25th year of the reign he was summoned to the court and his son Muhammad Salih was appointed governor of Sorath. He died, on his way, at Sambhar in Rajputana on 13th Muharram 1062 H. (Dec. 16, 1651) and is said to have been over 100 years old at the time of his death. (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, III, 485-88; *Amal-i-Salih*, III, 134).

[28] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 216-19. In 1643, the revenues of the port of Surat were assigned to Padshah Begum Saheb, *i.e.* to Jahanara, the eldest daughter of the Emperor.

(ii) Inscription on a marble-slab in the fort wall overhanging the river about the construction of a *hamam:*

> 'God is great. The slave of God, Azam Khan, during the tenure of his office as the Subahdar of Gujarat, commenced the construction of this bath on the first of the month of Jumad-ul-Akhir 1051 H. (28 August 1641) and completed it at the end of the month of Muharram 1052 H. (Apr. 1642). Ye who see this place remember him kindly.'

(iii) Inscription on a slab in a well on the bank of the river to the east of the village, adjoining a garden:

> 'God is great. Azam Khan, the servant of God, in the month of Shawwal of the year 1051 H. (Jan., 1642), during his Subahdari of Gujarat, having constructed this well, bequeathed it to the garden that the public may benefit thereby.'[29]

[29] Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists,* 1897, pp. 87, 88. The Persian texts of all these inscriptions have been transcribed in *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari* (Arabic and Persian Inscriptions), 1889, pp. 44-6. See also Bombay Gazetteer, IV (Ahmedabad), 352-53.

CHAPTER XI

PRINCE AURANGZEB, SHAISTAH KHAN AND GHAIRAT KHAN AS VICEROYS, 1645-54

IN 1645, when he was in his 27th year, Prince Aurangzeb was appointed by his father to the responsible post of viceroy of Gujarat, and the events which happened at Ahmadabad during his brief viceroyalty are of special interest as showing how, even at this early age, his character manifested that religious intolerance and puritanical zeal which subsequently led to events that embittered his life and paved the way for the decline of his Empire. Whether the Hindus at this capital gave any cause for offence to the young Prince is not known, for the historian simply states that the latter ordered the temple of Chintamani at Saraspur, a suburb of the city to the east, to be converted into a mosque under the name of 'Quvvat-ul-Islam' (the Might of Islam).[1] This temple had been completed by Shantidas, the famous Jain jeweller, in 1625, and it has been fully described by the German traveller Mandelslo who visited Ahmadabad in 1638.[2] That this magnificent monument should have been desecrated and consequently abandoned for worship, and ultimately allowed to fall into ruin, cannot but be regarded as a misfortune. A direct reference to the slaughter of a cow in the temple at the time of its conversion into a mosque is also made by the French traveller M. de Thevenot who was at Ahmadabad in 1666.[3] In a later chapter, devoted to the career of Shantidas Jawahari, will be found a full account of the chequered history of this temple and its desecration.

Desecration of Shantidas's temple

There was yet another religious episode at Ahmadabad, and a very sanguinary one, which is associated with Prince Aurangzeb's short tenure of office as Subahdar of Gujarat. But, in this case, both the parties involved were Muslims—on one side the orthodox Mullas of Ahmadabad and on the other the adherents of the schismatic Mahdavi sect of Palanpur.[4] The conflict led to the death and martyrdom at

Conflict with the Mahdavi leader

1 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 220.

2 See the author's *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India* (1931), pp. 23-25, and Appendix I.

3 *Travels of M. de Thevenot*, trans. by Lovell, London, 1687, Part III, 10.

4 The Mahdavis of North Gujarat are the followers of Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpuri who came to this province in 1497 in the reign of Sultan Mahmud Begada and was accepted by many as the Imam Mahdi, or the Restorer of Islam. The orthodox are hostile to this sect as they believe that this promised deliverer will become manifest only when the world is coming to an end. (See Vol. I, 227-29).

Ahmadabad of Saiyid Raju, the learned leader of that sect. At this time, the Mufti Abdul Qavi[5] and the Qazi Abdul Wahhab[6] were the leading advisers of the Prince at Ahmadabad, and, being well aware of their young master's religious bigotry, they were particularly anxious to denounce heretical teachers. In order to clear up some religious disputes between the Prince's retainers and some horse-dealers who held this creed, they advised Aurangzeb to summon the Mahdavi leader from Palanpur. The Prince, thereupon, sent an order to Mujahid Khan, the ruler of Palanpur, to that effect. Saiyid Raju reached Ahmadabad shortly after, where he took up his residence in the Tajpur locality. Some days later, he entered into religious discussions with the Maulvis, who were naturally not convinced, and who issued a *fatwa* for his expulsion from the city, and also secured Prince Aurangzeb's sanction for its execution. By the Kotwal's orders, Saiyid Raju left the city with his adherents and took up his quarters in the Rustam Bagh, adjoining the Bagh-i-Shahi, outside the city. At the secret instigation of the Maulvis, the Kotwal followed them to the Rustam Bagh with a party of his troops and attacked them. Swords were drawn on both sides and in the conflict which ensued Saiyid Raju was killed. With him fell twenty-two of his adherents, and their bodies were later buried on the spot.[7] The graves of Raju *Shahid* and his followers may yet be seen in a small enclosure, well covered with umbrageous trees, adjoining the Navroji Hall in the present Shahi Bagh locality at Ahmadabad, and the cemetery is maintained at the expense of the Palanpur Darbar.[8] Incidentally, this graveyard helps us to locate the site of the Rustam Bagh, which was originally laid out during Akbar's reign by his son Prince Murad, and named after the latter's son, to which reference is found in Jahangir's Memoirs. The account of this episode as given in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* differs in some minor points from that given in Palanpur history. According to it, Saiyid Raju, with several of his friends, came to Ahmadabad and entered the service of the Prince. When the fact that he professed the Mahdavi creed came to Prince Aurangzeb's knowledge, the latter ordered that Saiyid Raju should be sent away from the city. Both versions are in agreement about the *fatwa* issued by the Maulvis and the armed struggle that followed at the Rustam Bagh.[9] It is clear from these accounts that the responsibility for the attack by armed guards against Saiyid Raju rests primarily not

5 Mulla Abdul Qavi was one of the Prince's early teachers and a companion in close attendance in all his battles. He was very bigoted and a rigorous censor. He was appointed to try Sufi Sarmad for heresy and in 1660-61 that famous pantheist was put to death (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, Eng. trans. I, 44-47).

6 Qazi Abdul Wahhab of Patan became later in 1658 the Chief Qazi of the Empire.

7 *History of the Palanpur State*, by H. H. Sir Taley Muhammad Khan, 79-81.

8 This historical graveyard is situated next to the property of Sheth Chinubhai Lalbhai in the Shahi Bagh division. It appears that three gardens, *viz.*, the Rustam Bagh, the Gulab Bagh, and the Shahi Bagh were all located near each other on the banks of the Sabarmati river during the Mughal period.

9 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 220-21.

so much on Prince Aurangzeb as on the Mullas at the capital. Raju and his adherents were throughout on the defensive.

The complaints against the adulteration of indigo made by the English and other merchants at Ahmadabad to Azam Khan reappear during the brief viceroyalty of Prince Aurangzeb. The Company in England wrote to the effect that, owing to the admixture of dust and white sand, indigo 'had become so disrespected a commodity in all these parts of Europe that it is not worth the bringing from India.' The quality of the article, however, soon improved under the strict injunctions issued by the Prince against the 'sophistication' of indigo, though the orders were submitted to with great reluctance by the producers, many of whom preferred to keep the plant in the leaf rather than make it up for sale.[10] At the same time, the English at Ahmadabad tried to get over this difficulty by experimenting in the manufacture of indigo themselves, after buying up the leaf when it was most plentiful. Though their hopes of producing it cheaper than the market commodity were not realised, they could at least write home that the stuff was pure and good.[11]

Orders against adulteration of indigo

It may be mentioned that Prince Aurangzeb had, during his short stay, taken active measures to chastise the Koli marauders in the province by raising troops at his own expense. In appreciation of this, and in view of the fact that he had spent much more than he received as income, the Emperor rewarded him by increasing his *mansab* by a thousand horse.[12] In September, 1646, Shah Jahan wrote to the Prince to come away from Gujarat after making over his office to Shaistah Khan,[13] and his departure took place in November, an event which the English merchants at Ahmadabad describe as 'happy and very seasonable'.[14] The recall of Aurangzeb was due to events in Central Asia where the Emperor had started an aggressive campaign for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshan which had at one time formed part of the dominions of Babur. On 30 January, 1647, the Prince arrived at Lahore with his two eldest sons, when he received audience of the Emperor, and was immediately placed in charge of the difficult war which his brother Murad had abandoned. Even at this early date, Aurangzeb exhibited during this arduous campaign, in an inhospitable country, the cool courage in battle and capacity for military command which distinguished him above all his other brothers.

Prince Aurangzeb recalled, 1646

10 *English Factories*, 1646-50, pp. 31-33.

11 ibid, 77,189,202,254. They had counted on its costing them about Rs. 18 or 19 per maund, while the actual cost came to Rs. 22 per maund, or even Rs. 25, a figure which was not very far from the market price.

12 *Amal-i-Salih*, II, 473.

13 J. Sarkar, *Life of Aurangzeb*, I, 82. In this year (1646) seventy-three elephants were captured by the Prince's officers in the forests of Dohad and Champaner.

14 *English Factories*, 1646-50, p. 366.

A long succession of viceroys, 1628-58

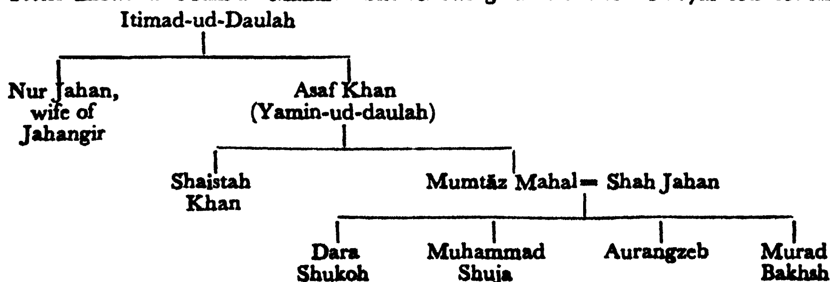
The Subah of Gujarat was administered by no less than twelve viceroys during the thirty years that elapsed between the death of Jahangir and the accession of Aurangzeb.[15] Three of them were imperial princes, *viz.*, Prince Aurangzeb, Prince Dara Shukoh, and Prince Murad Bakhsh; and a fourth, Shaistah Khan, was brother-in-law of the Emperor.[16] Dara, however, was Subahdar only in name for about four years, for he continued with his father in the north and governed the province through his deputy. With the exception of the great Azam Khan, who, as we have seen, ruled Gujarat with an iron hand for nearly six years (1636-42), the majority of the Subahdars held charge for comparatively short periods only. The accounts given by the Persian historians make it clear that several of the nobles appointed in charge of the province had no special qualification for this exalted office. The frequent change of provincial Nazims was a common Mughal practice, the object being to prevent them from becoming either over-powerful or too popular. After a stay of two or three years, they were transferred to a new province remote from the old one, and in this way any danger to the throne from the ambition of a nobleman of unusual capacity was minimised. But the system was not conducive to the welfare and prosperity of the provinces, for the Nazims, being well aware that they might be recalled at any time, often resorted to violent or unscrupulous methods of amassing riches at the expense of the merchants and the rich citizens.

Shaistah Khan punishes the Kolis

On the recall of Prince Aurangzeb, Shah Jahan appointed his brother-in-law, the amir Shaistah Khan, to be Subahdar of Gujarat (1646-48). The Chunval Kolis had renewed their terrorism within a decade of Azam Khan's ruthless measures for their suppression, and highway robbery had become common in North Gujarat, so that caravans coming south and proceeding to the sea-ports had become specially liable to attack in the hilly region near the Idar frontier. The new viceroy had, therefore, to lead a force against these irrepressible brigands on the eve of his entry into Ahmadabad, and to punish them for their daring in cutting off

15 For a list of the viceroys of Gujarat under Shah Jahan see p. 114.

16 Shaistah Khan was the brother of Shah Jahan's wife, Arjumand Banu Begum, better known as Mumtaz Mahal. The following table shows his royal connections:



by a stratagem some of the departing Prince's soldiers (November, 1646).[17] But the subsequent measures adopted by Shaistah Khan to ferret out these robbers from their hiding places appear to have been in the highest degree injudicious and harassing to the peaceful inhabitants of the country, for we find the English chief at Ahmadabad writing to Surat that 'his unheard of tyranny in depopulating whole towns of miserably poor people under pretence of their harbouring thieves and rogues (whilst those that are such may walk untouched at noon-day) are grievous testimonials of his rigid disposition.'[18]

In his dealings with the merchants and artisans at the provincial capital, Shaistah Khan was thoroughly grasping and tyrannical, so that he is described as 'our base, unjust and worthless governor.' In particular, his attempt to monopolise indigo and other articles of merchandise, by buying them up from tradesmen at his own rates, was strongly resented by every class of merchants, for they had to bribe him in order to put him off his designs. George Tash, the English chief at Ahmadabad, referring to the Subahdar's inclination to become 'the sole merchant of this place,' adds sarcastically that 'should he thrive in this project, we may then expect shortly to fetch our butter and rice from him.'[19]

Attempts to be 'sole merchant' at Ahmadabad

In July, 1648, Shaistah Khan was transferred to the Subah of Malwa, and Prince Dara, the eldest son of the Emperor, was given the charge of Gujarat. But this Prince was viceroy only nominally, for his trusted officer, Baqir Beg,[20] was sent out to Ahmadabad, with the title of Ghairat Khan, to act as his deputy. When this nobleman arrived on the frontiers of the province, the ruler of Sirohi in Rajputana presented himself and agreed to give one hundred gold muhurs and fifteen thousand rupees as peshkash. But, owing to some disagreement, he departed, and the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* says that since that date no ruler of Sirohi ever came to pay personal homage to the Nazims of the Subah. Ghairat Khan entered Ahmadabad on 18 September, 1648, the day of the Hindu festival of *Dasera*. His name is associated with a very important farman issued by the Emperor in favour of Shantidas Jawahari, restoring to the latter the Jain temple in the city which had been desecrated and converted into a mosque by Prince Aurangzeb in 1645. The farman is dated 3 July 1648, and bears the *nishan* and seal of

Ghairat Khan as Dara's deputy, 1648-52

[17] *English Factories*, 1646-50, pp. 58, 193.

[18] ibid, 127.

[19] ibid, 161.

[20] Baqir Beg was a favourite officer of Prince Dara Shukoh and more trusted than any one else. He had served as the Prince's deputy in the government of Allahabad, and was now sent to the charge of Gujarat with his new title. The next year he was placed among the royal servants. In 1656 he obtained the rank of 4,000 and 2,500 horse and the title of Bahadur Khan (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, trans. by Beveridge, I, 338).

'Shah-i-Buland Iqbal Muhammad Dara Shukoh.'[21] We gather from this document that, some time before this date, certain orders about the temple had been sent by the Emperor to his brother-in-law Shaistah Khan, who succeeded Prince Aurangzeb as Subahdar of Gujarat, but it appears that the Khan left the province before he could carry them out, and they are, therefore, repeated to Ghairat Khan who took his place as Dara's *naib* or deputy. The nature of these orders will be found in the following extract:

> 'Be it known to the governors, subahdars and mutasaddis of the province of Gujarat, especially to him who has been worthy of various favours, Ghairat Khan, that formerly, in respect of the temple of the leading person of the time (*zubdat-al-akran*), Satidas Jawahari, an exalted and blessed order had been issued to Umdat-ul-mulk Shaistah Khan to this effect: Shahzada Sultan Aurangzeb Bahadur, having constructed in that place some mihrabs, had given it the name of a mosque; and, thereafter, Mulla Abdul Hakim had represented to His Majesty that this building, by reason of its being the property of another person, could not be considered a mosque according to the Islamic law. A world-obeyed order had, therefore, obtained the honour of being issued that this building being the property of Satidas, the mihrabs should be removed, and the building handed over to him'.

The farman next proceeds to direct Ghairat Khan that, in modification of the above order to his predecessor, the mihrabs (*i.e.*, prayer-niches), 'constructed by the victorious and exalted Prince,' should be retained, and that a wall should be built up near the same so as to screen them off from the rest of the temple. Also that, since His Exalted Majesty had restored the aforesaid temple to Shantidas, the latter should be put in possession of it as before, so that he might worship therein according to his creed. The document contains some further orders relating to Faqirs and beggars who had made the building their abode, and to the Bohras who had pilfered materials from the temple.[22] That Shah Jahan, who never showed his father's or Akbar's toleration for Hindu shrines, should thus have so definitely reversed the action of his own son, and made such complete restitution to the Jain magnate, is ample proof of the personal influence of Shantidas with the Emperor, and of the honour and respect in which he was held at the royal court. But the grievous wrong done by the Prince to Shantidas and to the Jain religion and its votaries could not be undone even by the best efforts of the Emperor, and this great temple was doomed to decay and ruin. One unique feature of this farman is found in the fact that there is a

The order to restore the temple to Shantidas

21 The date of the Farman, 21st Jumad-us-sani 1058 H. (3 July, 1648), is also interesting for the fact that on that very day, according to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Shah Jahan appointed Sultan Dara Shukoh as Subahdar of Gujarat in succession to Shaistah Khan.

22 Vide the author's monograph on *Imperial Mughal Farmans in Gujarat*, in Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. IX, Pt. 1, July, 1940, pp. 39-41; also Plate IX (for the Persian text) and Plate XXII (for Prince Dara's Seal).

brief endorsement in the body of the document, near the first two lines, which was probably written by the Emperor himself in his own hand.

Towards the end of 1652, on the failure of Prince Aurangzeb to take back the fortress of Qandahar from the Persians, the Emperor appointed Prince Dara Shukoh to that command. The latter was, therefore, relieved of his nominal viceroyalty of Gujarat and appointed as the Subahdar of Multan to enable him to concentrate his troops near the frontier.[23] Shaistah Khan was recalled from the Deccan and appointed a second time to the Subah of Gujarat, a charge which he held for about a year and a half (1652-54). During this period he did some useful work against the Chunval Kolis who were ravaging the Haveli pargana as also those of Dholka, Kadi and Viramgam. On this occasion, Kahanji, the leader of the marauders, was driven out of the Chunval and his estates handed over to Jagmal, the grasia chief of Sanand.[24] In 1653, the viceroy reported to the Emperor that the city-walls of Ahmadabad had broken down in several places and were in need of repair. Upon this, orders were sent from the court that the Diwan should carry out the work of restoration at a cost of twenty thousand rupees, which amount was sanctioned from the local treasury.[25]

Shaistah Khan's second regime, 1652-54

The famous French traveller and jeweller, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who journeyed from Europe to India no less than five times during the course of twenty-seven years, between 1641 and 1667, paid several visits to Ahmadabad and Surat on his way to the courts of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. At the end of 1652, when Shaistah Khan was in charge of Gujarat, Tavernier exhibited to him his stock of precious stones at the provincial capital and sold him articles to the value of 96,000 rupees. As the viceroy insisted on paying for them in 'gold rupees' (*i.e.*, *muhrs*) at the rate of 14½ silver rupees to one of gold, the Frenchman pointed out that the rate of exchange in the market being only 14 silver rupees, he would be put to a loss on the bargain. Upon this Shaistah Khan flew into a passion, and declared that he would have the jeweller's Dutch broker, who had given him this information, beaten with a slipper, 'to teach him to understand money.' The matter was, however, compromised by the irate viceroy who offered to purchase a very large pearl from the French merchant for 5,000 rupees in order to repay him for the loss he had sustained on the 'golden rupees.' However, Tavernier's

M. Tavernier's transactions with Shaistah Khan

23 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 226. Dara's colossal failure before Qandahar was even more humiliating than that of his brother. He conducted the Third Siege of Qandahar for five months, from 28 April to 27 September, 1653, with immense resources in men and munitions, but the attempt failed. (Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, I, 166 and *n.*).

24 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 230. Kahanji, the Koli chieftain, came to Ahmadabad in 1654, when Prince Murad Bakhsh was viceroy, and rendered obedience. He was restored to his lands on promising an annual tribute of 10,000 rupees.

25 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 227.

reception by this great Mughal nobleman at Ahmadabad was in keeping with the honours which this traveller invariably received at the Persian court and at that of the Great Mughal. On this occasion, Shaistah Khan bestowed on him a complete oriental suit consisting of a robe and mantle of gold brocade, two waistbands striped with gold and silver, and a turban of fine cotton striped with gold. Besides these, the diamond merchant was presented with a horse, which he sold later at Golkonda after it had served his purpose for the journey. The viceroy also sent him a large basket of Kashmir apples, being one of six which the Emperor Shah Jahan had sent to his brother-in-law. These delicacies Tavernier presented to the wife of the Dutch 'Commander' in whose house he was staying at Ahmadabad.[26]

Palanpur affairs

In his operations for suppressing the turbulent tribe of the Kolis of the Chunval, Azam Khan, the previous viceroy, had received very considerable assistance from Firuz Khan Jalori of Palanpur, who had established his head-quarters at this town, as the ancient seat of the dynasty at Jalor had been confiscated on the execution of Pahar Khan during the reign of Jahangir in 1617. From the time of Mujahid Khan (1638-63), the successor of Firuz Khan, this town came definitely to be recognised as the capital of the Jalori dynasty, and it continued so till the recent merger. In consequence of this, a large number of families from the old town of Jalor came and settled down at Palanpur during his rule. This fact, along with the geographical position of the town and its commercial connections, explains why we find today so large an admixture of the language, dress, manners and customs of Marwar with those of Gujarat in the population of this town. Mujahid Khan, like several of his ancestors, had married Manbai, a lady of the Jadeja clan, and this mixture of Muslim and Rajput blood among the rulers of Palanpur has been one factor in the popularity enjoyed by many of them. Mujahid Khan was appointed by the Emperor as governor of Vijapur[27] and of the Mahi and Sabar Kantha parganas, and later, when Prince Murad Bakhsh was viceroy of the province, he received in 1655 the fauzdari of Patan also. What is probably the most important episode during the rule of Mujahid Khan is associated with the violent death of Saiyid Raju, the head of the Mahdavi sect at Palanpur, which took place at Ahmadabad, as stated above.[28]

26 Tavernier's *Travels in India*, Ed. by V. Ball, I, 18-22.

27 Vijapur is the name of a town and pargana which were during the Mughal period under the Sarkar of Patan in North Gujarat. The town lies about 45 miles north-east of Ahmadabad and is now in the Mehsana District. When in charge of Vijapur, Mujahid Khan reconstructed the Idgah at that town which had been originally built in the days of Zafar Khan, the founder of the Gujarat Sultanate, and the inscription in the same gives the Hijri year 1052 (A.D. 1642-3) as the date of its restoration.

28 Sir Taley Muhammad Khan's *History of the Palanpur State*, 72-75.



IMPERIAL SEAL OF MUHAMMAD MURAD BAKHSH AS BADSHAH-I-GHAZI H. 1069. (A.D. 1658-9) (p. 136) From Commissariat's *Imperial Mughal Farmans in Gujarat* (Journal Bom. Univ. July, 1940)



SHIVAJI, THE MARATHA RAJA (Left) AND PRINCE MURAD BAKHSH, SUBAHDAR, OF GUJARAT FROM 1654 to 1658 (Right). (From an old print)

CHAPTER XII

PRINCE MURAD BAKHSH IN GUJARAT
EVENTS DURING 1657-58

On the recall of Shaistah Khan from the viceroyalty of Gujarat in 1654, the Emperor appointed his youngest son, Prince Murad Bakhsh, to succeed him, and the Prince held this office for about three years.[1] Towards the end of this period, early in September 1657, Shah Jahan fell seriously ill at Delhi and his life was despaired of. The daily audience to the public from the palace balcony ceased for a long time; and only Dara, the eldest son, and a few trusted nobles, had access to his sick bed, the administration being carried on in his name by this Prince. After several weeks the illness took a favourable turn, and the Emperor was advised by his doctors to proceed for a change to Agra, which he did in a boat by easy stages along the Jumna.[2] Meanwhile, rumours about the Emperor's death had spread with lightning rapidity through every province of his vast Empire. The injudicious action of Dara in not allowing more than one or two ministers to have access to his father's bed, his stopping all letters and messengers carrying news to his brothers in Bengal, Gujarat and the Deccan, and the guard kept by him over the official news-writers, all these measures helped only to confirm the false reports.

Shah Jahan's serious illness

Though Shah Jahan gradually recovered from his illness, he could no longer hold the sceptre of empire in his feeble hands, and he found himself unable to control the fierce lust for power that arose among his sons and precipitated the fratricidal war. Prince Dara was nominally viceroy of the provinces of Kabul and Multan, but he governed them through his deputies, while he himself continued to reside at Delhi or Agra with his father. He had been publicly acknowledged by Shah Jahan as his heir, but his pride and arrogance had made him many enemies at the court. The English agent at Agra wrote to his masters that there was 'hardly one of the *umravs* that cares for the eldest prince, but hates him deadly, and he them as much.'[3] In spite of his unrivalled resources

The Princes prepare to contest the throne

[1] Prince Murad Bakhsh had married a daughter of the great Persian nobleman, Shah Nawaz Khan, but the Emperor sent him, in 1656, a daughter of Amir Khan, with wedding gifts valued at a lakh of rupees. The lady's marriage to the Prince took place on her arrival at Ahmadabad (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 235)

[2] Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, I, 302-06.

[3] *English Factories*, Ed. by W. Foster, 1655-60, p. 64.

and influence, Dara was by temperament and lack of political experience at a disadvantage as compared with his more active and capable brothers in the struggle that was impending. The first to take up arms and to assume the crown was Prince Shuja, who proclaimed himself sovereign at Rajmahal, the capital of Bengal, where he was viceroy. On the other side of India, at Ahmadabad, Prince Murad Bakhsh, rash and impetuous, proceeded, on the news of his father's serious illness, to collect troops and to summon his officers from the districts in order to maintain his claim by arms in close co-operation with his elder brother Aurangzeb who was in the Deccan.

At this critical hour, however, Murad committed the folly of killing with his own hands his most faithful officer, Ali Naqi, who held the high post of Diwan of the Subah of Gujarat. This capable and loyal noble had been specially appointed to this post by the Emperor who was aware of the young Prince's shortcomings. Ali Naqi's administration had been strict, and he had, therefore, incurred the enmity of the royal prince's boon companions and flatterers, as also of the other nobles who envied his power. Among these was Qutb-ud-din Khan Kheshgi, at this time *fauzdar* or governor of Patan, who now came to the capital on the viceroy's summons. A conspiracy was formed between him and a trusted eunuch of the Prince for the downfall of the Diwan. A forged letter in Ali Naqi's hand and bearing his seal, purporting to show that the minister was a partisan of Prince Dara, was prepared, and the courier carrying the same was collusively arrested by Murad's guards.[4] The Prince was drunk and barely in his senses when this letter was delivered to him late in the night. He ordered that Ali Naqi should be brought to his presence, and, on the minister's arrival, he charged him with treason and flung the letter to him as proof of his crime. Ali Naqi made a bold defence and taxed his master for not detecting the forgery, but the Prince, unable to control himself, started up from his seat and ran Ali Naqi through with his spear, while his attendants completed their master's work.[5] This tragedy was enacted probably in the viceroy's palace in the Bhadra citadel at Ahmadabad early in October, 1657. For this cruel murder, Prince Murad had to pay with his life four years later, when, under the orders of his victorious brother Aurangzeb, he was brought to trial, found guilty, and executed.

Murder of Ali Naqi, the Diwan

In order to secure the necessary resources for the contest with his brothers that was inevitable, Prince Murad now sent from Ahmadabad an army of 6,000 horse under the command of an able eunuch, named Shahbaz Khan, to capture the rich seaport of Surat and to take possession of the royal treasure located in its famous Castle on the Tapti. The

Murad sends an army to Surat

[4] J. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, I, 320-21.

[5] ibid, 322.

city of Surat, which had no walled fortification at this period, was taken without much difficulty, but the Mughal commandant in charge of the Castle put up a spirited defence on behalf of the Emperor.[6] Shahbaz Khan now made overtures to the Dutch and the English Presidents at Surat for assistance, promising them the remission of half the customs duties and other privileges. But neither chief had much faith in Prince Murad's prospects of success and both positively declined to interfere. Shahbaz, however, was able to purchase from Revington, the head of the English factory, in his private capacity, some guns which were not the property of the English Company. He also managed to dig out of the sands at Suwali some small guns which had been buried there by the English.[7]

Siege and capture of Surat Castle, 1657

After attempting in vain to win over the commandant, whose name was Saiyid Tayyib, and who remained loyal to Shah Jahan, the Prince's general proceeded to conduct the siege of the Castle with great skill and energy. He failed, however, to carry it by assault as the fort was well equipped with artillery, and the cannonade from the light guns of the besiegers produced no impression on its massive walls. Irritated at the vigorous defence put up by the brave garrison, Shahbaz Khan caused a search to be made for the women, children and other relatives and friends of the gunners in the castle in order to place them in front of his soldiers during his attacks. The siege continued for over forty days when at last the investing general secured his object by laying a mine which is said to have been prepared by a Dutchman who had deserted to his service. The mine was carried below the bed of the moat and was filled with fifty maunds of powder. The explosion was terrible and destroyed a part of the outer wall of the castle while some 40 guns and many hundreds of artillerymen were blown up. The small garrison that was left found it impossible to defend the breach, and the fear of the explosion of a second mine at last obliged the brave *Qiladar* to surrender the fort and to accept an honourable capitulation (Dec., 1657).[8] The information of this success was conveyed by the victorious general to Prince Murad, and it was followed by the arrival of the treasure, public and private, that had been secured in the castle. But Shahbaz Khan had rendered yet another service to his master while the siege was in operation, for he had secured from the wealthy merchants of Surat a forced loan of five lakhs of rupees. This amount had been handed over to the general, on behalf of all the merchants, by Haji Muhammad Zahid Beg and Virji Vora, the two richest men of the city at the time. A bond for the amount, stamped with Murad's seal, was delivered to them as a pledge for repayment.[9]

[6] J. Sarkar, op. cit., 323.
[7] *English Factories* 1655-60, pp. 122-24.
[8] Tavernier's *Travels*, I, 327-29; J. Sarkar, op. cit. I, 324-25.
[9] J. Sarkar, op. cit., 325.

Murad's impetuosity and folly would not permit him to await the result of the siege of Surat Castle before proclaiming himself Emperor. On Dec. 5, 1657, he went through the ceremony of a public coronation at Ahmadabad and assumed the royal style as Badshah Ghāzi and the title of *Murawwaj-ud-din* (the Expander of the Faith). Moreover, he had coins struck and the *khutba* read in his name. The information derived from the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* to this effect is amply supported by numismatic evidence, for coins issued in his name not only from the mint at Ahmadabad but also from those at Surat and Cambay have long been known to scholars. A unique gold *muhr*, now in the British Museum, bears within a square on the obverse the inscription, *Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, the victorious king*, and in the margin, '*struck at Ahmadabad, year 1 of the Divine era.*' The square on the reverse contains the *kalima*, and its margins record the names and virtues of the Four Khalifas, with the Hijri year 1068 (A.D. 1657-8). The legends and the design borne on Murad Bakhsh's Ahmadabad rupees are the same as on his muhrs.[10] Dr. Taylor, in his article on the coins of Surat, refers to having secured for his cabinet rupees and half rupees dated H. 1068 (A.D. 1657-8) and struck at the Surat mint. The following interesting inscription is found on their obverse:

Murad's coronation & coinage at Ahmadabad

Muhammad Murad, the victorious king, the Second Alexander,
Took the heritage from (Shah) Jahan, the 'Lord of Conjunction.'[11]

Gold and silver coins struck by Murad's orders at the mint at Cambay are also known to numismatists. One of these, a gold muhr, bears on the obverse the *Kalima*, or Muslim creed, and the names and 'virtues' of the four Khalifas with the Hijri year 1068. The reverse is interesting as it gives the new titles assumed by the Prince at Ahmadabad: *Badshah Ghazi, Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, Murawwaj-ud-din*, and the words *Struck at Khambayat* (Cambay).[12]

On January 19, 1658, the victorious troops from Surat reached Ahmadabad, and Murad Bakhsh, having completed his arrangements, awaited information about Aurangzeb's arrival to the north of the Narbada in order to join forces with him. The Prince had decided to leave his wives, children and property in the strong fort of Champaner for safety. Before his final departure from Ahmadabad he is believed to have exacted fifty lakhs of rupees from the unfortunate citizens of this capital. Of this amount, five lakhs and a half were borrowed from Manekchand and his brothers, the sons of the great Jain merchant and jeweller Shantidas.[13]

Loans secured by the Prince at Ahmadabad

10 Geo. P. Taylor, *The Coins of Ahmadabad*, in Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX (1902), 434 and Plate V, Fig. No. 49.

11 Geo. P. Taylor, *The Coi s of Surat*, in Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXII (1908), 256-57 and Plate II, Figs. 13 and 14.

12 Geo. P. Taylor, *Mughal Coins of Cambay*, Numis. Suppt., No. XX (Journal, A. S. B., New Series, VIII, p. 546) 1912.

13 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 238.

When news of these events reached the court, the feeble Emperor at Agra began, with the support of his son Dara, to adopt measures for crushing the rebellion of his sons and for preventing their advance to the north. Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur was now appointed to the Subah of Malwa, and Qasim Khan was put in charge of the province of Gujarat, to take the place of Prince Murad who was ordered to proceed to Birar. Both these imperial generals had instructions to march to Ujjain and to halt there. If the Prince obeyed the commands sent to him, and left Gujarat, well and good; if not, Qasim Khan was to proceed with the Maharaja to Ahmadabad and drive him out of the province.

Shah Jahan's measures

Prince Aurangzeb, the ablest, as also the most astute and far-sighted, of the sons of Shah Jahan, was in charge of the Deccan provinces when he received the news of the serious illness of the Emperor. Unlike his brothers, however, he proceeded to make silent preparations for asserting his claims: his policy being to play a waiting game, to secure friends at court, and not to precipitate matters by an open revolt. From about the middle of October, 1657, he entered into communication with his brother Murad at Ahmadabad for concerting joint action. He advised caution and delay while the impetuosity of Murad was for immediate march against Dara. At the same time, an informal arrangement was reached by the two brothers for the division of the Empire when success was achieved. Having at last completed his military arrangements, Aurangzeb marched north from his headquarters at Aurangabad in February, 1658, and Murad, having been informed of this, left Ahmadabad for Malwa at the end of the same month. Aurangzeb spent a whole month at Burhanpur, and, resuming his march, crossed the Narmada and was joined in April by Murad and his army near Dipalpur.

Aurangzeb's alliance with Murad

The junction of the armies of the rebel princes being effected, they proceeded against the imperial generals, and the first battle of the civil war took place at Dharmat, 14 miles from Ujjain, on April 15, 1658, with the result that the imperialists under Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan were utterly defeated. The disaster was perhaps due as much to the evils of divided command as to the combination of Rajput and Muslim forces in the royal army. Flushed with the success, Aurangzeb and Murad crossed the Chambal and marched towards Agra. At Samugarh, eight miles from Agra Fort, Prince Dara came out with a superior and powerful army to accept their challenge. In the action fought here on May 29, which was vigorously contested on both sides, and in which all the three Princes showed that personal valour which characterised their ancestors, Dara's troops were defeated. The disaster at Samugarh must be regarded as the decisive event in the war for the succession. The eldest son of Shah Jahan was henceforth a fugitive in the empire of his fathers. Aurangzeb emerged from the victory as the ablest among his brothers

Battles of Dharmat and Samugarh, 1658

and the destined heir to the throne. Proceeding to Agra, he received the surrender of the fort with the vast treasures accumulated at that capital, and interned his father in the palace, and with this event Shah Jahan's brilliant reign ended in gloom and captivity.

For about two or three weeks after the success over Dara's army at Samugarh, complete unity of policy and interest appears, outwardly at least, to have been maintained between the two victorious brothers and their followers. Dara was now a fugitive and Shuja was in distant Bengal, while Aurangzeb had evidently lulled his unsuspecting younger brother Murad into the belief that he had no political ambitions whatever. A farman issued by Murad in his capacity as sovereign, a little before he found himself a captive in his brother's camp near Mathura, shows how completely he had been hoodwinked as regards his real position till almost the last minute. We learn from the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* that, before he left Ahmadabad, Murad had appointed his trusted enunch, Mutamad Khan, as his deputy and placed him in charge of his family; and that, four days prior to his being made a prisoner, he sent under his new imperial seal a farman to this official ordering him to repay to Manekchand, the son of Shantidas, and others, the sum of five lakhs and fifty thousand rupees which they had advanced him as a loan at Ahmadabad. The details about the sources from which this amount was to be secured, *viz.*, the revenues of certain specified parganas in Gujarat, were also mentioned in the document.[14]

Murad's Farman for repayment of the loan

Confirmatory evidence of the facts mentioned by the Persian historian about Murad's farman to his deputy is available from an entirely unexpected source. Two imperial farmans, almost identical in terms with each other and with the one mentioned above, have been preserved for over three hundred years by the descendants of Shantidas at Ahmadabad.[15] Both of them are historical documents of the highest value and they both bear the imperial seal of 'Abul Muzaffar Murawwaj-ud-din Muhammad Murad Bakhsh Badshah-i-Ghazi, H. 1068.' One is addressed to Mutamad Khan[16] and the other is directed to one Haji Muhammad Quli, evidently another high officer in the province. They bear the same date, *viz.*, '1st Shawwal, 1st year of the auspicious accession,' *i.e.*, June 22, 1658. The text of both copies agrees with the version given in the

Shantidas receives copies of this Farman

[14] The complete text of this document has been given in the Persian history mentioned above.

[15] We may presume that the request made by Shantidas for the return of the loan being granted, he received these duplicate copies in token of the favour.

[16] The farman directed to Mutamad Khan is now in the custody of the Firm of 'Sheth Anandji Kalyanji' at Ahmadabad which represents the interests and charities of the Swetambar Jain community in India (*Studies in the History of Gujarat*, 1935, pp. 69-71).

Mirat-i-Ahmadi.[17] The substance of all the copies is contained in the following extract:

'Be it known to Mutamad Khan that Satidas Sahu has been honoured with an auspicious audience by His Majesty, and by virtue of the favours that have been conferred upon him, this world-obeyed and illustrious order is issued to the effect that the amount which has been borrowed from Manekchand (the son of the above-mentioned person) and his brothers at Ahmadabad, the place of our accession, as a loan for the government, and the details of which (loan) are mentioned herewith, should be paid off from the revenues of the parganahs mentioned in the endorsement.[18]

Fate of Murad Bakhsh

Aurangzeb had taken the leading part in the negotiations and the decisions which ended in the imprisonment of Shah Jahan in Agra Fort, refusing his father's entreaties to meet him for an interview. It was he who now decided on the plan for marching against Dara at Delhi. On the way to that capital, Murad Bakhsh, who had been wounded at Samugarh, and whose reckless valour had contributed not a little to that decisive victory, realised when too late that he had been used all the time as a pawn in Aurangzeb's game. He now tried to assert his position by increasing his troops so as to equal those of his brother. But the astute Aurangzeb saw that the time had come to throw off the mask and to put an end to Murad's claims and ambitions and thus have a free hand for the operations against Dara and Shuja. He, therefore, invited Murad to a feast where he was plied with wine and made a prisoner with golden shackles on his feet. His army soon passed over to Aurangzeb, while the Prince himself was sent as a state-prisoner, first to the fort of Salimgarh near Delhi and subsequently to the strong fortress of Gwalior where he remained for over three years. Here, at last, nemesis overtook him for the murder of his innocent Diwan, Ali Naqi, at Ahmadabad in 1657 on the eve of the Civil War. Like the Roman Emperor Augustus and the English Tudors, Aurangzeb was not ignorant of the advantages of clothing his worst political measures under the forms and the sanction of the law. He had no objection, therefore, when some years later, the son of Ali Naqi claimed the price of blood under the law of the Quran for the murder of his father. The formal trial of the Prince, which took place in the Fort of Gwalior, was but a piteous farce, since his fate had already been decided upon. Murad was found guilty of the murder of Ali Naqi by the Qazi who conducted the trial, declared deserving of death, and beheaded in the prison (Dec., 1661).

[17] On the reverse of both these documents we find mentioned the names of the ports and parganas from the revenues of which certain specified amounts were to be utilised for making up the total amount of the loan. We have here also the seal of Murad's son, with the endorsement: 'Through the distinguished disciple and devoted son Muhammad Izad Bakhsh Bahadur.'

[18] *Imperial Mughal Farmans in Gujarat* (Bom. University Journal, July 1940, pp. 47-50 and Plates XV and XVI-A).

CHAPTER XIII

SHANTIDAS JAWAHARI, THE JAIN MAGNATE OF AHMADABAD

IT is with a sense of satisfaction and some relief that one can turn aside for a while from political history in order to devote a chapter to the career and activities of the Jain magnate Shantidas Jawahari of Ahmadabad, who flourished during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and whose great resources as a financier, and business connections as a jeweller, enabled him to enjoy considerable favour and influence at the imperial court at Delhi. The high social position he attained also helps to prove that the Hindu merchants and financiers of Gujarat during the 17th century, especially in the major towns of the province, enjoyed complete freedom to pursue their normal activities in trade and commerce, and to amass great wealth, even if they were debarred from the exercise of higher political and administrative functions. The career of Shantidas is also interesting for the fact that he was the first *Nagarsheth* of Ahmadabad by popular voice, and that this title, with its attached status and conventional functions, was handed down in his family till recent times. Since the beginning of the present century, however, the great progress made in local municipal government, and other factors involving the decline of old institutions, have practically deprived the head of this family of almost all his traditional prestige and prerogative as the hereditary 'Mayor' of the city. A very full account of Shantidas, based on research extending over several years, has been published by the author in two separate works, *viz.*, in his *Studies in the History of Gujarat* and in *Mughal Imperial Farmans in Gujarat.* It will suffice, therefore, to indicate here in outline the main episodes in his career, leaving to those, who are particularly interested, to refer to these two works for details and for the original sources of information.

The author's Memoirs on Shantidas

Shantidas was a very devout Jain and spent his great resources freely on purposes enjoined by his faith. The details about these, and especially the construction of a magnificent Jain temple in a suburb of Ahmadabad, are given in a document in Sanscrit verse called the *Chintamani-prasasti.* No details are known about the original composition of this record, but the colophon states that 'this song of praise for the temple

Value of the 'Chintamani-Prasasti'

of Chintamani-Parsvanath was written in s. 1697 (A.D. 1640).[1] In one of its concluding verses the poem refers to the famous noble who was viceroy of Gujarat when it was composed: 'Victory to Azam Khan, the righteous lord of Gujarat, at the mention of whose name the bodies of his enemies tremble with fear, their eyes roll up, and their hearts fail.' We know that this noble was Subahdar of Gujarat from 1636 to 1642, under Shah Jahan, and that he was a great general and a terror to the Kolis and the Kathis on the frontiers of his province. From this and from internal evidence we may say that the credibility of the information contained in the poem is beyond any doubt.[2]

Shantidas's temple at Saraspur

According to this valuable record, therefore, the great temple of Chintamani-Parsvanath was begun in 1621, during the reign of the Emperor Jahangir, by Shantidas and his elder brother Vardhaman. In view of Jahangir's happy relations with Jain leaders, and his tolerance of their religion, the construction of this temple, only three years after his departure from Ahmadabad, will cause no surprise, especially as the builder was the court jeweller. The temple was located in the then flourishing suburb of Bibipur, which is now known as Saraspur. It was evidently completed in 1625, for, in this year, Shantidas is said to have arranged for its consecration by the formal instalment of the image of the Tirthankar to whom it was dedicated. The monument was seen in 1638, only thirteen years later, in all its beauty, by the German traveller Mandelslo, who has given a full description of the same, and a short account of it is also given in the *prasasti*.[3] It is a matter for regret that this historic and beautiful structure should have come to grief within seven years after Mandelslo's visit and twenty years after its completion.

Thevenot's account of its desecration

As stated in a previous chapter, in 1645, Shah Jahan appointed his third son, Aurangzeb, as Subahdar of Gujarat, and, under the Prince's orders, the temple of Shantidas at Saraspur was converted into a masjid, which was given the name of *Quvvat-ul-Islam*, 'the Might of Islam.' This bald reference by the author of the *Mirat* may be supplemented by some more details given by the French traveller, M. de Thevenot, who visited this city in 1666. He says:

> 'Ahmadabad being inhabited by a large number of heathens,[4] there are Pagods or idol-temples in it. That which was called the Pagod of Shantidas was the chief, before Aurangzeb converted it into a mosque. When he performed that ceremony, he caused a cow

1 A copy of this document was found by Muni Jinavijayaji of the Gujarat Vidyapith in a Jain work. The full date given in the colophon is Friday, the bright half of Pausha, s. 1697, *i.e.*, Dec. 4, 1640. It adds that the poem was composed by Vidyasaubhagya, the pupil of the learned Satyasaubhagya.

2 The author's *Studies in the History of Gujarat* (Longmans), 1935, pp. 54-55.

3 ibid, 62-63.

4 A common word among the foreign travellers of this century applied to all non-Christians.

to be killed in the place, knowing very well that, after such an action, the gentiles, according to their law, could worship no more therein. The inside roof of the mosque is pretty enough, and the walls are full of the figures of men and beasts; but Aurangzeb, who hath always made a show of an affected devotion, which at length raised him to the throne, caused the noses of all these figures, which added a great deal of magnificence to that mosque, to be beat off.'[5]

Farman for its restoration

Shantidas stood high in favour with the Emperor at this period, as may be judged from nearly a dozen royal farmans granted in his favour by Shah Jahan in the course of his long reign. It was not likely that he would allow this insult to his religion and his prestige, even though offered by an imperial Prince, to pass by without submitting a representation to the Emperor. Though we have no direct evidence for this, we may presume some such action to have been taken by him from the farman on this subject issued by the orders of Shah Jahan, bearing the *nishan* and seal of Prince Dara Shukoh, and addressed to Ghairat Khan, the deputy-viceroy of Gujarat. The details of this farman ordering the restoration of the temple to Shantidas have been given in a previous chapter. The great Emperor, be it said to his credit, had done what he could to make amends for the deep offence given to the Hindu magnate ; but the mischief done was irreparable. No doubt, after the imperial orders, the building could no more be used by the Muslims as a mosque ; but for the Jain community also, it was for ever desecrated, so that, as Thevenot says, 'according to their law, the Gentiles could worship no more there.' Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that this superb monument fell early into disuse and disrepair, and today it has quite disappeared, its stones and materials having been for generations pilfered and carted away to build other structures.

Later history of the images

There is a later reference to this temple made by the author of the *Mirat* to the effect that, at the time when it was converted into a mosque in 1645, Shantidas had arranged that two of its great marble images, each of them weighing about a *man*, should be concealed under ground, though it was given out that they would be destroyed. Fully a hundred years later, in 1743, during the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, when Jawan Mard Khan Babi had established his *de facto* authority at Ahmadabad, the Jains, taking advantage of the political chaos attending the impending fall of the Empire in Gujarat, and realising that Islamic religious intolerance was on the decline, managed, with the help of

[5] *Travels of M. de Thevenot*, trans. by Lovell, London, 1687, Part III, p. 10. The French jeweller Tavernier, who paid several visits to Ahmadabad, also says that the temple was converted into a mosque, and adds: 'The exterior of the mosque is ornamented with mosaic, the greater part of which consists of agates of different colours, obtained from the mountains of Cambay, only two days' journey from thence.' (*Travels in India*, Ed. by Ball, I, 72).

some bribes, to bring these images to light, and to instal them publicly in a Jain temple situated in the Jhaverivada at Ahmadabad.[6]

Another event in Shantidas's career, which is mentioned in the *Chintamani-prasasti*, and which is also of a religious character, is that in 1630 (s. 1686), this magnate used his great influence to secure for his religious *guru*, Muktisagar, the dignity of an *acharya* at the hands of the great pontiff Vijayadevsuri, the successor of the more famous Vijayasensuri. The ceremony took place at Ahmadabad in the temple of Mahavir Swami, and on this occasion Muktisagar assumed the new name of Rajsagarsuri, under which he is known in the history of the Jain church in the 17th century. Rajsagarsuri also became the founder of a special *gaccha* or Jain sect in Gujarat which came to be known as the Sagargaccha, and which counted Shantidas among its foremost followers. We are told that the latter's nephew, Vashipal, the son of Vardhaman, spent a large amount in celebration of the accession of Muktisagar to the *suripad* at Ahmadabad.[7]

Shantidas and Rajsagarsuri

It is not uncommon to find preserved among the ancestral records of many of the old families at Ahmadabad various documents belonging to the 17th century which are valuable as giving us an idea of the manner in which legal transactions connected with the sale, purchase or mortgage of real property were executed. Apart from their value for historical or administrative purposes, they are of great interest to students of linguistic developments also. Many documents of this type, some of them more than 300 years old, are preserved among the several branches of the Nagarsheth family at Ahmadabad. We shall refer here to only one such document which is associated with the name of Shantidas and which belongs to the reign of Shah Jahan. It is a simple mortgage-deed relating to a *haveli*, or mansion, situated in the locality known as Jhaveriwada at Ahmadabad, and the contract is entered into by two mortgagees, Sha Shantidas *bin* Sahasrakiran and Sha Waghji Shripal *bin* Amarsingh, belonging to the Vrddha shākhā of the Osavamsya (Oswal) community, with the mortgagor, Sha Badaridas *bin* Ratansi *bin* Krishna, of the Maheshvari Agarwal Banya caste, on Tuesday, the 2nd of the dark half of the lunar month Bhadrapad of the Vikram Samvat 1689 (Aug., 21, 1632). The consideration for which the mortgage is effected is the payment of rupees six thousand and one of the Ahmadabad mint, each weighing 1¼ māshās, by the mortgagees to the mortgagor. The condition for redemption of the property is that the mortgagor or his heirs were to pay 6001 rupees of the Ahmadabad mint,[8] being coins not used before, in one lump sum, to the mortgagees or their

Specimen of a mortgage-deed, 1632

6 *Studies*, op. cit., 60 and *n*.

7 *Studies*, op. cit., 54-55 and *n*. Some account of this Jain religious leader is given in the Appendix to this chapter.

8 In other documents of the same type these coins are described as *Sheherchalanya*, *i.e.*, coins that were current in the city.

heirs. As usual, the document has a long preamble mentioning the names of the ruling sovereign and the principal executive and judicial officers of the province and the city. In this case, the 'Hakem Nawab' or viceroy's name is given as Islam Khan and that of the Padshahi Diwan as Fazil Khan, both of which are supported by the historical information derived from the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. The language of the document is Gujarati, but we find several sentences inserted in pure or mixed or corrupt Sanskrit.[9]

Shantidas as the representative of the Jains

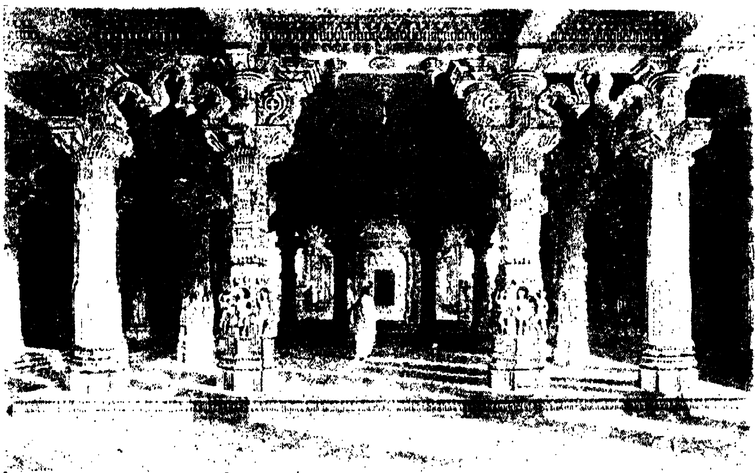
We shall now turn to discuss certain imperial grants, connected with Jain temples, made by Shah Jahan and his sons to Shantidas in his capacity as the leader of the Jain community in India, the information about which is gathered from a series of royal farmans which were issued by these rulers and which are still preserved at Ahmadabad after a lapse of three centuries. From a study of these documents it is clear that, just as the Emperor Akbar had conveyed, through his farmans, his concessions about the slaughter of animals and about the possession of various hills held sacred by the Jains, to Hiravijaya Suri and Vijayasen Suri, as the revered religious leaders of this community, who had attended his court, so now Shah Jahan and his sons make similar grants in favour of Shantidas Jawahari, the secular head of the same wealthy and powerful community, who was also a favourite at the court through his financial and business connections. The earliest of these farmans is dated 1629-30, in the second year of Shah Jahan's reign. It refers to some representations made to the Emperor about the temples of Chintamani, Shatrunjaya, Shankheshwar and Keshrinath, 'which had been in existence long before His Majesty's accession,' and also to the fact that there were three *poshals* at Ahmadabad, four at Cambay, and one each at Surat and Radhanpur, in the custody of Shantidas. The document directs the governor and officers of the Subah that no person should be allowed to enter or put up at these temples or places which had been granted to the Jains. It further orders that the Sevras or Jain monks should not quarrel among themselves but devote their minds to prayers for the welfare and permanence of the kingdom.[10]

Imperial Palitana Farmans

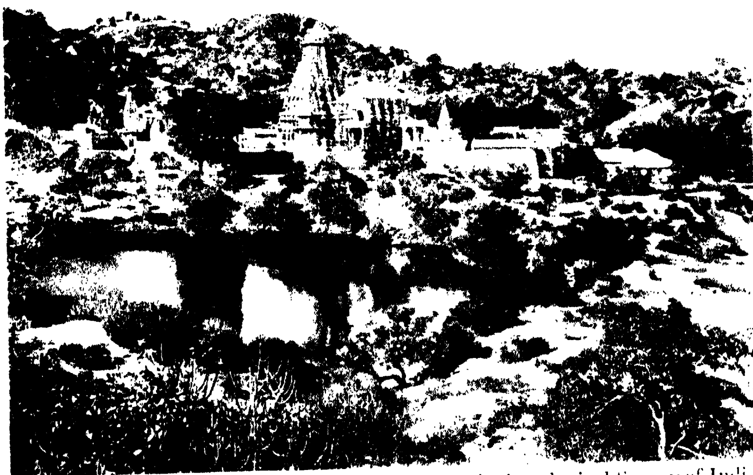
Besides the above grant made soon after the accession of Shah Jahan, we know of a set of four other farmans, issued at the very end of this reign, which may be designated as the *Imperial Palitana Farmans*, because they constitute successive confirmations to Shantidas of the custody over the village and the hill of Palitana and over the Jain temples located at Shatrunjaya. These documents, along with the one mentioned above, are in the cus-

9 Article entitled *Three Gujarati Legal Documents of the Moghul Period* by Rao Bahadur Prahlad C. Diwanji in *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, Jan., 1942, pp. 20-23, 26.

10 For the location of this Farman and other references made in it see my *Studies*, pp. 60-61 and *notes*.



INTERIOR OF JAIN TEMPLE AT DELWADA ON MOUNT ABU
(From J. Tod's *Travels in Western India*)



Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India

JAIN TEMPLES AT TARANGA HILL IN THE MEHSANA DISTRICT, NORTH GUJARAT

tody of the Board of Trustees known as the Firm of 'Sheth Anandji Kalyanji' at Ahmadabad, which is representative of the Svetambar Jain community of India and controls all its temples and other charities.[11] Of these four grants, one is made by Shah Jahan in the 31st year of his reign, two by Murad Bakhsh (once as Prince and again when he proclaimed himself Emperor), and one more by Aurangzeb immediately on his accession. All the grants are evidently made to Shantidas as the head of the Jain community. These successive affirmations within the short period of three years are probably not without some historical significance. For a period of nearly thirty years in the long and peaceful reign of Shah Jahan, Shantidas had no misgivings about the validity of the rights enjoyed by the Jains over the hill at Palitana. But as the Emperor approached advanced age, and his health began to give way, and thick rumours were afloat that a great contest for the throne was impending between his four sons, the Jain magnate must have become apprehensive of possible danger to the rights of his community over the holiest of the Jain centres in India, situated in his own province, and utilised his undoubted influence with the old Emperor and his sons to safeguard them by successive reaffirmations.

Grants prior to Shah Jahan's illness

Of these four Palitana *sanads* the earliest in date (Nov. 7, 1656) is that issued by Prince Murad Bakhsh when he was viceroy of Gujarat (1654-58). At the top of this document is the *Tughra* bearing the Emperor's full name and style, and beneath it is the *Nishan* of the 'Shahzada Sultan Muhammad Murad Bakhsh,' along with the Prince's seal. On a representation made by Shantidas, says the farman, the officers of the present and the future are informed that the village (*mauza*) of Palitana, in the Sarkar of Sorath, a dependency of the Subah of Gujarat, had been granted to Shantidas as *inam*, and that there was a temple there called Shatrunja frequented by pilgrims. Knowing this, the officers are enjoined not to interfere with his rights in any way, so that the people may go to the *tirtha* with peace of heart. The next farman, issued some months later, is a grant made by the Emperor himself in the 31st year of his reign, and dated June 21, 1657, only a short time before news of his serious illness and impending death plunged the Empire into the war for the succession. The document says that the pargana of Palitana, also called Shatrunja, had previously been given as jagir 'to the happy and fortunate son', Prince Murad Bakhsh; and that the same pargana had now been granted in *Inam* for two lakhs of dams to Shantidas Jawahari as an *altamgah*. The officers and jagirdars should uphold this order and see that it was left to Shantidas and his descendants from generation to generation, and that he was to be exempted from all dues, taxes and

11 All these five Farmans were utilised by the Jains in their legal disputes with the Palitana State, and have been reproduced, with translation, in the brochure entitled '*Memorial to the Secretary of State from the managing representatives of the firm of Anandji Kalyanji in reference to their grievance about certain rights re: the Shatrunjaya Hill*', (1923).

imposts in connection with the grant, and that they were not to demand any new sanad for the same.[12]

Murad's Farman as Emperor

Shah Jahan's serious illness, and rumours of his death, and the passing of control over the government at Delhi into Prince Dara's hands, led Murad Bakhsh to proclaim himself Emperor at Ahmadabad on Dec., 5, 1657. Coins were struck and the *khutba* read in his name in that city. Thus we find that the next farman on the subject, in chronological order, is issued by Murad Bakhsh in his capacity as 'Badshah Ghazi,' and both the Tughra and the seal bear his new titles, *viz.*, Abul Muzaffar Muravvaj-ud-din Muhammad Murad Bakhsh Shah Ghazi, Hijri 1068 (A.D. 1657-8). The date given in the farman is June 20, 1658, 'in the first year of the reign,' which shows that it was issued by the Prince after the victory of the confederate brothers over Dara at Samugarh, and only a few days before the imprisonment of the impetuous Murad by the crafty Aurangzeb at Mathura. The farman confirms to Shantidas, at his special request, the previous grant relating to the pargana of Palitana.[13]

Farman of Aurangzeb on Palitana

Prince Aurangzeb had now definitely emerged as the successful claimant for the throne of his father in the war of the succession. On his arrival at Delhi in hot pursuit of Dara, who was now a fugitive, he went through his first informal coronation on 21 July 1658. This event took place just a month after the farman granted to Shantidas by Murad Bakhsh as 'Emperor.' The Jain magnate must have realised that this grant was now hardly worth more than the parchment on which it was written unless he secured its re-confirmation. A week after Aurangzeb's assumption of royalty, the new Emperor issued, on July 29, 1658, what may be called the last of the Palitana Farmans. The text of the document is in most respects similar to Shah Jahan's grant made on June 21, 1657 in the 31st year of his reign, to which very specific reference is made here, and which it definitely confirms, and the usual instructions are given to the officials and *mutasaddis* of the Subah.[14]

Financial loans to Murad Bakhsh

We shall now turn to describe certain financial transactions made by the sons of Shantidas, probably in their father's absence, which were of a political character, and are thus of considerable historical interest, and the details of which are gathered both from the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* and from a number of authentic Imperial farmans still extant. As already stated, in the last year of Shah Jahan's reign, after Prince Murad Bakhsh had proclaimed himself Emperor at Ahmadabad, and prior to his departure from that city to join his brother Aurangzeb in Central India, he borrowed from Manekchand, the son of Shantidas, and his partners and other relatives, the large sum of five lakhs and fifty thousand rupees, no doubt to enable

12 Commissariat: *Studies*, 64-66 and *n*
13 ibid, 66-67.
14 ibid, 67-68.

him to equip his army and to finance his military operations. When, after the two decisive battles with the royal armies at Dharmat and Samugarh, the victors were on their march from Agra to Delhi, Shantidas appears to have presented himself before Murad Bakhsh to request the repayment of the loan. This was granted by a farman, dated 22 June 1658, bearing Murad's imperial titles, whereby he orders his officer Mutamad Khan, whom he had left in charge at Ahmadabad, to repay to Shantidas the sum of 5,50,000 rupees from the revenues of certain parganas and ports of the province, the details of which are specified in the document. Only three or four days after the grant had been made, the Prince, as the result of his own folly, found himself a prisoner in his brother's hands in his camp near Mathura. Though the Jain magnate's expectations were thus for the time being blasted, his influence and resourcefulness had not deserted him. He turned his efforts to the victorious Aurangzeb with the result that, less than two months later, he secured from the new Emperor a farman, dated 10 August 1658, directing Rahmat Khan, the Diwan of Gujarat, that a sum of one lakh of rupees should be granted from the royal treasury to Shantidas as part payment for the sum advanced to Prince Murad Bakhsh by his son Manekchand and his partner. The farman adds that Shantidas, who had been accorded an audience, had been graciously permitted to return to his native city. The grant shows that Aurangzeb was anxious to befriend and conciliate so powerful a subject and financier as Shantidas and to attach him to his cause. Full details of the contents of both these farmans, with translations, have been given elsewhere.[15]

Aurangzeb's message to Ahmadabad

On the very same day that Aurangzeb issued the farman mentioned above, he granted another in favour of Shantidas which is also of historical importance. It informs the officials in Gujarat that Shantidas, 'the cream of the nobles,' had received permission from the court of the Saltanat to proceed to Ahmadabad, and that they should help him in his financial affairs. At the same time, Shantidas is directed to convey to all the mahajans, the traders, and the inhabitants of that city, his solicitude for their welfare and his desire for just administraction, so that all of them might pursue their various avocations with peace of mind.[16] The complete version of this document will be given in the following chapter relating to Aurangzeb's reign.

Farmans on other subjects

So far we have reviewed the events of major historical interest associated with Shantidas on the basis largely of several imperial farmans, of which no less than twenty-five connected with his name have been located either with his descendants or with the firm of Sheth Anandji Kalyanji. There is information of a more personal character, available

[15] *Studies*, 69-73; also *Imperial Mughal Farmans in Gujarat*, Plates XV-XVIII and pp. 15-17, 47-51.

[16] *Imperial Mughal Farmans*, Plate XVIII, pp. 16-17 and 51-53.

in the remaining documents, which may be very briefly indicated. An interesting farman of 1644 relates to complaints made to Shah Jahan by the mahajan of the Lumpaka (Lomka) sect of the Jains of Ahmadabad to the effect that the members of the mahajan to which Shantidas, Surdas, and others belonged did not dine with them, nor did they enter into matrimonial relations with them, and the Emperor is requested to force them to do so. The orders issued lay down the imperial policy on such a ticklish problem. Then again we have not less than six documents, ranging in date from 1642 to 1656, which bear on Shantidas's professional activities as the court jeweller and on the protection to be given to his agents. There are also two grants, bearing the *nishan* of Prince Murad Bakhsh (1656-57), which confirm to Shantidas the lease (*ijara*) of the village of Shankheshwar in the pargana of Munjpur in North Gujarat, this place being held sacred by the Jains owing to their temples there. Several other farmans give protection to the property, houses and gardens of Shantidas and his brother Vardhaman at Ahmadabad. One of the latest among these sanads was issued by Aurangzeb early in 1659 in favour of Lakshmichand, the fourth son of Shantidas, from whom all the later Nagarsheths of Ahmadabad trace their descent. The contents of all these numerous documents have been given in detail in the author's monograph on *Imperial Mughal Farmans in Gujarat.*

Before we conclude this chapter, it is necessary to refer to what may be described as the last of the 'Shantidas Farmans,' which was issued by Aurangzeb in the second year of his accession, and which shows the desire of the new ruler to confer special favour on the great financier. The grant is dated 12 March 1660,[17] and the contents are of much interest, for not only does it confirm to Shantidas the village, hill and temples of Palitana, but the great jeweller, who had been a favourite at the court for full half a century, now receives a further grant of the hill and temples of Girnar under the jurisdiction of Junagadh, and of the hill and temple of Abuji under Sirohi, as a special favour. These hills and temples, it is clear, are given to him in trust for the use and worship of the Shravak community.[18]

Last of the 'Shantidas Farmans'

It is stated in the *Rajsāgarsuri-Nirwan-Ras,*[19] a poem composed in honour of Shantidas's spiritual *guru*, that the Jain magnate died at Ahmadabad in Samvat 1715, which ended on 5 October, 1659. According to tradition, Shantidas's early professional career had brought him into contact with Akbar. If this is true, and there is no reason to discredit the tradition, he enjoyed a privileged position at the court of four successive Emperors.

Death of Shantidas, 1659

17 There is no doubt about the authenticity of this Farman, but the date gives rise to a puzzle since Shantidas died some time before October, 1659.

18 Commissariat: *Studies*, 74-75; also *Imperial Mughal Farmans*, Plate XX and pp. 54-55.

19 See *Jain Aitihasic Gurjar Kavya-sanchaya*, Ed. by Muni Jinavijayaji, text, p. 58.

The unusually large number of Imperial farmans issued in his favour bears abundant testimony to his influence. In fact, we know of no single family, Muslim or Hindu, which can boast of being in possession of so many grants made to its ancestor by the Mughal rulers as this historic family of the Nagarsheths of Ahmadabad.[20] More than sixty years after the death of Shantidas, his grandson, Khushalchand Lakshmichand, again plays a memorable part in the declining fortunes of his city under the storm and stress of civil strife and Maratha invasion. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Shantidas held a position and enjoyed a prestige in his native city of Ahmadabad, by virtue of his political connections and his wealth and charities, analogous in many respects to that held at Surat by the Parsi financial magnate Rustomji Manekji Seth in the second half of the same century.

APPENDIX

Rājsagar Suri (Muktisagar), the spiritual guide of Shantidas Jawahari

Muktisagar was the brother of the equally famous Jain monk, Nemisagar, who had been invited by Jahangir to Mandu in 1617, when this Emperor held his court there, and who fell ill and died in this hill-capital in the same year. In 1623, Muktisagar received the dignity of Upadhyaya when he was spending the rainy season at Nadlai in Marwar; and in 1630, by the efforts of Shantidas, the title of Acharya was received by him at the hands of the great pontiff Vijayadev Suri in the temple of Mahavir Swami at Ahmadabad, when he assumed the name of Rajsāgarsuri. After an active career as a great religious leader, he passed his last monsoon in 1665 at the suburb of Rajpur near Ahmadabad. As the members of the families of Shantidas, his brother Vardhaman, and Sha Vaghji (another Jain magnate) found it difficult to visit the Suri daily at Rajpur, owing to the muddy condition of the roads, they brought him to the city where he put up in the monastery of Mulasha. Soon after, realising his end was near, Rājsāgarsuri fasted himself to death, after addressing a great Jain gathering from the city and the suburbs. He died on Sept., 4, 1665 in the eighty-fourth year of his age. His chief disciple, the acharya Vriddhisagar, performed the last ceremonies for his deceased master. The body was anointed with sandalwood and fragrant powder, richly dressed, and taken seated in a palanquin to the cremation ground in a procession led by the sons of Shantidas, Vardhaman and Vaghjisha and followed by some two thousand Jains.

[20] Sheth Kasturbhai Lalbhai, the leading industrial magnate of Ahmadabad today, and a philanthropist, who is also President of the Board of Sheth Anandji Kalyanji, which is representative of the Jain community in India, is one of the descendants of Shantids and intimately connected with the Nagarsheth family.

All along the route, people scattered saffron and rice, as also gold and silver coin, on the bier. At the cremation ground the body was placed on the funeral pyre which had been prepared with fifteen *man* of sandal-wood. Into the same were put a *man* of aloe-wood and five pounds of camphor, besides saffron, musk and other fragrant spices. After inserting a gold coin in the mouth of the deceased, and pouring milk over his body, the pyre was lighted amid the recital of sacred hymns and prayers.

The *Rājsāgarsuri-Ras*, which gives the above information, is a long poem containing some twenty cantos written by a certain Tilaksagar, pupil of one Kripasagar, evidently within a few months of the death of its hero. The original manuscript has not been traced, but a copy exists which was made within a year of the Suri's death by a certain Dayalsagar Gani, who says that it was completed on the 3rd of the bright half of Shravan in the Samvat year 1722 (24 July 1666). This poem is also valuable because of its references to the benevolent activities of Shantidas, and the esteem in which he was held at the Mughal court; also for a description it gives of Ahmadabad and its references to various suburbs. Like other similar Jain *Rases*, it helps to give a picture of the social life and conditions of the time which is of great value in view of the almost complete absence of hisorieal works written by Hindus locally in the province of Gujarat.

CHAPTER XIV

PRINCE DARA'S VICISSITUDES IN GUJARAT

EVENTS FROM 1658 TO 1662

AFTER Prince Murad Bakhsh had been made a captive at Mathura, and thus removed from his path, Aurangzeb resumed his march to Delhi, where he arrived some time after Dara had left that capital precipitately on news of the pursuit. The problem of governing the Empire was now a pressing one, for Shah Jahan's authority was definitely at an end, and officials and governors had to be appointed and instructed by the *de facto* sovereign. On the 21st July, 1658, therefore, Aurangzeb went through the ceremony of his first coronation, at an auspicious hour, in a garden in the suburbs of Delhi, and assumed the title of Alamgir. From this time, therefore, we may date his sovereign authority over the province of Gujarat. Some time after this date, he selected his father-in-law, Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi, one of the great nobles of the time, as his first viceroy of Gujarat. This grandee was descended from the royal house of Persia, and had given one of his daughters, the famous Dilras Banu, in marriage to Prince Aurangzeb in 1637, and another to Prince Murad Bakhsh the next year. Dilras Banu Begum held for twenty years the position of Aurangzeb's chief consort till her death at Aurangabad in 1657, shortly before the commencement of the fratricidal war. Shah Nawaz Khan, who was in the service of the Prince in the Deccan, had been found unwilling to accompany the latter when he left Burhanpur in the spring of 1658 in open rebellion against Shah Jahan's authority. He had, therefore, been confined as a prisoner in the fort of Burhanpur by the Prince's orders, and remained there for six months, until Aurangzeb, as Emperor, now decided to set him at liberty and conferred upon him the high office of Subahdar of Gujarat.[1]

Shah Nawaz Khan as viceroy

Shah Nawaz Khan had been only a few days in Ahmadabad when Prince Dara arrived at that capital in the course of his long flight to escape the troops sent by Aurangzeb in his pursuit. It has already been stated how, after the battle of Samugarh, he had fled from Agra to Delhi and thence to Lahore. But his fortune had deserted him, and he had not the con-

Dara's flight to Sind and Gujarat

[1] J. Sarkar, op. cit. I, 58, 61, 375.

fidence to abide by his intention of offering his brother yet another battle in the Panjab. On August 18, 1658, he left Lahore with his family, taking with him a large number of guns, all the treasure in that fort amounting to over a crore of rupees, and accompanied by some 14,000 troopers, who were probably attracted to his side more by the hoards of gold than from any loyalty to his cause. The history of the flight is a miserable tale of ever-diminishing resources and numbers, without adequate rest, and dogged for months by the avenging troops sent by his rival in hot pursuit. The route taken was from Lahore to Multan and thence to Uch; then along the right bank of the Indus to Sakkar, and further on to the fort of Sehwan, till at last he reached Tatta in Lower Sind. At this stage, the pursuing troops received orders from Aurangzeb to return quickly to the court in order to help him to repel the invasion of Shuja.

He passes through Cutch and Kathiawar

Dara had only 3,000 men left with him when he arrived at Tatta in Sind. Here he decided to seek his fortunes in the fair province of Gujarat where he might secure both men and resources for the struggle against Aurangzeb. He crossed over to the left bank of the Indus and reached Badin, 55 miles eastwards. Then, entering the great *Rann*, where he suffered terrible hardships for lack of fresh water, he arrived in Cutch. Here he was hospitably received by Rao Tamachi (1654-62), the ruler, who was completely won over by Dara's persuasive ways and lavish gifts. The Prince further asked for the Rao's daughter in marriage for his second son Sipihr Shikoh, and the betrothal took place during his stay in the capital city. With the help supplied by the Cutch ruler, Dara crossed over to Kathiawar, where the Jam of Nawanagar offered him the necessary provisions and conveyances. Marching across the peninsula from west to east, he at last arrived at the capital of Gujarat on January 8, 1659.

Dara at Ahmadabad. Jan 8 - Feb 14, 1659

The new viceroy at Ahmadabad was now faced with the necessity of an important decision as to his line of action. He had neither had time to establish his authority nor had he sufficient troops with which to oppose the eldest son of Shah Jahan, once the powerful heir to the throne of the Mughal Empire.[2] Besides, his recent imprisonment in the fort of Burhanpur could not have left happy memories behind, nor any great attachment towards Aurangzeb, now that his daughter Dilras Banu was dead. Shah Nawaz Khan, therefore, decided to accept the position and went forward to Sarkhej,[3] accompanied by the Diwan

[2] According to Bernier, Shah Nawaz Khan was a man of no military reputation, but accomplished, polite, and addicted to pleasure. He attributes the Viceroy's action in welcoming Dara either to failure of courage or to his being taken by surprise. (*Travels in the Mogul Empire*, Oxford, 2nd Ed., 73-74.)

[3] Prof. Sarkar gives the name of the place as 'Sarganj,' which is evidently a mistake due probably to a bad manuscript (Sarkar, II, 164).

Rahmat Khan and other officers, to receive the Prince. Dara stayed for one month and seven days at Ahmadabad gathering adherents and resources. The methods adopted by him were, however, far from gentle. He took possession of all Murad's property in the city, as also the articles made in the royal factories there, and secured a sum of ten lakhs of rupees from Murad's treasury, which amount he employed in collecting troops. The subordinate officers of the Subah were also won over by bribes and promises of high mansabs. He then sent an officer, named Amina, who had served in Gujarat under Shah Jahan, to the wealthy seaport of Surat, where the latter seized the money in the imperial treasury, and brought over nearly forty pieces of artillery to Ahmadabad, without any resistance being offered by the governor of the town.[4]

He decides to march to Ajmer

The decision now taken by the Prince to march north to Ajmer was reached after very careful consideration. The first thought of Dara was to proceed to the Deccan, where the rulers of Bijapur and Golkonda, whose territories had been threatened by Aurangzeb during his viceroyalty, would be expected to welcome him, especially as Dara had interceded for them with the Emperor and secured lenient terms for them when defeated. In view of the events that followed, it would perhaps have been better for the Prince if he had taken refuge with the Deccan princes, far away from the great Mughal centres in Hindustan. But he was diverted by the hope of Rajput co-operation and by false rumours of Aurangzeb's defeat at the hands of Shuja who had been advancing from the East. When Dara finally left Ahmadabad for Ajmer, on 14 February, 1659, he had with him a force of 22,000 cavalry and a fine park of artillery. There went along with him in his train not only Shah Nawaz Khan, the viceroy, but also the Diwan and other leading officers of Gujarat. Prince Murad's wife and family had remained in Ahmadabad when that prince left this capital to join his brother on the march to Agra, and they were taken along with him by Dara. He left behind him Saiyid Ahmad Bukhari, the brother of Saiyid Jalal, to act on his behalf as governor of the province.[5]

Duplicity of Jaswant Singh

At a distance of three marches from Ahmadabad, Dara learnt the disconcerting news that the third great battle of the Civil War had been fought by Aurangzeb with Shuja at Khajwah (now in the Fatehpur district of the U.P.), and it had ended in the victory of the former in spite of the completely unexpected desertion of Jaswant Singh with 20,000 of his Rajputs during the night preceding the day of battle. But Dara's disappointment was to some extent relieved by the arrival of a letter from Jaswant Singh requesting him to continue his march to Ajmer where he would be joined not only by himself and his brave Rathors but also

[4] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 243.

[5] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, II, 164-66.

by many other Rajput clans who were still devoted to Shah Jahan. On his side, Aurangzeb, who had now arrived in Rajputana from the eastern provinces, was not willing to see the Jodhpur ruler, in spite of his treachery, join Dara's forces, for it could be a combination which he might find too formidable to break. With the help of his trusted general Jai Singh, he succeeded, by threats and promises, in detaching Jaswant Singh from the contemplated alliance, and Dara at last found that not all his entreaties, nor his appeals to the Rajput's sense of honour, would induce the Jodhpur Raja to stand by an ally whom he had plighted his word to support and whom he had lured into danger by his promises.[6]

Dara's defeat near Ajmer

The unfortunate Dara had no alternative left but to meet with his own fresh levies the seasoned veterans of his brother. The hopes of Rajput support, which had decided him at Ahmadabad to march to the north rather than to the Deccan, were now finally shattered. In the pass of Deorai, four miles south of Ajmer, was fought the fourth and last battle of the War of the Succession (14 March 1659). The battle raged for three days and was well contested by artillery-fire on both sides. At last, Dara's position was turned and he was routed with great slaughter. Among the nobles who perished on the field was Shah Nawaz Khan, who, according to Khafi Khan, courted death rather than bear the shame of meeting his victorious son-in-law.[7] Dara's only hope of escape from being taken captive lay in a precipitate flight, accompanied by his son Sipihr Shukoh, his general Firuz Miwati, and barely a dozen of his soldiers. In the darkness of the night, he fled in headlong haste from the fatal field, without having the time to take along with him his harem, his elephants, or his treasure, which had been posted, in the event of such a disaster, on the bank of the Anasagar Lake, with a strong escort of troops under the eunuch Khwajah Maqbul.

Flight through Rajputana to Gujarat

At Mairta, 37 miles to the north-west of Ajmer, Dara halted, worn out by the exertions of the battle and the precipitate flight of twenty-four hours that followed. Here he was joined by the ladies of the harem and their escort which had also left Ajmer when the faithful eunuch saw that the day had been lost. From Mairta, accompanied by only 2,000 troopers, Dara proceeded at great speed back towards Gujarat, travelling thirty miles a day. His route lay through a long range of hostile territory belonging to various Rajput Rajas. Traversing the country by way of Pipar and Bargaon, he at last arrived in Northern Gujarat on March 19, 1659. When he was about four days' march from Ahmadabad, he

[6] J. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, II, 171.

[7] Sarkar (II, 188) bases his account on the Persian historians. According to the French traveller Bernier, Shah Nawaz Khan was guilty of treachery and duplicity from the time he received Dara at Ahmadabad, and kept up a regular correspondence with Aurangzeb, putting him in possession of all Dara's designs. (*Travels*, 74,87). He was buried at Ajmer in the mausoleum of Saint Muin-ud-din Chishti.

encountered, by a strange accident, the famous French physician, M. François Bernier, who was on his way from Surat to Agra to visit the court of the Great Mughal. As the Prince was without any medical attendant, and as one of his wives had some severe trouble in her leg (erysipelas), he compelled the French traveller to accompany him in the capacity of physician. We are thus able to obtain, from the work of this well-known authority, some further details about the plight of the unfortunate Dara in this province.

The Prince, we are told, had at this period barely two thousand men in his train and was destitute of tents and baggage. The heat of summer, which had commenced, was intolerable.

Bernier's account of Dara's plight

To add to his hardships, the Kolis of north Gujarat followed him night and day, pillaging and murdering so many of his soldiers that it was dangerous for any one to be separated even a few yards from the main body. During the journey, Dara expressed to M. Bernier his fear lest the latter should be murdered by the Kolis, and insisted upon the physician passing the night in the caravanserai where he had put up. The cords of the *kanats* or screens which concealed the imperial ladies were fastened to the wheels of the carriage in which the Frenchman reposed for the night. Bernier specially mentions this fact as a proof of the terribly low condition to which the fortunes of the Prince were reduced, for he was without even a tent to shelter the zanana or to maintain their privacy.

In spite of all these hardships, Dara managed to advance within a day's journey from Ahmadabad, hoping to enter the city on the following day and to assemble an army there. 'But the hopes of the vanquished and the unfortunate,' says the philosophic French traveller, 'are seldom realised.'

The gates of Ahmadabad closed against Dara

The royal officers at Ahmadabad had declared for Aurangzeb, either alarmed by his menaces or allured by his promises. Dara's quartermaster was refused admission into the capital, and he returned with a letter in which his master was desired not to advance nearer the city, where the gates were shut and the inhabitants armed to oppose his entrance. It was at break of day that this message of despair was delivered, and the utter dismay in the Prince's camp is thus graphically described by Bernier:

> 'The shrieks of the females drew tears from every eye. We were all overwhelmed with confusion and dismay, gazing in speechless horror at each other; at a loss what plan to recommend, and ignorant of the fate which perhaps awaited us from hour to hour. We observed Dara stepping out, more dead than alive, speaking now to one, then to another; stopping and consulting even the commonest soldier. He saw consternation depicted in every countenance, and felt assured that he should be left without a single follower.'[8]

[8] Bernier's *Travels*, op. cit., 91-92.

There was nothing left for Dara but to turn in a direction away from Ahmadabad, and he now advanced, with ever diminishing numbers, towards the salty *Rann*, hoping to find refuge with the Rajput ruler of Cutch. The French physician continued in the Prince's retinue, and the party marched, nearly without intermission, day and night. So insupportable was the heat, and so suffocating the dust, that, of the three large Gujarat oxen which were attached to Bernier's carriage, one was dead, another was in a dying state, and the third was unable to proceed from fatigue. Dara was extremely anxious to retain him in his service because of his wife's disease, but he was so destitute of influence that neither his threats nor his entreaties could procure for the French physician a single ox or horse or camel. Bernier, therefore, had at last to be left behind, owing to the absolute impossibility of his continuing the journey, and he tells us that he could not but weep when he beheld the Prince depart with a force diminished to four or five hundred troopers.

Bernier forced to part Dara's company

It must have been a strange experience for the scholarly French doctor to find himself thus stranded among the Koli robbers of the Chunval district in North Gujarat and practically a prisoner in their hands. 'I should, I fear, only tire my readers,' he says, 'were I to enter into a long narrative of my adventures with *Messieurs* the Koullys (Kolis) or robbers; relating how I moved their compassion, and by what means I preserved the little money which was about my person.' He made a grand display of his professional skill to impress them, and his two servants supported him by declaring that he was the most eminent physician in the world, and that Dara's soldiers had treated him very badly, depriving him of everything that was of value. The interest and sympathy of the marauders having thus been tactfully enlisted in Bernier's favour, they at last, after he had been detained for seven or eight days, attached a bullock to his carriage, and conducted him within sight of the minarets of Ahmadabad. In this city the French physician came across a nobleman who was proceeding to Delhi, and he travelled to that capital under the latter's protection. 'On the road,' he writes, 'our eyes were too often offended with the sight of dead men, elephants, oxen, horses and camels; the wrecks of poor Dara's army.'[9]

He befriends the Kolis

The news of Dara's reverse near Ajmer at Deorai had travelled to Ahmadabad with lightning rapidity, and, long before he reached the vicinity of the capital, the officers and nobles who were stationed there had decided to disown his authority and to resist him if he ventured to enter the city. The lead in the matter was assumed by an experienced officer named

Sardar Khan declares for Aurangzeb

9 Bernier's *Travels*, op. cit. 91-92.

Sardar Khan,[10] who, taking a few partisans with him, made captive Saiyid Ahmad Bukhari who had been appointed as governor by Dara before his departure. At the same time, the city and the Bhadra castle were put in a state of defence, and details of the action taken were reported to the Emperor by Sardar Khan. In reply, Aurangzeb forwarded to this noble a farman, dated April 18, 1659, complimenting him on the steps taken to defend the castle and the city and to offer resistance to Dara if necessary. It further stated that Maharaja Jaswant Singh had been appointed viceroy of Gujarat with orders to proceed there with his army. The man named Amina, who had taken an active part in helping Dara, was to be put under chains and sent to the court.[11]

Renewed pursuit of Dara

The imperial troops were quickly sent by Aurangzeb in pursuit of Dara after the victory at Deorai, and they made a hurried departure in the wake of the fugitive. Aurangzeb had appointed for this task two of his ablest lieutenants, Raja Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan, with a large contingent of 20,000 men. The direction in which Dara had fled from the field of battle could not at first be located, but when one of the pursuing parties reached Mairta, the secret was out. Jai Singh despatched letters to the imperial officers in Gujarat, to the rajas and zamindars of Kathiawar and Cutch, and in various other directions, warning them of Dara's flight and enjoining them to bar his progress and to arrest him. The chase towards Gujarat was now taken up with relentless vigour by way of Jalor and Sirohi, and Maharaja Jaswant Singh joined the other two generals with his Rathor troops not far from the latter place. On April 5, 1659, the pursuing army reached Siddhpur where it learnt the news that Dara had been refused admission into Ahmadabad and had fled from the neighbourhood of Viramgam towards Cutch. Jai Singh decided not to follow the Prince without refitting his army, and for this purpose marched on to Ahmadabad. The rapid journey of so large an army from Mairta to northern Gujarat in the heat of summer, with scarcity of water, fodder and supplies of all kinds, had told heavily on the Imperial troops. It was, therefore, necessary to make some provision for their safety and comfort before plunging into the barren and inhospitable *Rann*.

Raja Jai Singh at Ahmadabad, April 11, 1659

From Siddhpur the army proceeded in three divisions to Ahmadabad at an interval of one day's march from one another. This measure was necessary owing to the supply of water, both on the road taken and at the halting places, being absolutely inadequate to support a body of 20,000 men with horses and cattle. At length, the army reached Ahmad-

10 Sardar Khan held several high offices in Gujarat during Aurangzeb's reign. Reference will be made in a later chapter to his masjid and mausoleum at Ahmadabad in the Jamalpur ward of the city (See Chap. XVI).

11 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 245-6. We learn from this farman that Amina had accompanied Dara as far as Siddhpur and he was now imprisoned along with his younger son at Ahmadabad.

abad about April 11. The halt here was a very short one, probably but a day or two, and during his stay Jai Singh distributed two lakhs and a half from the treasury to his troops to provide themselves with fodder and water for the journey. He then marched westward in pursuit of Dara by way of Patdi and Halwad. On arrival in Cutch, the Rao, fearful of the imperial displeasure, permitted the Mughal troops to pass through his territory, and received Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan with due hospitality.[12] Here then we leave the imperial generals on their march through the terrors of the Great *Rann* into Lower Sind. The ultimate capture of Dara as the result of the treachery of the infamous Malik Jiwan in the Baluch territory, near the Bolan Pass, and his subsequent execution at Delhi under brutal circumstances, belong to the records of imperial history and not to those of Gujarat.

Rewards for loyalty: Jaswant Singh as viceroy, 1659-62

In March, 1659, Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur was appointed to the high office of viceroy of Gujarat. The post now conferred upon him was no doubt in reward for his services to Aurangzeb in deserting Dara at a critical period just before the battle of Deorai, near Ajmer, which finally decided the question of the succession to the throne. The title of 'Maharaja,' of which he had been deprived at an earlier period, was restored to him, and he was now high in the royal favour. Rahmat Khan was appointed diwan of the province, while Qutb-ud-din Khan Kheshgi, who had decided not to join Dara when the latter arrived at Ahmadabad during his flight, was confirmed as fauzdar or governor at Junagadh in charge of Sorath (Saurashtra). In the following year, Sardar Khan was appointed governor of Broach.[13]

Aurangzeb's formal coronation

On Sunday, June 5, 1659, Aurangzeb went through his second and more imposing coronation ceremony in the fort at Delhi. This was the 24th day of the month of Ramzan, Hijri 1069. But the Emperor gave orders that the year of his coronation (*julus*) should be calculated from the first day of Ramzan. On this occasion, the *Qazi-ul-Quzat*, or chief Qazi of the empire, was commanded to read the *khutba* with the royal style and the exalted titles of the new ruler. The Qazi, however, declined to do so, declaring it illegal, under the sacred law of Islam, to deliver the 'Friday' oration in the name of the son during the lifetime of his father. This refusal on the part of the chief Qazi was as awkward as it must have been annoying to Aurangzeb. But he was soon delivered from the difficulty by the boldness of Shaikh Abdul Wahhab of Gujarat, a native of Patan, who was at this period *mufti* of the royal army. This ecclesiastic

[12] J. Sarkar, II, 196-98.

[13] In 1660-61, Aurangzeb received information that Hasan Pasha, the governor of Basra, had sent his agent, named Kasim Aga, to India with a gift of horses for the Emperor on the occasion of his coronation. Orders were, therefore, issued to Mustafa Khan, the *mutasaddi* in charge of the port of Surat, to help the Aga to proceed to court after giving him four thousand rupees for his travelling expenses.

now came forward and declared his readiness to enter into a disputation with the chief Qazi on the subject if the Emperor would permit him to do so. This being granted, he argued that as the late ruler, Shah Jahan, was prostrated by weakness and almost bereft of his senses, and as the control of public affairs had passed out of his hands, it was necessary that the *khutba* should be read in the name of his son who was fit to govern. Thus the opposition was silenced and the Emperor gave Abdul Wahhab permission to read the prayers in his name, and at the same time appointed him Qazi-ul-Quzat of the Empire, a post which he held for the next sixteen years till his death in 1675.[14] The province of Gujarat had thus the privilege of supplying the Chief Qazi to the Mughal Empire, and, during the greater part of Aurangzeb's reign, Shaikh Abdul Wahhab, and after him his son and son-in-law, held this high ecclesiastical office at Delhi.[15]

Shaikh Abdul Wahab Gujarati

Shaikh Abdul Wahhab was well trained in theology, and was for a long period Qazi of Patan, his birth-place, during the reign of Shah Jahan. When Prince Aurangzeb was appointed to the government of the Deccan by his father, the Qazi joined him in his camp and was received with honour. After Aurangzeb had secured the throne of India, Abdul Wahhab acted as Qazi of the army, and his signal support at a critical period secured for him, as mentioned above, the prize ecclesiastical post under the Mughal Empire. His influence during the 16 years that followed was unbounded, both in church and state affairs, and the highest nobles and generals were jealous of the favour with which the Emperor regarded him. But he abused his great opportunities, for he proved a venal judge, and enriched himself immensely by these and other practices, and by private trade in jewellery and rich stuffs.[16] Shaikh

14 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 248.

15 Shaikh Abdul Wahhab belonged to a well-known Sunni Bohra family of Patan Anhilvad in North Gujarat. Though the majority of this community are Shiahs, there had been a considerable increase in the number of Sunni Bohras in Gujarat in the reign of Sultan Mahmud Begada. Shaikh Muhammad Tahir of Patan, the grandfather of Abdul Wahhab, was a well-known divine who had been to the holy centres in Arabia, and came in time to be regarded as 'the unique of the age for piety, asceticism and knowledge of the traditions.' On his return to his native land, he employed himself in combating the Shiah beliefs in his community and also laboured to put down the Mehdavis. He is said to have taken a vow that he would not bind the turban on his head until the heresy of Shiism had been removed from his community. When, in 1572-73, Akbar entered Gujarat, he had an interview with the Shaikh and with his own hand fastened on the turban. He set out for Agra in 1578, but was attacked and murdered on the road between Ujjain and Sarangpur. His body was brought from Malwa to Patan where it was buried in the tomb of his ancestors (*Maasir-ul-umara*, trans. by Beveridge, I, 73-5.)

16 It is related that a noble named Mahabat Luhrasp, who was famous for his audacity, when he was halting in the vicinity of the capital on his way to the Deccan, came to know that goods from Kashmir and Agra, worth three or four lakhs of rupees, which had been purchased by Abdul Wahhab, were being sent along with the goods of other merchants to Ahmadabad. Being on bad terms with the High Qazi, he laid hold of all the commodities and distributed them among his soldiers. The Qazi saw that he could not do better than wink at the affront.

Abdul Wahhab died at Delhi in 1675. He is said to have amassed a vast fortune, amounting to a lakh of gold *ashrafis* and five lakhs of rupees, besides a great store of jewels, etc. His eldest son became later famous under the style of the Shaikh-ul-Islam and we shall have occasion to refer to him in the course of this history.[17]

Aurangzeb's message to the public of Gujarat

To revert for a while to some eveats of 1658, Shantidas Jawahari appears to have been active and resourceful after the fall of his patron Murad Bakhsh, and he evidently continued in close attendance on Aurangzeb's court during the latter's march from Mathura to the north. This we may presume from the fact that he secured two farmans in his favour from the new ruler on August 10, 1658, at which date Aurangzeb was probably encamped on the banks of the Satlaj on his way to Lahore in pursuit of Dara. Both these authentic documents are still in the possession of the descendants of Shantidas and have been reproduced in the author's monograph on *Imperial Mughal Farmans*. In one of them, Aurangzeb grants to Shantidas his gracious permission to depart for his native city of Ahmadabad. Moreover, the document reveals the anxiety of the new Emperor to assure the people of that important province of his solicitude for their welfare, as will be seen from the following abstract:

'At this time, the cream of the nobles, Satidas Jawahari, has received permission from the court of sovereignty to return to Ahmadabad, his native place. He has been ordered that, after his arrival there, he should convey to all the merchants, mahajans and the public of that province our desire for just administration and our regard for the welfare of our subjects, x x x so that all of them, being settled in their dwellings, may pursue their respective avocations in tranquillity of heart, and devote themselves to prayers for the permanence of the State x x x. The mutasaddis of that place, present and future, should consider the above-mentioned person (Satidas) as the old servant of the royal court, and should discharge the obligation of kindness and good treatment towards him, and help him in his financial matters.'[18]

Confirmation in the 'Mirat-i-Ahmadi'

The tughra and the seal on this document still bear Aurangzeb's style as a Prince, which shows that, as it was issued barely a month after his informal coronation, the new seal, with his full imperial titles as 'Alamgir Badshah Ghazi,' was not yet ready.[19] A more important point of interest bearing on this farman is that the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* refers

17 *Maasir-ul-umara*, trans. by Beveridge, I, 75-78; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Supplt., trans. by Nawab Ali, 99-100.

18 For the Persian text and its translation see my *Imperial Mughal Farmans in Gujarat*, 52 and Plate XVIII.

19 For a facsimile of Aurangzeb's seal as Prince, see Plate XXII. His seal as Emperor bears the legend, 'Abul Muzaffar Muhy-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur Alamgir Badshah-i Ghazi, 1069,' (Plate XXIII).

to its grant in the opening lines of his record of the new reign in Gujarat. He says that Shantidas, 'one of the grandees and most esteemed Shaukars of Gujarat', was presented by Aurangzeb with robes of honour and entrusted with a royal farman conveying to the pople of Gujarat the sovereign's message of peace and contentment. The full text of the farman, identical in language with the one mentioned above, is also reproduced in this history, being no doubt based on the official copy sent from the court and deposited with the records in the Diwan's office at Ahmadabad.[20] Thus the authenticity of this valuable farman, which is at present in the custody of the firm of Anandji Kalyanji at Ahmadabad, is proved beyond any possibility of doubt.

Farman for the repayment of a loan

On the same date (Aug. 10, 1658) on which Shantidas was favoured with the farman mentioned above, giving him permission to depart from the court, he received from Aurangzeb another grant which was probably even more welcome to him. Shantidas must have realised, when Murad was made captive by his brother, that the farman that he had secured from that hapless Prince, for the repayment of the loan of five lakhs and a half given to him by Manekchand and others at Ahmadabad, was not worth the paper on which it was written unless it was confirmed by the victorious Aurangzeb. The great jeweller and banker no doubt brought his influence to bear on the Emperor during the march, and the result was this additional farman which he had the honour to secure. Therein, Aurangzeb orders Rahmat Khan, the imperial Diwan in Gujarat, to hand over to Shantidas from the royal treasury one lakh of rupees on account of the loan made to Murad Bakhsh. The following extract will suffice to indicate the substance of this document which is still extant:

'Be it known to the thrifty and favour-desiring Rahmat Khan that Satidas Jawahari, who has received the honour of the audience of his illustrious Majesty, and who has been permitted to go from the court to his native place, Ahmadabad, has brought to our exalted notice that Prince Murad Bakhsh had taken (as a loan) at Ahmadabad the sum of five lakhs and fifty thousand rupees, of which amount four lakhs and sixty-two thousand rupees were from Manekchand, the son, and Rabidas (Rakhidas) the partner, of that servant, and eighty thousand from some of the relatives of this humble person x x x. Therefore, by virtue of our kindness and generosity, we grant the sum of one lakh of rupees from the royal treasury to the said person, and in this connection an illustrious farman has been issued to Shah Nawaz Khan (the Subahdar) x x x. Now then, this world-obeyed and obedience-demanding order is issued to you that, after satisfying yourself about this loan of four lakhs and sixty-two thousand rupees made by his son and partner, you should, with the concurrence of the above-mentioned Khan, give one lakh of rupees to the said person

[20] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 240-41.

without any delay and hesitation so that he may, by making use of it, carry on his business and profit by it. This should be considered urgent and peremptory.'[21]

One of the earliest edicts issued by the Emperor, dated several days before the formal second coronation, was characteristic of the policy that was to dominate the new reign. Rahmat Khan, the diwan of the province of Gujarat, received an order, which was common to all the Subahs of the Empire, to the effect that no intoxicating substances, such as *bhang* (made from the poppy plant), were to be manufactured in any place, and that other varieties of agricultural produce were to be cultivated in the place of the poppy. The *karoris* of the parganas in the crown lands and the jagirdars were to be informed of this edict with a strong warning that any negligence or remissness would make them liable to punishment. Though prompted by religious considerations, this order shows Aurangzeb's policy to be in accord with advanced ideas of social reform in our own times in connection with the production and use of intoxicating drugs.[22]

The cultivation of the poppy-plant prohibited

The ambition of the Emperor, says the historian, was always directed to the inculcation of the holy law of the Prophet and the eradication of unlawful and forbidden pursuits and pleasures. In June, 1659, therefore, he appointed a learned divine, named Mulla Auz Wajih, as the Muhtasib (or Censor of public morals) of the Empire. This Mulla was a Turanian, being a native of Samarqand, and had come to India during Shah Jahan's reign. The duty of the Muhtasib was to enforce the laws of Islam and to put down evil practices such as the consumption of distilled spirits, the use of *bhang* and other intoxicants, gambling, and the illicit commerce of the sexes. A body of *mansabdars* and *ahadis*, or sepoys, was posted under him, so that if any recalcitrant persons should oppose or decline to obey his behests they should be chastised. An imperial farman was issued to all the provinces enjoining upon officers of every grade and class to help this work of moral censorship and to forbid all things considered unlawful by the canonical law of Islam.[23]

The Muhtasib or Censor of Public Morals

The Emperor continued his patronage of the Bukhari Saiyids in charge of Shah Alam's rauza at Ahmadabad, as his father had done before him. Two members of this distinguished family, who had gone to Delhi for offering their congratulations at the coronation ceremonies, were, after some months' stay at the capital, given permission to return to their city, with gifts of elephants, rich dresses, and large sums in cash. They were Saiyid Jafar, the son of Saiyid Jalal Bukhari, the

Patronage of the Shah Alam Saiyids

21 For the Persian text and full translation see my *Imperial Mughal Farmans in Gujarat*, 50-51 and Plate XVII.

22 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 247.

23 ibid., 249-50.

famous *Sadr-us-Sadur* of the Empire under Shah Jahan; and Saiyid Muhammad, the son of Saiyid Jafar. All these *Sufi* divines were noted for their scholarship. Moreover, Syed Muhammad Salih Bukhari, the holder of the *gadi* of saint Qutb-ul-Alam of Vatva, also returned with similar marks of favour.[24]

Rauza of Sultanyar at Broach, 1661

An interesting memorial of this period of Mughal rule is to be found outside the town of Broach in the small but elegant Rauza of Nawab Sultanyar Khan,[25] who died in 1661 when he was governor of this place in the opening years of Aurangzeb's reign. For several years during the reign of Shah Jahan, he was governor of Baroda, and received the title of Himmat Khan. When Prince Murad left Ahmadabad to join his brother Aurangzeb, after the news of the Emperor's serious illness, Sultanyar, along with other nobles, accompanied him, and he is said to have fought bravely in the battles of Dharmat and Samugarh. After the imprisonment of his patron, Murad Bakhsh, by Aurangzeb in Gwalior Fort, Sultanyar returned to Gujarat. Soon, thereafter, he was appointed governor of Broach on the departure of one Gulmuhammad who was a trusted officer and partisan of Dara.[26] He appears to have met a violent death in 1661 as may be gathered from the inscription on a tablet in his Rauza at Broach, where he is called a *shahid*, or martyr. The Rauza is situated adjacent to the Hindu temple of Bhidbhanjan, and it is interesting to note that this Muslim noble's tomb is visited also by the large number of people who gather at this site on the anniversary festival of the temple. A farman issued by the Mughal Emperor Farrukh-siyar in 1717, granting fifty *bigahs* of land as a means of livelihood to the grandson of Sultanyar is still preserved by his descendants who reside in Broach.[27]

Aurangzeb's coinage at Ahmadabad

The coins struck during Aurangzeb's reign at the mint-towns of Ahmadabad and Surat are interesting for the departures from prevailing practice that are found in their legends, which may be accounted for by the Emperor's orthodox views on religious matters and the limits to which he pushed his zeal for Islam. Shortly after his accession, he abolished from official

24 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 252-3.

25 He was the eldest son of Alayar Koka and was related to the famous Khan-i-Azam, Mirza Aziz Koka (Akbar's foster-brother).

26 According to Captain Alex. Hamilton, in 1660, in consequence of the help given by the people of Broach to his brother Dara, Aurangzeb ordered a part of the city walls to be razed. After Shambaji's attack and plunder of the town in 1686, the Emperor ordered this portion to be rebuilt and gave the town the name of *Sukhabad* (*New Account of East-India*, I, 145). There is, however, no support from the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* to this information.

27 Paper on *Navab Sultanyar* by Mustafamia Shahsahebmia Bharuchwala in *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1945. After the British took Broach from its last independent Nawab in 1772, a portion of this land was leased to the East India Company in 1777 as a parade ground for drilling and exercising the Sepoys of the garrison, and this arrangement lasted till Broach was handed over by Warren Hastings to Mahadji Sindhia in 1783 by the Treaty of Salbai.

records the Ilahi era and the Iranian names for the solar months. The reason for this, as Khafi Khan says, was that they resembled the system of the fire worshippers, and that 'His religious Majesty was unwilling that the Nauroz and the year and months of the Magi should give their names to the anniversary of his accession.' Thus the special term Ilahi, present on the coins of the three preceding reigns, to indicate the regnal year, is not found on a single coin of Aurangzeb's reign. Another change introduced in the legends on the new coins was the omission of the Kalima, or the Muslim creed, for which the preceding latitudinarian occupants of the throne had found a place. At first sight it certainly seems strange that Aurangzeb, the avowed and even fanatical champion of orthodoxy, should have discarded this symbol altogether, and have substituted for it the colourless official formula, '*In the year of the reign of tranquil prosperity*,' under which legend was, as a rule, subscribed the name of the mint town.[28] The reason assigned for this striking innovation was that coins bearing so sacred a thing as the Muslim creed should not be seen in the hands of 'non-believers.' The historian Khafi Khan definitely states the reason thus:

> 'In former times, one side of the coins had been adorned with the words of the Creed and the names of the first four Khalifas: but, as coins pass into many unworthy places, and fall under the feet of infidels, it was ordered that this superscription should be changed.'[29]

Surat. 'Bandar Mubarak'

Persian being *par excellence* the language of ornate expression, it is not strange that some of the mint-towns in the empire, whence issued the Mughal coins with their Persian legends, were given honorific appellations. An interesting rupee, struck at the Surat mint in the first year of Aurangzeb's reign, H. 1070 (A.D. 1659-60), supplies us with the only honorific epithet assigned on the Mughal coins to the city of Surat, which is here styled *Bandar Mubarak*, the Blessed Port.[30] The origin of this title is doubtless to be found in the fact that Indian Muslims, desirous of going on pilgrimage to Mecca, generally chose Surat as their chief port of embarkation. For this same reason, the city is also sometimes designated, though not on coins, the *Bāb-al-Hajj*, or 'Gate of Pilgrimage.'

28 Article by Dr. Geo. P. Taylor on *The Coins of Ahmedabad*, Journal, B.B.R. A. S., Vol. XX (1902), 434.

29 Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, VII, 241.

30 G. P. Taylor, *The Coins of Surat*, in J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXII (1908), 257-58. In Rodgers's *Coins of the Emperors of India* (Lahore Museum Catalogue, p. 180), this coin has been entered as a unique coin which he came across so far back as 1883. Dr. Taylor also hit upon a similar coin in the bazar of Ahmadabad in 1894.

Though the two principal Mughal mints in Gujarat, *viz.*, those at Ahmadabad and Surat, were in active operation under Akbar and Jahangir, it was not till well into the reign of Shah Jahan, when Azam Khan was the viceroy, that we find Mughal coins issued for the first time from the mints at Junagadh and Cambay. The earliest known coin from the former mint dates from H. 1049 (A.D. 1639-40), while no coin from the Cambay mint earlier than H. 1051 (A.D. 1641-42) finds a place in any numismatic cabinet. At Junagadh the mint continued to function for 80 years, *i.e.*, till at least the accession of the Emperor Muhammad Shah in 1718, while at Cambay it was in active operation till the reign of Alamgir II (1754-59). It is doubtful whether either of these mints issued copper coins; certainly none seem to have survived to our day. All those found are of gold or silver. In all nine gold muhrs from the Cambay mint are in evidence, *viz.*, two of Shah Jahan, one of Murad Bakhsh (described on p. 136), and six of Aurangzeb. As for the Junagadh mintage, of the 62 specimens described by Dr. Taylor in 1912, only one is of gold, the rest are of silver.[31]

Mughal mints at Junagadh and Cambay

APPENDIX

MUGHAL VICEROYS OF GUJARAT UNDER AURANGZEB, 1658-1707

1.	Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi	1658-59
2.	Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur	1659-62
3.	Mahabat Khan	1662-68
4.	Bahadur Khan	1668-70
5.	Maharaja Jaswant Singh (again)	1670-72
6.	Muhammad Amin Khan	1672-82
7.	Mukhtar Khan	1682-84
8.	Shujaat Khan (Kārtalab Khan)	1685-1701
9.	Prince Muhammad Azam Shah	1701-05
10.	Prince Muhammad Bidar Bakht	1706-07
11.	Ibrahim Khan	1707

[31] Geo. P. Taylor, *the Mughal Coins of Junagadh*, Numis. Supplt. No. XIX in Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, VIII, 1912, p. 413; also the *Mughal Coins of Cambay* (N. S. No. XX (ibid, p. 544).

CHAPTER XV

EARLY VICEROYS UNDER AURANGZEB, 1662-72:

INTERVENTION IN NAVANAGAR AND HALWAD

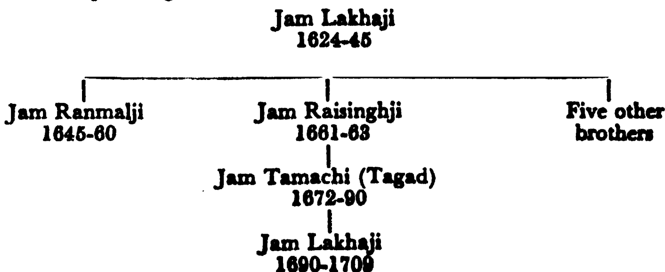
IN 1661, Raja Jaswant Singh, the viceroy, received orders to proceed with his army to the help of Shaistah Khan, who was carrying on operations against Shivaji in the Deccan, and Qutb-ud-din Khan, governor of Sorath, was instructed to take charge of the province till the Raja's successor was appointed. Qutb-ud-din's short tenture of office saw some important events connected with the internal history of the Navanagar State during the years 1661-62. Like the other Hindu ruling chiefs of the province, the Jam of Navanagar was a tributary prince(*zamindar*) of the Mughal Empire, under the political control of the subahdar of Gujarat. A dispute over the succession to the throne on the death of Jam Ranmalji in 1660 led to the intervention of the imperial officers of the province, and resulted in the establishment of direct Muslim administration at Navanagar for nearly half a century, involving the change of its name to Islamnagar under the orders of the Emperor.[1]

Disputed Navanagar succession, 1661-62

Jam Ranmalji, who ruled from 1645 to 1660, had married a lady of the Rathod family of Jodhpur, but the union had not resulted in any children. Being of an ambitious character, the Rani, with the aid of her brother Govardhan, and a servant of the name of Malik Isa, managed to introduce a newly born male child into the female apartments, which she gave out to be her own and named it Satoji. But the Jam's brother Raisingh,

Jam Ranmalji, his wife, and her changeling

1 The genealogy of the Jadeja rulers of Navanagar in connection with the events related in this chapter is given below:





Courtesy : Vara Art Studio, Jamnagar

JAM RAESINGHJI OF NAWANAGAR AND HIS PARTISANS ENTER THE ROYAL PALACE BY A RUSE, 1660 (pp. 166-67) *(Fresco in the Darbargadh at Jamnagar)*

who was expecting to succeed him, resented this fraud at his expense, and persuaded Ranmalji to confide to certain leading men of the state that the child was spurious and that he wished the succession to go to his brother.[2] On the death of Ranmalji, the Rani and her brother Govardhan proclaimed young Satoji as the heir and successor, and the Bhayad, or near relatives, were invited to take part in the funeral ceremonies of the late ruler. At the same time, it was arranged by the Rathod clique that only women should enter the Darbar and that the Bhayad should remain outside. Raisingh and his party, however, managed to introduce themselves with arms in the palace grounds in covered carriages disguised as women. The ruse succeeded, for, as soon as they gained admission, they massacred the guards, expelled the Rathod Rani and her brother, and seated Raisingh on the throne.[3]

The Rani appeals to the viceroy: Battle of Shekpat

Ranmalji's widowed Rani now turned for help to Qutb-ud-din Khan, the *fauzdar* of Sorath, who was at this time at Ahmadabad as acting viceroy of Gujarat. The matter was referred to the Emperor for decision, who sent orders to the effect that Raisingh should be dethroned and his infant nephew Satoji restored to the *gadi*. Qutb-ud-din, thereupon, marched against Navanagar with a large army, consisting of a force of cavalry, besides gunners and archers. Raisingh was supported by the various clans among the Jadeja Rajputs and also by Rao Tamachi of Cutch. An action took place at the village of Shekpat, about twelve miles from Navanagar. After more than a month of artillery fire on both sides, the two armies joined battle. The Jadejas fought valiantly, but were at last overpowered, and Jam Raisingh was slain (Feb., 1663)[4]. The victorious general caused his head, and those of other Rajput leaders who fell, to be exposed to public view from the gates of the town of Navanagar.[5]

Navanagar annexed: Tamachi as an outlaw

Qutb-ud-din Khan restored Satoji nominally to the throne, and, after staying at the Jam's capital for a couple of months to establish order, returned to Junagadh. When the news of this victory reached the court, the name of Navanagar was changed to Islamnagar by imperial orders, and it was annexed, with all its dependencies in Halar, to

2 *Tarikh-i-Sorath* by Ranchhodji Amarji, trans. into English, 255-6; *Vibhavilas*, (a history of Navanagar state in Gujarati based on bardic traditions), 363-5.

3 Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, Kathiawar, 570-1. This episode is represented in the Frontispiece to this Volume.

4 Raisingh had reigned for only two years. His *palyo*, or memorial stone, is near Khambhalia.

5 Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, 571; *Alamgir-Namah*, Persian text (Bib. Indica), 768-75. The *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (trans. by Sarkar, p. 26) says: 'On Friday, the 13 Feb., 1663, Qutbuddin Khan Khweshgi, fauzdar of Junagadh, slew the wicked Raisingh, uncle of Chhatra Sal, zamindar of the country of the Jam, who had raised disturbances, and had dispossessed his nephew after the death of the latter's father Raimal (Ranmal), with one son, an uncle and other relatives, numbering in all 300 men. The Emperor ordered the country to be named Islamnagar, in recognition of the bravery of the Khan.'

the crown territories in Kathiawar.[6] A mosque was also built in the bazar according to the author of the *Tarikh-i-Sorath*. Tamachi, the eldest son of the valiant Raisingh, and other survivors of the battle of Shekpat, escaped to Okhamandal. From this time onward, this prince led the life of an outlaw, and 'become a thorn in the flesh of the Muslim *fauzdar* at Navanagar.' He so worried the royal thanadars and the *raiyat* by his depredations that he was given the cognomen of *Tagad*, or the robber. Some time after the battle of Shekpat, he collected 3,000 troops and raised the standard of revolt in Halar, but Qutb-ud-din sent his son Muhammad against him and defeated him. Tamachi Tagad's lawless activities continued for about nine years (1663-72).

Jam Tamachi's appeal to the Emperor, 1672

In 1670, the Emperor appointed Maharaja Jaswant Singh to be viceroy of Gujarat for a second term of office. The fact that a great Rajput nobleman was now at the head of the province, encouraged young Tamachi of Jamnagar to attempt to recover with his help the throne of his fathers. He, therefore, approached the Subahdar, expressed his regret for his past actions, and tendered his loyalty. In return, he made a number of requests, *viz.*, that the administration of Navanagar and its appendages should be restored to him; that he should be given a *mansab*; that his jagir should be exempt from the control of the officers of the *dagh* (branding) department; and further that 25 villages, inhabited by his Jadeja clansmen, should be given to him as *inam* lands. Maharaja Jaswant Singh forwarded this petition to the Emperor through the great minister Asad Khan. It was graciously accepted, and, in the language of the Persian historian, 'the pen of forgiveness was crossed over the book of Tamachi's misdeeds'.[7]

Farman for Tamachi's restoration, 1672

The throne of Jamnagar was now restored to Tamachi, and *mansabs* were granted to him, to his brother Phalji of Bhanwad, and his eldest son Lakha, without any control from the *dagh* office. Twenty-five villages were also given as a present to the Jam. He was not to interfere with the customs arrangements established in his capital, and was bound to supply a contingent of 1,000 cavalry and as many foot-soldiers to the army of the Subahdar of the province when required. An imperial farman, dated the 9th of Rabi-us-Sani in the fifteenth year of the accession (July 25, 1672), was sent to Shams-ud-din, the Mughal *diwan* at Islamnagar, with orders to transfer the villages to the Jam.

[6] The change of the name of Navanagar into Islamnagar (from 1664 to 1707), mentioned by the Persian historian, is confirmed by the discovery of a unique coin by Mr. C. R. Singhal of the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay. It is a rupee of the Emperor Aurangzeb, which bears the Hijri date 1078 (A.D. 1667-68) and gives the mint-town as Islamnagar. As this name does not find a place in the older lists of the mints under the Mughal Emperors, the discovery of this coin and the correct identification of the mint-place is of great value. (C. R. Singhal, *Mint-Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India*, 1954).

[7] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 284.



Courtesy : Vara Art Studio, Jamnagar

BATTLE OF SHEKPAT BETWEEN JAM RAESINGHJI AND THE IMPERIAL TROOPS UNDER QUTB-UD-DIN KHESHGI (p. 167) (*Fresco in the Darbargadh at Jamnagar*)

After his restoration, Jam Tamachi enjoyed a long reign of 18 years (1672-90), but till the death of Aurangzeb, he, and after him his son, had to reside at the old town of Khambhalia[8] which now became their capital. Navanagar continued throughout the rest of the Emperor's reign as crown territory (*khalsa sarkar*) administered by a *fauzdar*, a darogha or superintendent in charge of the mandvi (customs-house), and a tahwildar, and all taxes were collected by the royal officers. After Tamachi's death, his son Lakhaji (1690-1709) became the ruler with his headquarters also at Khambhalia. In the weakening of imperial authority in Kathiawar after the death of Aurangzeb, Jam Raisinghji (1709-18), the grandson of Tamachi, succeeded in driving out the Mughal fauzdar from Navanagar, and the Jadeja rulers again established themselves in their capital. During the Emperor's life time the Jams had not dared to work the pearl-fisheries on the coast of the Gulf of Cutch, but these were now again put into operation as a source of profit to the state.[9]

Khambhalia the seat of the Jams, 1672-1707

Reverting now to the events following the recall of the Maharaja in 1661, the nobleman appointed to succeed him to the Subah of Gujarat was Mahabat Khan, who arrived at Ahmadabad on October 20, 1662 and governed the province for over five years till early in 1668. In the same year, Sardar Khan, the fauzdar of Broach, was transferred to the charge of Idar to bring under complete subjection the unruly elements in the pargana of Idar and to exterminate all rebels.[10] At this period there appeared in North Gujarat a Baluch adventurer who personated the late Dara Shikoh and gathered round himself a large number of followers in the district around Viramgam and the Chunwal. The wild Koli tribes of this region joined him and gave him protection. Mahabat Khan, therefore, marched against the rebel and drove him out, and chastised the Kolis and their leader.[11] To keep under control these daring and rebellious aboriginals of North Gujarat, the new viceroy selected Sher Khan Babi, the son of Bahadur Khan, a man of great ability and energy, as *thanadar* of the Chunwal with 500 horse under him. The Emperor approved of this arrangement but suggested an addition of 200 more horse.[12] Thus comes into notice the ancestor of the famous Babi family in Gujarat, which was destined to play an active part in the

Mahabat Khan in Gujarat, 1662-68

[8] Khambhalia is the second largest town in the Navanagar State, and is picturesquely situated on rising ground, among a grove of trees, about 35 miles from Jamnagar, on the banks of the Ghi and Tal rivers. It has a considerable population of Lohanas and Bhatias who are famous for their commerical enterprise. The place is surrounded by an old wall in excellent condition, with bastions at intervals. A fine view of the town presents itself to the traveller by the railway train to Dwarka.

[9] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 285; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII (Kathiawad), 571.

[10] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 253.

[11] ibid, 255.

[12] ibid, 256.

imperial history of the province in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, and, after the fall of Mughal rule in Gujarat, to carve out three independent principalities for itself, at Radhanpur, at Junagadh, and at Balasinor, where its descendants held political sway till the mergers of recent years.

Shivaji sacks Surat, 1664

In January, 1664, Shivaji, the rising Maratha chieftain, in revenge for imperial attacks on Poona, and taking advantage of the fact that the city of Surat was unprotected by walls, sacked this wealthy port and despoiled its merchants and people. Very full details of this disastrous episode are available not from Persian sources but from the records of the English factory at Surat, and these will be described at length elsewhere. After the invader had departed with a vast booty, Mahabat Khan arrived at Surat with an army, accompanied by several of the fauzdars of the sarkars under his control. Some of the Hindu tributaries of the province, such as the rulers of Sanand, Idar, Dungarpur, Wadhwan, Mandwa, and Lunavada, also joined the fauzdars with their contingents. The imperial army had no opportunity of chastising the invader, but Mahabat Khan remained for three months at Surat, and returned to his capital after securing three lakhs of rupees as *peshkash* from the Hindu zamindars on this side.[13]

Sardar Khan as Fauzdar of Sorath, 1664-84

In this year (1664), Sardar Khan was appointed in charge of Saurashtra, *i.e.*, as fauzdar of Sorath, in place of Qutb-ud-din Khan who had been sent to join Raja Jaswant Singh in the Deccan campaign. It appears that at this period a considerable number of people from the peninsula had gone to the court to complain about their grievances. A farman, dated November, 1664, was accordingly sent to Sardar Khan enjoining him to spare no effort to improve the condition of the country under his charge, and to administer justice with an even hand, so as to restore confidence among the people, and to prevent them from abandoning their lands to escape the tyranny of the administration.[14] There is no doubt that, from the beginning of this reign till his death in H. 1095 (A.D. 1684), Sardar Khan stood high in the Emperor's favour because of the signal services rendered by him at the time of Dara Shikoh's arrival in Gujarat in his flight during the War of the Succession. From 1664 onwards he remained at Junagadh, with short intermissions, in charge of the Mughal administration of Saurashtra. His name survives both in Ahmadabad and in Junagadh by virtue of his long period of office, and especially by the monuments associated with him at both these places, to which we shall refer later.

[13] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 256. A detailed account of Shivaji's attacks on Surat in 1664 and 1670, and the sack of this town twice, will be given in Vol. III of this work.

[14] ibid, 257-8.

Though the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* by Ali Muhammad Khan (the last imperial diwan in Gujarat), which is our foremost Persian authority for the history of the province under Mughal rule, was written nearly half a century after the death of Aurangzeb, it contains the full text of more than a dozen imperial farmans directed to the officers of the Subah during this long reign. These farmans are of the utmost value to the student of Indian history for a knowledge of the administrative system of the Mughal Empire. Several of them are common to all the provinces of the Empire, but there are a few which have special reference to the conditions in Gujarat. One of the farmans of the latter category, dated 20th November 1665, is a long document containing nearly thirty-six clauses, the majority of which describe and prohibit a large number of illegal imposts (*abwābs*) which were levied by the officials of the province of Gujarat in spite of royal instructions to the contrary. This action is greatly to the credit of Aurangzeb, as the 'abwābs' must have been extremely burdensome to the people, both of the towns and of the rural areas, in their daily occupations. But matter of a different character, bearing on the Emperor's social and religious policy in Gujarat, is also made available to us in this valuable document.

Aurangzeb's great Farman of 1665

One of these regulations is directed against some of the social practices and religious festivals of the Hindu population of Gujarat. On the days of the *pancham*, the *amwas* and the *ekadashi*, says the imperial edict, the Hindus are in the habit of closing their shops. The officers are, therefore, enjoined to arrange that these shops are always kept open so that the business of buying and selling might continue undisturbed. Another clause goes on to say that the Hindus of the province, 'giving currency to false customs', both in the city and in the parganas of Ahmadabad, light lamps on the Diwali night. Also that, on the days of the *holi* festival, 'they open their tongue with foul speech' and light the *holi* fire in every chakla and bazar, and throw into the flames the stick of any person which they can secure either by trick or by violence. The officers of the province are, therefore, instructed to see that the Hindu population did not illuminate the bazars on the night of the Diwali, and also to prevent sticks being wrested from people to be thrown into the flames of the *holi* fire, and above all to put a stop to the use of abusive or filthy language during the latter festival.[15] Whatever the motive behind them, these orders could not have been actively enforced, and even to this day the practice among Hindu tradesmen of closing their shops on certain days every month continues to prevail, and illustrates the practical limitations imposed by immemorial custom on the sovereign power, especially in Oriental states.

Ban on Hindu holidays

15 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 260-1.

According to the Muslim Sunni tradition, it is unlawful for a Muhammadan to have any graven image or picture or drawing in his house, and Aurangzeb appears to have enforced this prohibition to the fullest extent. The farman of 1665 draws the attention of the provincial officers to the fact that some of the workers in pottery made images of animate beings, and that on the festivals of the 'Id and the Shab-i-Barat, and on the days of the 'Urs, they sold in the bazars horses and elephants made of clay. The royal officers were ordered to see to it that such clay images of animate beings were prohibited.[16]

Images prohibited

In 1665, excise duties on the sale of commodities were by royal order made uniform throughout all the provinces of the Empire. All goods valued at less than Rs. 52, the Quranic minimum, even were it less by only half a rupee, were exempt from the tax. Above this amount, Muslims had to pay duty of 2½ per cent. *ad valorem*, *i.e.*, one rupee on every forty rupees' worth of goods, while the Hindu traders had to pay double the duty, *viz.* 5 per cent *ad valorem*. But Aurangzeb's zeal for his religion was not satisfied by the differential duties on the sale of commodities which had been fixed for Hindus and Muslims respectively. Within two years, orders were issued to the effect that, from May, 1667, the duty of two per cent and a half was to be remitted to the Muslims, and the officials were to carry this out without any hindrance. The Hindus were to be liable as before to the five per cent. duty, and the collectors were to be specially careful to see that no Hindu should, by collusive action, mix up his goods with those of a Muslim with the object of evading the duty.[17]

Excise duties

On the recall of Mahabat Khan in 1668, the Emperor appointed one of his most trusted generals, Bahadur Khan (Khan Jahan Koka), the Subahdar of Allahabad, as the next viceroy of Gujarat. He reached Ahmadabad on 15th March 1668 and his administration lasted for about two years and a half. In 1669-70, the Sidi ruler of Janjira[18] on the western coast was appointed as the Admiral of the Mughal fleet at Surat, and thus began that long connection between the Sidis and this city which lasted for nearly a century, and ended in 1759 when the English under the E.I. Company succeeded to this office. In order to follow this development, it may be pointed out that, by the middle of the 17th century, the rising power of the Marathas had become a formidable menace to the

The Sidi of Janjira as Mughal Admiral

16 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 262.

17 ibid, 265,

18 Janjira is a small island-fortress on the Konkan coast, some 45 miles south of Bombay, off the Kolaba District. Besides this island, the Habshis were masters of Danda-Rajpuri and the adjoining territory on the mainland. By virtue of their fleet, they had been appointed Admirals of the Bijapur Sultans, and acknowledged their overlordship, until they transferred their allegiance to the Mughal Emperor.

existence of the alien Habshi state of Janjira on the Konkan coast, so that, one after another, its strongholds on the mainland of the Kolaba district, including the fort of Danda-Rajpuri, fell into their hands. Shivaji, who had by this time equipped a small but efficient Maratha fleet, next concentrated all his efforts on the capture of the island-fortress of Janjira. Situated in the sea, with its battlemented walls rising abruptly from the water to a height of fifty feet, and well protected by artillery, the capture of Janjira fort was no easy matter, and taxed all the resources of the Marathas for nearly two years without success. On the other hand, exhausted by the protracted operations, with his resources and provisions at an end, and finding no help available from the Bijapur ruler, the Sidi chief turned for help to the Mughal subahdar of the Deccan. By virtue of an arrangement now reached, he accepted imperial service and his fleet was transferred from the overlordship of Bijapur to the Mughal Emperor.[19] He was to receive annually from the Surat treasury one lakh and a half of rupees to equip and maintain his fleet, and his duty was to protect the Mughal merchant ships and pilgrim traffic against pirates and to keep a watch on all enemies at sea.[20]

Administrative orders, 1668-70

Some administrative measures relating to the years 1668 to 1670 may here be mentioned. On the application of Shaikh Abdul Wahhab, the High Qazi, a sum of two thousand rupees was sactioned to be paid from the provincial treasury for repairs to the ancient step-well at Adalaj, in the Haveli pargana of the Ahmadabad district, as the *wav* was of great service both to travellers and to cattle. Orders were also sent from the court that the local tax (*zakat*) on cattle should be collected as usual, *viz.*, 2½ per cent. *ad valorem* from Muslims and 5 per cent. from Hindus, once a year. Details of the rations to be provided by the villagers to the troopers and foot-soldiers billetted on them were also laid down,[21] and the *karoris* were instructed to deduct the amount thus spent by the ryots from the dues which they had to pay. On a complaint made by masons, carpenters and other artisans, employed on state work at Ahmadabad, about the low wages paid to them, orders were sent from the court that they should receive the normal rate prevailing in the city. The Empeor, who never spared himself in attending to public matters, whether in the camp or at his capital, was surprised at the report that the judicial officers in the Subah of Gujarat attended their courts for only two days in the week, two more days being spent in attendance at the viceroy's darbar, and the rest as holidays. The Diwan, therefore, received orders to the effect that neither at the imperial capital nor elsewhere was such laxity

[19] Sidi Sambul was the name of the leader of the Sidi chiefs who made this pact. But the official designation of this ruler and his successors was 'Sidi Yakut Khan,' under which name they are generally designated in contemporary records.

[20] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 267, 273-74; J. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, 294-99, 302.

[21] Every trooper was to receive 1½ *ser* of flour, ¼ *ser* of pulse, and two *dams* for oil or ghee for himself, besides 3 *sers* of gram and a sheaf of hay for his horse. Similarly, the foot-soldier was entitled to ¾ *ser* of flour, ¼ *ser* of pulse, and two *dams* for oil per day.

in evidence, and that in future the judges were to attend their courts for five days in the week, one more day was to be devoted to attending the Subahdar's darbar, and Friday, being the Muslim sabbath, was to be enjoyed as a holiday. Moreover, they were to sit on duty from one hour after sunrise to midday, after which they were free to go home.[22]

Jaswant Singh again viceroy, 1670-72

On the appointment of Bahadur Khan to take command of the war in the Deccan in 1670, Maharaja Jaswant Singh, who was encamped at Burhanpur in the same connection, was appointed for the second time as subahdar of Gujarat, and, until his arrival in the province, Qutb-ud-din Khan was ordered to carry on the administration. The Maharaja reached Ahmadabad in August, 1670 and assumed charge of the province. This second period of office saw the restoration by the Emperor, on the viceroy's recommendation, of Jam Tamachi to the *gadi* at Navanagar, full details of which have been given in the early part of this chapter. Among other events we may mention the arrival from the court of a very important imperial farman, dated June 12, 1672, relating to the various types of penalties to be imposed on persons found guilty of different offences, which was addressed to Muhammad Hashim Khan, the diwan of the province of Gujarat. The document is of unusual interest as no less than thirty-three categories of crimes have been recapitulated and the punishments for them indicated, thus constituting what may be characterised as a miniature Penal Code of the Mughal Empire during Aurangzeb's reign.[23]

Hostilities with Halwad, 1672

Maharaja Jaswant Singh's second tenure of office as Subahdar also witnessed Mughal intervention in the affairs of Halwad in Saurashtra. The viceroy had been assigned the revenues of Dhandhuka and Petlad and his connection with the former place brought him into close contact with Jhalawad. The head of all the Jhala principalities at this time, whose capital was at Halwad, was also named Jaswant Singh, and he had ascended the *gadi* in or about 1672 on his father's death, though not without suspicion of having secured the murder of his elder brother Chandrasinghji. The latter's daughter had been married to a prince of the Rathod house of Jodhpur,[24] and she is said to have instigated the viceroy to attack Halwad in order to take revenge on her uncle. Whatever the cause, there was some fighting in which the ruler of Halwad was defeated and forced to fly and to take refuge at Warahi on the *Rann* of Cutch. After his expulsion, the state was granted as jagir to Nazar Ali Khan Babi, who held it for six years, when he was expelled by the Jhala ruler

22 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 275-76.

23 ibid 285. This farman has been rendered into English in full by J. Sarkar in his *Mughal Administration*, 2nd Ed., 122-130.

24 The Jhali lady is said to have been married to Ajit Singh, the heir of Jodhpur. This is quite impossible, as Ajit was born a posthumous child in 1679, after the death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh.

of Wankaner who enjoyed power there for about two years. During all these years Maharana Jaswant Singh had not given up hopes of recovering his throne and he had probably many supporters to uphold his claims. In or about 1680 he regained Halwad where he enjoyed a long reign till his death in 1718. On recovering his patrimony, Rana Jaswant Singh received a farman from the Emperor Aurangzeb confirming him in possession of Halwad. In 1709 (Samvat 1765), he built the large palace at Halwad, as testified by an inscription within the palace enclosure.[25]

Farman for the restoration of Halwad, 1682

This imperial Mughal farman, issued by Aurangzeb on the 15th day of Shawwal in the twenty-fourth year of his reign (Oct. 29, 1680), restoring the jurisdiction over Halwad to Jaswant Singh, has been preserved by the rulers of Dhrangadhra as a valuable family heirloom for nearly three centuries. The document states that it had been submitted to His Majesty by the governor[26] of Ahmadabad in Gujarat that the mahal of Halwad had been assigned, in accordance with the sanads granted by former rulers, to the ancestors of its zamindar, the Jhala Rajput Jaswant Singh, to be held by them and their descendants from generation to generation; further that the said mahal had been assigned by His Majesty as jagir to Nazar Ali Khan, who received every year the sum of twenty-five thousand rupees by virtue of holding the same; and that the above-mentioned Jaswant Singh prayed that, by the grace and favour of the Emperor, the claim for the payment of the sum stated above may be rendered void. The farman proceeds to direct that, in acceptance of the representation made by the governor, the present order of His Majesty had obtained the honour of being published to the effect that the said mahal, together with all its villages and salt-pans, must be delivered to the said zamindar and his descendants according to the former custom, and that any claim for the above mentioned amount should be considered as cancelled, and thât Jaswantsingh should be freed from all responsibility thereof, so that, expending the revenues for his own use, he, the original jagirdar, may perform the duty of loyalty and of care-taker of the villages. And he should also keep the roads safe from highway robbers and make such rules and regulations that all the subjects may live in peace and safety.[27]

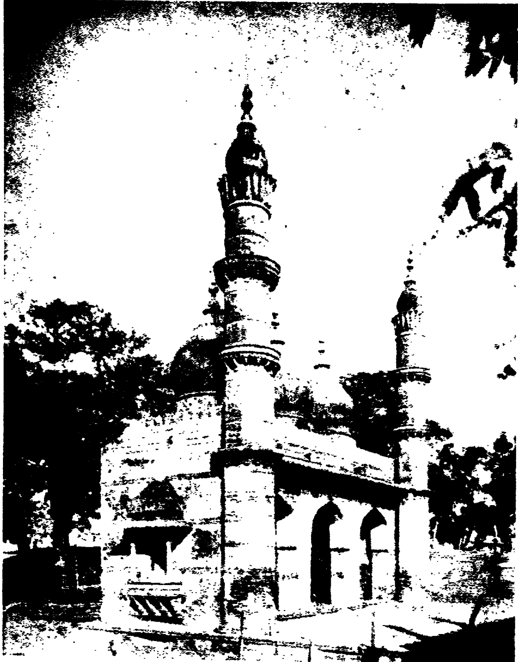
[25] Bombay Gazetteer, VIII (Kathiawar), 427-28; Wilberforce-Bell, *History of Kathiawar*, 119-20; C. Mayse, *History of the Dhrangadhra State* (1921), 96-99. The date for the attack on Halvad by Maharaja Jaswant Singh, as given in the Gazetteer, is 1673. But the viceroy left Ahmadabad in July, 1672 (H. 1083) on being recalled and was succeeded by Muhammad Amin Khan.

[26] This was Muhammad Amin Khan who was viceroy from 1672 to 1682.

[27] The Farman bears the Imperial lineal seal of Aurangzeb along with the Tughra, 'The Exalted Farman of Abul Muzaffar Muhy-ud-din Muhammad Alamgir, Badshah-i-Ghazi.' For other farmans of the same ruler bearing similar Tughras, see the author's monograph on *Imperial Mughal Farmans in Gujerat* (Journal, Univ. of Bombay, July, 1940), 55-56

Decline of the port of Cambay

The seaport of Cambay was at this period on the decline, or at least being gradually forsaken by its mercantile classes. It appears, however, that the Mughal government failed to appreciate the deeper and more permanent factors that were responsible for the commercial decline of this once famous seaport. These were to be found in the silting up of the head of the Gulf of Cambay, and in the 'bore', or rushing tide in the north of the Gulf, which frequently caused great damage to shipping. The hazard to shipping was also greatly increased by the constantly shifting shoals due to the frequent inundation of the Mahi and the Sabarmati rivers. Moreover, the English and Dutch Companies had made Surat the headquarters of the very active trade between India and Europe that was carried on during the first half of the seventeenth century. This flourishing seaport on the Tapti had now taken the place of the older seaports of Gujarat on the Kathiawar coast and at the head of the Gulf (*viz.*, Div, Gogha and Cambay). No wonder then that the merchants of Cambay, both Indian and foreign, began to abandon this declining port and migrated to the banks of the Tapti for their maritime commerce.



Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India

MASJID OF NAWAB SARDAR KHAN IN THE JAMALPUR WARD AT AHMADABAD (p. 184)



RAUZA OF SARDAR KHAN AT AHMADABAD (p. 184)

CHAPTER XVI

THE SUBAHDARI OF MUHAMMAD AMIN KHAN, 1672-82

ON being appointed Subahdar of Gujarat, Muhammad Amin Khan, who was one of the greatest mansabdars at the Mughal court, arrived at the fort of Kali, five miles to the north of Ahmadabad, on July 28, 1672, and took over charge of his office from Maharaja Jaswant Singh who was awaiting his arrival at that place. The new viceroy was the son of the famous Mir Jumla, the great diamond-merchant, and subsequently minister at the Golkonda court, who had entered imperial service in the last years of Shah Jahan's reign. Muhammad Amin Khan had been in charge of Kabul before this appointment, and had suffered a terrible disaster at the hands of the Afridis when his army was annihilated in the Khyber Pass beyond Jamrud on its way to Kabul. The Emperor appears, therefore, to have transferred him to the peaceful province of Gujarat while sending Maharaja Jaswant Singh as thanadar of Jamrud. The administration of Muhammad Amin Khan in Gujarat is memorable for the fact that it was held for a continuous period of ten years, a prolonged tenure of office such as had never been enjoyed by any of his predecessors, and which ended with his death at Ahmadabad in 1682.

Early career of the new viceroy

In December, 1678, Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, the greatest Rajput noble at Aurangzeb's court, died at Jamrud when commanding the Mughal posts in the Khyber Pass, and his death was taken advantage of by the Emperor to march his armies into Marwar and to annex that State to his Empire. This was the commencement of the prolonged war against the Rajputs (1679-1701) which drained the resources of the Empire and alienated these loyal and stubborn warriors from their long-standing attachment to the imperial throne. Of particular interest in Gujarat history is the guerrilla warfare adopted for the next 20 years by their resourceful chieftain Durgadas Rathor, who espoused the claims of the infant Ajit Singh, the posthumous son of the late Maharaja, who was carried off from Delhi with great difficulty and at heavy sacrifice by Durgadas and his companions to the safe defiles of Marwar. A detailed account of the operations against Durgadas, which were at a later date entrusted by the Emperor to Shujaat Khan, then viceroy of Gujarat, will be given in a separate chapter.

Marwar annexed, 1679

The annexation of the once powerful Rathor state of Marwar was followed by Aurangzeb's attack on the principality of Rana Raj Singh of Mewar, the revered head of the Sisodia Rajputs. The old capital at Chitor and the later city of Udaipur were both evacuated by the Rajputs and occupied by the imperialists who destroyed a great many Hindu temples situated in the plains of Mewar. We are not here concerned with the details of the war against the Rana, of which the most outstanding incidents were the flight of Raj Singh and his Rajputs into the hills and the defiles of their native land, the difficulty of the Mughal generals in holding their outposts, and the rebellion, under the instigation of Durgadas, of Prince Akbar who had been placed in charge of the war by his father. One important military episode of the war with Mewar, which took place some time in 1680, deserves to be mentioned, because of its connection with the province of Gujarat. At the time when the Rana was standing at bay in the hills and fastnesses of his territory, his son, Prince Bhimsingh, taking a number of Rajput troops with him, swooped down on the Mughal parganas of North Gujarat, sacked the ancient towns of Vadnagar and Vishalnagar, and retired with considerable booty.

War against Mewar—sack of Vadnagar

About the year 1679, the ruler of Idar, Rao Gopinath, who had long been leading the life of an outlaw, managed to recover possession of his capital with the help of his Rajput followers. Thereupon, Muhammad Amin Khan, the viceroy, appointed one of his officers, named Muhammad Bahlol Sherwani, to the task of driving him out. The latter was a brave and experienced commander and he marched on Idar with a force of cavalry. Proceeding by way of Parantij, he reached Idar, whose ruler had taken refuge in his hill-fortress for safety; but when Sherwani stormed this citadel, the Raja fled from his fort into the hills. For some time, all search after him proved to be in vain, till at last a low-caste man, who had gone into the defiles for collecting firewood, found his dead body, and it was believed that death had been caused on account of the Raja being deprived of his usual large dose of opium. The Dhed cut off the dead man's head, which he guessed to be the ruler's from the pearls in its ears and other ornaments, and brought it to Muhammad Bahlol, who sent the same to the Ranis, and their lamentations, when they recognised their lord, established his identity beyond doubt. The victorious general then forwarded the trophy, along with some captives, to the subahdar at Ahmadabad with full details of the expedition. When the news was conveyed to the Emperor, he ordered an increase in the mansab of Bahlol Sherwani and appointed him fauzdar of Idar.[1]

Expedition against Idar

[1] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 299-300.

In 1681, as the result of the failure of the rains during the previous year, the price of food-stuffs soared to such heights that there was great distress among the people at the capital. On the festival of the *'Id*, when Muhammad Amin Khan was returning to his residence in the Bhadra at Ahmadabad, after public prayers at the Idgah, he was mobbed by a large crowd of people in the *bazār*. Under the instigation of one Shaikh Abubakr, the rabble proceeded from outcries and complaints to a riot, and began to throw stones and rubbish at the palanquin in which the viceroy was being carried, and soon the entire city was involved in the disturbance. Restraining his bodyguard, which was ready to disperse the excited mob with arms, Muhammad Amin Khan at last managed to reach the Bhadra citadel. When the Emperor received information about these incidents through the usual official channels, he sent orders to the subahdar to arrest all persons connected with this sedition and to punish them with death or imprisonment. The viceroy decided, however, to make an example of the demagogue who had been primarily responsible for the riots. He, accordingly, invited the learned and holy men of Ahmadabad to a feast, and with them came Shaikh Abubakr also. During the entertainment, the viceroy called the Shaikh by his side and offered him some slices from a poisoned water-melon. The Shaikh soon began to feel uneasy and left the assembly, and died before he could reach his residence.[2]

Bread-riots at Ahmadabad, 1681

During the administration of Muhammad Amin Khan, a number of orders from the court arrived in Gujarat which again indicated the theocratic basis on which the emperor desired to carry on his government. In 1673-74, upon the request of Mulla Hasan Muhammad Gujarati, Aurangzeb gave sanction for the transfer of twenty-one villages from the parganas of Vijapur, Kadi and Patan in North Gujarat, and for their incorporation with Vishalnagar. Four years later, in 1677, imperial orders arrived to the effect that the enlarged pargana had been renamed Rasulnagar, and that this Islamic name was to be entered in the state records in place of Vishalnagar.[3] In the following year, the diwan

Theocratic bias in the administration

[2] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 300-01. The Venetian physician, Nicolao Manucci, who lived for more than half a century (1653-1708) at the Mughal court, gives an entirely different version of the causes that induced the riots at Ahmadabad and led to the attack of the mob on the viceroy. According to him, Muhammad Amin Khan was of a proud disposition and held the common people in contempt. On the days on which he was to attend the mosque, the door-keepers had orders not to allow the ordinary public to enter while he was at prayers. For this reason, on his departing from the sacred building, people rose against him, shouting and hurling stones and shoes, so that the subahdar was obliged to take refuge in a neighbouring house. He sent information about the incident to the Emperor, expecting that the latter would send him orders to chastise the mob, but Aurangzeb sent a reply that it was God's punishment to him for his hauteur, and exhorted him to mend his ways and not to be so high and mighty. (*Storia do Mogor*, or Mogul India (1653-1708), by N. Manucci (the Venetian), trans. by W. Irvine, II, 202).

[3] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 291,293

of the province received orders to say that, according to Muslim law, it was not lawful to inflict monetary fines as punishment for offences. If any amil or jagirdar committed an offence, he was to be punished with dismissal from service or by imprisonment, but no fines were to be imposed.[4]

In the same year that saw the commencement of the Rajput War (1679), Aurangzeb took one more step to put into operation his policy of adjusting his administration to Quranic traditions.

Imposition of the Jaziya tax, 1679

By imperial order, the *jaziya*[5] was reimposed in 1679 on all non-Muslims throughout the empire, and the duty of carrying the orders into effect was entrusted to Inayatulla Khan. This invidious capitation-tax had been abolished by the liberal and tolerant policy of Akbar in 1564, and it had thus been discarded for over a century when Aurangzeb thought it incumbent on him to revive it. The Hindu population of the Mughal capital at Delhi in vain thronged the area between the royal palace and the Jami masjid, through which the emperor was to pass for public prayers, and implored him to alter his policy. But, after waiting an hour to enable the crowd to obey the orders to disperse, Aurangzeb's guards had the way cleared for him by a charge of the elephants. A full account of the manner in which the *jaziya* tax was to be collected has been given by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, who mentions that, in the single province of Gujarat, the impost brought in five lakhs of rupees per year. The tax was to be paid by all *zimmis*, or non-Muslim subjects, but paupers and children, as also the lame, the blind and the insane were exempt from its operation. The poor had to pay 12 dirhams per head, those belonging to the 'middle class' 24 dirhams, and the richer class 48 dirhams. All whose property was valued at below 200 dirhams were to be considered 'poor'; those who had over 200 dirhams but under 10,000 dirhams belonged to the 'middle class'; and those valued at over 10,000 dirhams were classed among the rich. Hindus and others who embraced Islam became at once exempt from the duty to pay the impost.[6]

Shaikh Abdul Wahhab Gujarati, the chief Qazi of the empire since 1659, whose theological attainments and knowledge of Muslim canon law had given him unbounded influence over the orthodox emperor for sixteen years, died at Delhi in 1675. He was a Sunni Bohra and belonged to a well-known family of Patan Anhilvad in North Gujarat. Aurangzeb appointed his eldest son, known as the Shaikh-ul-Islam, to succeed him, thus maintaining the connection of this Gujarati family with that high office. In moral equipment and the principles which he brought to

Another Gujarati as Qazi of the Empire

[4] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 293.

[5] The *jaziya* is literally commutation-money paid by a non-Muslim for permission to live in an Islamic state and for the enjoyment of life and property allowed to him.

[6] J. Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzeb*, 149-50, 156-58.

bear in the discharge of his duties, the Shaikh-ul-Islam stands in honourable contrast to his father. He did not take a single *dam* of the huge fortune amassed by Abdul Wahhab, but distributed his own share of it among the other heirs. As a judge, he saw that witnesses were often unreliable and given to lying, and he, therefore, avoided as much as possible deciding disputes upon the evidence tendered, but tried to induce both parties to the suit to come to an agreement. In 1683, when asked by the Emperor to issue a decree in support of the war against the Shiah kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, on which he was bent, the Shaikh-ul-Islam boldly declared that a war against brother Muslims was unlawful. At the end of this year, when Aurangzeb entered the fort of Ahmadnagar, he decided to renounce the world and resigned the Qaziship. At his recommendation, the post of the Qazi-ul-Quzat was bestowed on Saiyid Abu Sa'id, the son-in-law of Shaikh Abdul Wahhab.[7] A year later, in Dec., 1684, the Shaikh-ul-Islam asked permission to go to Mecca, which was granted.[8] On his return to Surat, the Emperor again sent for him and lavished his favours on him, and pressed him to resume his old office and also to accept with it that of the *Sadr.* But the firm-minded ecclesiastic declined to do so and begged for leave to go to Gujarat and reside in his native town. Many years later, in 1698, Aurangzeb sent him an affectionate letter inviting him to his court in the Deccan. The Shaikh most unwillingly set out from Ahmadabad in obedience to the royal summons, but was soon after taken dangerously ill, and died before he reached the court. On receiving the news, the Emperor was much grieved, and declared that the Timurid dynasty in its long history had not found a Qazi to equal him in honesty and piety.

A Serai at Dohad and repairs to monuments

Of the care bestowed by the Mughal Emperors on the conservation of public monuments, and repairs to fortifications, we have ample evidence in the history of the ten years of Amin Khan's viceroyalty. In 1673, estimates amounting to Rs. 8,250 for the restoration of the fort of Azamabad, which had fallen into decay, were sanctioned to be paid from the royal treasury. This fort had been built by the great viceroy Azam Khan about 1636-38, in the reign of Shah Jahan, on the banks of the Vatrak river, in order to keep the Kolis of the region under control, and its ruins may still be seen at the village of 'Azamabad-kot-wadi' in the Kapadwanj taluka of the Kaira district. The fort of Junagadh, commonly known as the Uparkot, was also repaired at this time. In 1676, the diwan of the subah was ordered to

[7] As Saiyid Abu Sa'id resigned the office of the High Qazi some time later in 1685, Khwaja Abdulla, who was the Qazi at Ahmadabad, was appointed to this dignity and he held this post till his death in 1698 (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, trans. by J. Sarkar, 146, 158, 239. See also p. 192 *n.*)

[8] The *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* says that, on this occasion, he was presented with a *doshala* of *parm-narm* (soft downy wool) and a casket full of supplicatory letters to the Prophet was also entrusted to him to be conveyed to the Prophet's tomb (p. 154).

pay 2,900 rupees, according to the estimates, for carrying out repairs to the city-walls of Ahmadabad and the royal palaces in the Bhadra citadel.[9] The next year, the sum of 1,580 rupees was sanctioned for repairs to the college, the masjid, and the hospital constructed by Nawab Saif Khan, the subahdar of the province during the reign of Jahangir.[10] Nor was the construction of new buildings for utilitarian or religious purposes overlooked. Thus, in 1676, a sum of 76,300 rupees was sanctioned for the building of a masjid and caravanserai in the town of Dohad. This structure still exists though it has been put to various uses during the last 150 years.[11] The expenditure of such a considerable amount on a new building in a comparatively small provincial town such as Dohad, may be explained by the fact that this town was the birth-place of Aurangzeb, who was born there in the camp of the Emperor Jahangir in 1618, when the latter and his son Shah Jahan were on the march from Ahmadabad to Agra.

Muhammad Amin Khan died at Ahmadabad in June 1682, when still holding his high office, and he was buried within the Bhadra citadel.[12]

Death of Muh. Amin Khan; Mukhtar Khan succeeds. 1682-85

His long tenure of office had been, on the whole, a period of peace and prosperity for the people of Gujarat. A hundred years had passed since the conquest of the province by Akbar, and the machinery of the Mughal imperial rule was probably working at its highest efficiency during the period of ten years covered in this chapter. After the death of Muhammad Amin Khan, the Emperor appointed a noble named Mukhtar Khan to succeed him in Gujarat, and the latter reached Ahmadabad in August of this year. During the period of three years that he held office, the capital was again afflicted by the twin calamities of floods and famine. Mukhtar Khan died at Ahmadabad on April 24, 1685. On the news being conveyed to the Emperor in the Deccan, Kārtalab Khan, the governor of Surat, was appointed viceroy of Gujarat, and he was

9 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 290-91.

10 ibid, 292

11 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 291. This building still remains the most important object of antiquarian interest at Dohad. It is a square enclosure, about 450 ft. each way, surrounded by a brick wall sixteen feet high with bastions at each corner and two grand gateways. The Marathas, during their occupation in the 18th century, added three round towers, 24 ft. high, and other structures. Inside the enclosure, the walls were surrounded by rows of arched rooms, and in the centre of the west side was a mosque. The Serai is also called the *gadhi*, or fortress, apparently because Sindhia's governor, Bapu Saheb Patankar, lived in it and made it his stronghold. It is now utilised for public offices and similar purposes. (Bombay Gazetteer, III, Kaira and Panch Mahals, 313).

12 After his death at Ahmadabad (16 June 1682), Muhd. Amin Khan's vast property, estimated at 70 lakhs of Rupees and 1,35,000 Ashrafis and Ibrahimis, as also 76 elephants, was confiscated. Though proud and conceited, the viceroy had a reputation for honesty and truth, and he is said to have had a powerful memory. We are told that 'he was a bigoted Imamiya and did not admit Hindus to his privacy.' (*Maasir-ul-umara*, trans. by Beveridge, I, 243-45).

destined to rule over Gujarat, under the title of Shujaat Khan, for 16 years.[13] He arrived at Ahmadabad on May 25, 1685.

The mausoleum and masjid of Muhammad Amin Khan stand in close proximity to the ancient Towers in the Bhapra citadel. It is, however, interesting to note that, for more than half a century past, the rauza has been transformed into the residence, and the masjid into the office, of the Executive Engineer of the Ahmadabad Division.[14] The mausoleum is a solid domed structure, but without a single feature that would connect it with the local Indo-Saracenic style. The masjid is small and unpretentious and even less of an architectural monument than the mausoleum. The perfection of style which was associated with the reigns of the Sultans of Gujarat had practically disappeared during a hundred years of imperial rule. The immense contrast between the beautiful Sidi Sa'id mosque (1573), with its marvellous window-screens, situated at the north-east corner of the Bhadra, on the one hand, and the masjid of Muhammad Amin Khan, on the other, located only a few hundred yards away, is sufficient to illustrate the decadence in architectural style that had taken place.

Memorials of M. Amin Khan at Ahmadabad

The name of Sardar Khan is prominent among the nobles who were associated with Gujarat for long periods during Aurangzeb's reign. During the Civil War for the succession, when Prince Dara Shikoh arrived at Ahmadabad, in his headlong flight after his final defeat near Ajmer, Sardar Khan had declared himself for Aurangzeb and had closed the gates of the capital in the face of the Prince (1659). From this date he was one of the most trusted nobles of the Emperor. He saw service as fauzdar at Broach and at Idar, but from 1664 onwards till 1684 he was, with short intermissions, posted at Junagadh as governor of Sorath. To this charge Islamnagar (Navanagar) was added in 1666 when it was made khalsa by the Emperor. In 1684 he was sent to Thatta in Sind but died there a few months later. His body was brought to Ahmadabad and buried in the mausoleum which he had built for himself. The memory of Sardar Khan's long connection with Junagadh is preserved by the beautiful Sardar Bagh which he laid out during his term of office there and which is still the pleasure-resort of the people of that capital and is maintained in excellent condition. Diwan Ranchhodji Amarji, in his *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, describes this garden as *the mole of beauty on the face of the town*. According to him, it contained a reservoir, a harem, baths, a mosque and an *idgah*.[15]

Memorials of Sardar Khan in Gujarat

[13] His original name was Muhammad Beg. In 1679, when he was governor of Surat, he received the title of Kartalab Khan, and in 1685 he received that of Shujaat Khan.

[14] A. W. Crawley-Boevey, *Scheme for the Protection of Ancient buildings at Ahmedabad*, XXXII—XXXIII.

[15] *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, trans. into English (1882), 132-33. The same writer adds that the date of Sardar Khan's death was to be found in a Persian chronogram which says: *An unparalleled rose departed from the garden of this world.*

At Ahmadabad, Sardar Khan's name is associated with two fine monuments, *viz.*, his masjid and his rauza, which stand on the Jamalpur road in this city and are enclosed by high walls with an imposing gateway. Both the structures are comparatively small in size, but they attract attention as being in quite a different style of architecture from that seen in the majority of the Ahmadabad monuments. They also illustrate the decline in the artistic genius of the city. No one who visits them can doubt that the palmy days of Indo-Saracenic architecture at this capital had definitely passed away. We see nothing of the graceful and tapering minarets, nor of the clerestory shedding a subdued light into the interior, nor of the wonderful tracery of the preceding century. The domes are pear-shaped, as common in Persia and in the north of India during the Mughal period, and the crescents on their top, as also on the minarets of the masjid, probably indicate that Sardar Khan's ancestors originally came from Persia. The mosque, though quite small, looks elegant, and is built of brick with three pointed arches in the facade. The minarets have four storeys, the lower parts octagonal and the upper circular; but they are solid turrets without any ornamentation or tracery on their faces and without any staircase leading to the roof. The floor was originally paved with marble which has long since been rifled.

His Masjid at Ahmadabad

The rauza of Sardar Khan is adjacent to the mosque inside a separate court and it stands on a raised brick platform. It is roofed by a huge heavy-looking pear-shaped dome terminating in a brass crescent and star. Over the verandahs are eight smaller domes of the same pattern. The sides of the inner chamber are filled with perforated stone panels in varied geometrical patterns and of exceptional beauty. The chamber contains three tombs, the central one in beautiful white marble is evidently that of Sardar Khan, whose remains were conveyed from Thatta to this place.[16] Some twenty years ago, the author saw lying on the floor of the rauza a large broken slab of stone bearing an inscription in Persian to the effect that 'this auspicious place, this lustrous abode, was built by Sardar Khan.' After a few conventional verses it gave the chronogram and the figures for the Hijri year 1095 (A.D. 1684).

The Rauza of Sardar Khan

[16] J. Burgess, *Muham. Arch. of Ahmadabad*, Pt. II, 55-56.



Entrance gate to Sardar Khan's masjid and rauza at Ahmadabad (p. 184)



Pavilion in The Lal Bagh, or Mirza Baqir's garden, at Cambay, 1695-6 (p. 191)

CHAPTER XVII

SHUJAAT KHAN AS VICEROY OF GUJARAT, 1685-1701

WE now enter upon the record of the longest and one of the most famous of the Mughal viceroyalties of Gujarat during the 17th century. It has been seen that Muhammad Amin Khan had held his high office for fully a decade till his death in 1682. Kārtalab Khan was Subahdar for the extremely prolonged period of 16 years. One explanation for this change in the imperial policy, which had always been in favour of short terms for the nazim's tenure of office, may be found in the fact that, after a quarter of a century of undisputed sway over a vast Empire, Aurangzeb was no longer apprehensive that a provincial viceroy, with his very considerable powers and ample resources, might possibly threaten the security of his throne if allowed to remain too long in the possession of his office. But it cannot be denied that this departure from custom was also indicative of a certain amount of delegation and relaxation of control by the central authority owing to altered political conditions. From 1681 onwards, and for the remaining half of his reign, Aurangzeb's headquarters were in the Deccan, where he was fully occupied with directing military operations, first against the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, and later against the rising power of the Marathas. These operations required the emperor's undivided attention, and he was, therefore, not disposed to effect frequent transfers when a noble of such high military and civil capacity as Kārtalab Khan was governing the important province of Gujarat with loyalty, success and efficiency. Moreover, guerilla warfare was going on in Marwar during all these years against the resourceful Rathor chieftain Durgadas, and, as no other Mughal general was found to be competent to hold the Rajputs in check, the emperor decided in 1687, to combine the subahdari of Gujarat with the fauzdari of Jodhpur, and appointed Kārtalab Khan to the charge of both with the title of Shujaat Khan. The final submission of the brave Durgadas and his reconciliation with the emperor appear to have been largely due to the diplomatic tact of this great viceroy, as will be related in the next chapter. In domestic administration also, Shujaat Khan was able to maintain law and order with a firm hand, and he was besides highly popular with all classes of his subjects, so much so that the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, writing

Kartalab Khan's long tenure of office

half a century after his death, says that even to his own day the Hindu women of Gujarat used to celebrate in their songs the happy days of Shujaat Khan's government.[1]

Among the political events of this long period, we may mention that, about the year 1691, there broke out a domestic revolt in Gujarat which was due to religious causes and which is the only one recorded in the history of the province during Aurangzeb's reign. The Momnas and Matias, who were responsible for this insurrection, were members of the Imam Shahi sect, and descendants of the Leva Kanbis and other Hindu castes who had been converted by the teachings of the famous Ismailia preacher Imam-ud-din in the latter half of the 15th century.[2] At this time, one Saiyid Shahji was their religious head, and such was his fame that votaries from all parts used to flock to Pirana in thousands to kiss his toe and heap their offerings near his feet. Some of the Mughal officials of the province, anxious to find favour with the orthodox emperor, accused the sect as schismatic and reported its practices as idolatrous. Aurangzeb issued orders to the subahdar to send Saiyid Shahji to the royal presence so that an enquiry could be made into his religious beliefs. When, however, Shujaat Khan sent a party of his men to Pirana to bring Shahji over to Ahmadabad, he committed suicide by taking poison on the way. The news of their spiritual leader's death soon spread among his followers, and they decided to avenge the same. The Momnas from the central districts of Gujarat and the Matias of Khandesh left their homes in large numbers and made for Ahmadabad. When crossing the Narbada, their passage was opposed by the Mughal governor of Broach, and in the skirmish that followed this officer was killed. The insurgents, having crossed the river, took possession of the fort of Broach and put it in a state of defence. An attempt made by the governor of Baroda to dislodge them failed, and the news coming to Aurangzeb's ears, he sent urgent commands to Shujaat Khan to subdue the revolt. An army was sent under Nazar Ali Khan and Mubariz Khan Babi and the fort of Broach was invested. The insurgents were without any military leader or experience of warfare, so that when some of the imperial troops scaled the walls of the fort at an unguarded spot, and opened the gates, the rest of the investing army rushed in. The Momnas fought bravely but were

Revolt of the Momnas, c. 1691

1 The success of his administration was due in no small measure to his long contact with the province before he was appointed as its viceroy. When quite a young man, he arrived in Gujarat in 1654 in the train of Murad Bakhsh when that Prince was sent out as Subahdar at the end of Shah Jahan's reign, and he held successfully various posts as thanadar and fauzdar before he became governor of Surat and at last viceroy of Gujarat (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 313-14).

2 A detailed account of the origin, history and institutions of this interesting community has been given in Vol. I, 133-40. Its headquarters are at Pirana or Giramtha, a village some nine miles south of Ahmadabad.

soon overpowered, and numbers of them were slain, while many threw themselves into the Narbada and were drowned.[3]

When, in 1684, Sardar Khan, the governor of Sorath (Saurashtra), left Junagadh on being appointed as governor of Thatta in Sind, where he died soon after, he was succeeded in the government of the peninsula by one Saiyid Muhammad Khan. Not long after, Sorath was assigned as a personal jagir to the Emperor's second surviving son, Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, and, during the Prince's absence, one Shahvardi Khan was sent to manage its affairs.[4] The name of this noble is preserved in two inscription-slabs in Persian, both dated 1686, and bearing almost identical epigraphs, which were found in 1889, one of them being located in the wall of a shop in the market-place at Prabhas Patan and the other fixed in a wall of the Darbargadh or Chief's palace at Mangrol. They are fairly long records and were evidently intended to publish for general information, engraved on marble slabs, certain administrative orders issued by this official as Mughal fauzdar in charge of the peninsula. The purport of both these inscriptions is that when Shahvardi Khan, 'the slave of the court of the protector of the people', became the guardian and custodian of this region, he came to know that his predecessors in office used to sell all sorts of grain on their jagirs by force to the merchants for a lump sum (*udhad*), and they considered the loss which the latter were put to as right and proper; moreover, they used to levy forbidden imposts (*farukhyat*). Thereupon, 'this well-wisher of the people of God' (*i.e.* Shahvardi Khan) determined, as a sacrifice for the king, that he would not sell grain wholesale nor would he receive forbidden taxes, 'since this is a deed that leads to honour in this world and the next.' The epigraph further directs all future governors appointed to this region not to sell any grain to the merchants by force for a lump sum, nor to receive forbidden imposts from the *raiyat*; and if anybody in future did otherwise, 'he shall have abjured the Quran and be repudiated (by God).' The epigraph was written on the 12th of the month of Rabi-ul-awwal, H. 1097 (January 27, 1686).[5]

Shahvardi Khan as governor of Sorath, 1686

In 1692, Shujaat Khan, the viceroy, marched with a large army into Jhalawar owing to the frequent raids of the Khachars and other Kathi tribes into the parganas under his charge. He collected the arrears of tribute and attacked the fort of Than, the headquarters of the Kathis. The fort was taken by storm and the ancient temple of the Sun was levelled

Campaigns against the Kathis

[3] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 320-24.

[4] Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 287.

[5] *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari* (1889), pp. 47-49. The date given above is found in the inscription-stone at Somnath Patan. That on the Mangrol tablet is three days later, 15th Rabi-ul-awwal of the same Hijri year (Jan 30, 1686).

to the ground.[6] In 1698, the Kathis again resumed their depredations in the Dhandhuka pargana, where they had been so severely chastised by the great viceroy Azam Khan sixty years before. The pargana was at this time held in jagir by the celebrated Durgadas Rathor, whose agent applied to the viceroy for aid, and that officer instructed the fauzdar in charge of the peninsula to march against the marauders.[7] From the end of the 17th century, the fauzdars at Junagadh were just able to hold the crown-lands in the peninsula, and were unable to collect the tributes from the Rajput chiefs, so that it became necessary for successive viceroys to undertake an annual tribute-collecting expedition which was known as *Mulukgiri*. The prolonged military operations of Aurangzeb in the Deccan against the Marathas, and the preoccupation of his viceroy with the war against Durgadas, also gave the chiefs of the peninsula an opportunity to encroach on Mughal authority and to extend their jurisdiction.

Recurring famines, 1685-96

The years 1685 and 1686 saw successively drought and famine in Gujarat, and there was considerable scarcity of grains and food-stuffs with heavy increase in their price. To reduce the hardship to the poor Muslims and other citizens of Ahmadabad, all taxes on grain were remitted by imperial orders at the intercession of the Shaikh-ul-Islam in 1685 and of the provincial diwan in the following year. About eight years later, in 1694-5, we find heavy mortality recorded at Surat, Broach, Ahmadabad and other centres in consequence of destitution, flood and pestilence. The price of grain rose so high that Shujaat Khan sent orders to the *mutasaddis* in the various parganas to prevent engrossing of grain by the merchants and to forward the government share of the produce to Ahmadabad to be sold there at reasonable rates under state control. The last reference to a famine during the reign of Aurangzeb relates to the year 1696-7, when all North Gujarat and Marwar were in the throes of a disastrous drought, so that, as the historian says, 'from Patan to Jodhpur neither water nor grass was to be found.'[8] Thus, in the short period of about fifteen years, between 1681 and 1696, we find nearly half a dozen grievous famines recorded, with starvation and disease taking a sad toll of human life in Gujarat. These natural calamities, following each other in such close succession, must have gone far to diminish

6 Before the mergers Than was a large village in the small State of Than-Lakhtar in Saurashtra situated 17 miles east of Vankaner, close to the Mandav range of hills. It is one of the most ancient centres in India and was once the site of a great city, being located in that part of the peninsula known as 'Deva Panchal', the native country of Draupadi, the wife of the five Pandava brothers. The present temple is built on the site of the ancient temple of the Sun destroyed by Kartalab Khan (Imperial Gazetteer, XXIII, 288). Than remained a Muslim *thana* until the dissolution of Mughal power, when it fell into the hands of the Jhalas of Halvad.

7 Bombay Gazetteer, VIII (Kathiawar), 299. For an account of the Kathis of the peninsula, see Appendix to this chapter.

8 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 325, 329, 336.

the reputation for plenty and prosperity that the province had enjoyed for many generations as the 'garden of India'.

It has already been seen that, long before his accession to the throne, when he was viceroy of Gujarat under his father in 1645, Aurangzeb had ordered the great Jain temple of Chintamani, built at Ahmadabad by Shantidas, to be desecrated and converted into a mosque, which was given the title of 'Quvvat-ul-Islam.' After his coming to the throne, we do not hear of any similar episode in Gujarat until the 38th year of his reign, when, in 1694, the viceroy Shujaat Khan received orders that the Hindu temple at Vadnagar, probably the great shrine of Hātkeshwar Mahadev, should be pulled down. Instructions were accordingly sent by the Subahdar to Muhammad Mubariz Babi, the fauzdar, to demolish this temple.[9] Three years previous to this, in 1691, Aurangzeb had sent orders for the collection of the jaziya tax from the Hindus of Palanpur and Jalor, who appear to have escaped this general levy on the non-Muslims of the province, and the duty was entrusted to Mujahid Khan, the son of Kamal Khan of Palanpur

Temple at Vadnagar razed

The long rule of Shujaat Khan in Gujarat was, on the whole, a period of profound peace and good government, and the events recorded of his domestic administration refer mostly to the removal of abuses and regard for public welfare and efficient administration. In 1690 orders were received to carry out repairs to the fort of Azamabad on the Vatrak which had been damaged two years before by heavy rains. The next year, estimates for 27,050 rupees were sanctioned for the conservation of several of the masjids in the city of Ahmadabad. In 1692, Sher Afghan Khan, the governor of Junagadh, wrote to the court that the walls of the fort of Dwarka had broken down owing to the rains and that the place had become the resort of outlaws; whereupon royal orders were received to have the fort quickly put into order. In 1693, estimates for 4,254 rupees for repairs to the city-walls of Ahmadabad and to the buildings in the garden at the Kankaria tank were sanctioned. The water-channel of the *Kariz* (Karanj) in Ahmadabad, which supplied water to the Jami masjid and other mosques, having broken down, estimates amounting to 1,200 rupees were sent to the court for its repairs. While sanctioning the expenditure, orders arrived that in future permission should not be awaited for repairs of urgent necessity. In the same year, 1,500 rupees were given for the restoration of the Jami masjid at Patan built by Baba Shaikh Ahmad. In 1695-6, Khwaja Abdulla, the High Qazi of the Empire, submitted to the Emperor that the old stone pavement at the Raikhad gate at Ahmadabad, leading to the Sabarmati, had broken down. The diwan, thereupon, received orders to carry out the repairs

Repairs to forts and monuments, 1690-96

[9] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, op. cit., I, 328. In this same year, orders were issued at Court and in the provinces that no Hindu except Rajputs should bear arms, or ride elephants, *palkhis*, or Arab and Iraqi horses. (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, trans. by J. Sarkar, 224).

and was told not to await sanction in future for small items of expenditure.[10] In the same year, permission was granted to spend 1,430 rupees for repairs to the mosque at Dohad, and 4,164 rupees for repairs at Ahmadabad to the masjid in the suburb of Muazzampur and the rauza of Abu Turab at Asawal.[11]

In 1688, Khwaja Abdulla, the High Qazi, brought it to the Emperor's notice that many of the peons serving in the public offices at Ahmadabad without any pay earned their living by detaining the citizens in the streets and bye-lanes and extracting money from them. The officials were, therefore, instructed not to engage peons without payment and those in service were not to demand fees from any one. The same high dignitary also reported that many deserving persons in the *sarkar* of Sorath, who held their lands as *madad-i-maash*, on the basis of sanads granted by local authorities and jagirdars, were being harassed by the mutasaddis who demanded the production of royal sanads granted from the court. Orders were accordingly sent to the diwan that, after making necessary enquiries, he should restore confiscated lands and grant the holders fresh sanads; and if any of them were unable to attend his office, he should send his own men to make local enquiries and confirm the possessors in their lands.[12]

Removal of administrative abuses

About this period (1692), the currency of rupees came for a time almost to a dead stop at Ahmadabad as the coins had become debased and the shroffs (*sarrafs*) raised their rate of discount on rupees that were below the legal weight. The officer in charge of the mint declared his inability to remedy matters without imperial orders. Orders at last arrived for the diwan that he should take a written undertaking from the shroffs that all rupees not more than three *surkhas*[13] short of the proper weight were to be accepted as current legal coin, and all which were below that standard should be taken to the mint for being recoined. In 1697, on a complaint to the court received from the *Darogah* in charge of the mint at Ahmadabad, orders were received by the diwan to take action that no one should melt gold or silver in any place except at the mint.[14]

Debased coins to be replaced

10 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 330.

11 This reference to the name of the place in which the beautiful tomb of this famous Gujarat nobleman of Akbar's reign stands, beyond the Jamalpur gate of the city, is of considerable importance for locating the site of the ancient city of Asawal on the Sabarmati, which was a flourishing centre up to the end of the 14th century before the foundation of Ahmadabad in the early years of the 15th century (For ancient Asawal, see Vol. I, 59-60).

12 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 319.

13 The *surkha* is a little black-dotted red seed which is used in weighing precious stones, etc. As a measure of weight, the seed is known as a *rati* of which 96 go to make a tola.

14 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 327-28; 340.

We may mention here some royal orders which are indicative of the solicitude of the Mughal ruler for promoting the welfare or for removing the just grievances of his subjects. The Brahmans of the pargana of Sinor[15] on the Narmada (in the Baroda district) sent a petition to Shujaat Khan that they were much harassed by the action of the fauzdar and other officers who forced them to work as dak-carriers. The viceroy, thereupon, sent instructions to the officials to refrain from such action (1696-7). In the same year, imperial orders were received that in the cold season annually three thousand rupees should be spent, in consultation with the Qazi and other officers, for distributing 1,500 coats and 1,500 blankets (at the rate of a rupee and a half for a coat and half a rupee for a blanket) among the poor people of the province at their homes after due enquiry. Moreover, on the recommendation of Muhammad Akram, who had succeeded Khwaja Abdulla as Chief Qazi of the Empire, an order arrived from the court that prisoners sentenced in the subahdar's or the fauzdar's courts should be provided with a suitable cap, shirt (*qaba*) and trousers in winter and summer (1697-8).[16]

State concern for the poor

We shall now refer to the construction of a few works of beauty and utility which illustrates the continued interest in the pursuit of the arts of peace. One of these was the laying out of a beautiful garden at Cambay, with two pleasure-houses, during the last years of Aurangzeb's reign. It is called the Lal Bagh, or Mirza Baqir's garden, and it is situated outside that town. A small channel filled with water formerly connected the two pleasure-houses. The site appears to have been selected with artistic taste, for overlooking, as it does, the Nareshwar lake and its picturesque surroundings, it is undoubtedly one of the pleasantest spots in Cambay. Inserted in the wall on the main pleasure-house is a short Persian inscription on a marble tablet which says that it was constructed in 1695-6 by one Mirza Baqir, who was probably for a time in charge of Cambay during the subahdari of Shujaat Khan. The identity of this official cannot be clearly traced, but it is possible that he was the same person mentioned in the *Mirat* as Mir Muhammad Baqir Isfahani who was sent to Dholka as *amin* in 1694-95. The epigraph is rendered thus:

The Lal Bagh at Cambay, 1695

> 'How excellent is the garden of Mirza Baqir which in purity resembles heaven. *The garden of Paradise is here*, gives the year (*i.e.*, the chronogram) for the construction of this auspicious place. H. 1107 (A.D. 1695-96).'[17]

15 Sinor is a town on the right bank of the Narmada river about thirty miles south of Baroda. It stood on the highway between Central India and the south, near the Baba Piara ford.

16 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 340.

17 Below the Persian inscription there is a line in Gujarati, roughly carved, which reads 'in the Samvat Year 1752.' This year began in Oct., 1695 and the Hindu date thus confirms the Hijri year given in the Persian text.

Shaikh Muhammad Akram, the son of the Shaikh-ul-Islam, and grandson of Abdul Wahhab of Patan, who had held for many years the office of *Sadr* at Ahmadabad, was, in 1698, on the

Masjid and college of Shaikh Muh. Akram, 1699

death of Khwaja Abdulla, appointed as the Chief Qazi of the empire by Aurangzeb.[18] He held the post till his death in 1705 and was the fourth member of this famous Gujarati family to hold in succession the office of the *Qazi-al-Quzat*.[19] He built a fine masjid and a madrasa at Ahmadabad, which were completed in 1699 at a cost of 1,24,000 rupees, and two villages were assigned by the emperor for their maintenance, one in the Savli pargana of the Champaner district and the other in the Kadi pargana of the district of Patan. The college was known under the name of the *Madrasa Hidayat Bakhsh*. The author of the *Mirat*, writing 50 years later, says that in his time these fine buildings were already falling into decay, while the two villages had passed under the control of the Marathas. The masjid of Shaikh Muhammad Akram, which is now in good repairs, stands in the Astodya ward of Ahmadabad, and is a fine building of stone and brick, with lofty Saracenic arches, and it generally resembles the masjid of Shujaat Khan which was built about the same time.

In the opening chapter to the first volume of this work, we have given an account of two early Muslim inscriptions, dated A.D. 1236 and 1323 respectively, found in the tomb of the Muslim saint

A step-well at Petlad and its epigraph, 1699

Baba Arjun Shah in the ancient town of Petlad,[20] in the Kaira district, the earlier of the two recording an event at a period when Muslim rule had not yet been imposed on Gujarat. We have now to record a third epigraph, trilingual in character, inserted in a step-well in the same prosperous town, and inscribed in 1699 when Prince Muhammad Azam held Petlad and its fertile pargana as his jagir. This well is known as the *Shikotri Matani Wav*, and it is situated near the public reservoir of the town, called the Pandav Talav. The inscription is located in a niche and consists of a short Persian record at the top, followed by a longer one in Sanskrit verse, and ending with several lines in Gujarati prose. Ac-

[18] Qazi Muhammad Akram died at the end of 1705 in the imperial camp during Aurangzeb's final march from Devapur to Ahmadnagar. The *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (trans. by Sarkar, p. 303) says that he was unparalleled in legal knowledge and uprightness. Mulla Haidar, *ustad* of Prince Muhammad Azam and Qazi of Delhi, who had been appointed Akram Khan's successor as Qazi-al-Quzat, arrived in the camp in March, 1706.

[19] The succession-list is as follows :—
(*i*) Shaikh Abdul Wahhab, 1659-75; (*ii*) Shaikh-ul-Islam, 1676-83;
(*iii*) Sayid Abu Sa'id, 1684-85; (*iv*) Khwaja Abdulla, 1685-98;
(*v*) Shaikh Muhammad Akram, 1698-1705.

[20] Petlad, along with a group of 104 villages round about it, has formed from early times a fertile tract which is now known as the *Charutar*, situated in parts of the Kaira district and the late Baroda State. This name is explained from the Sanskrit expression पेटकापद्रप्रभृतिचतुरुत्तरशतम् mentioned in a work of the 12th century. It is thus a corrupt form of *chaturuttar*. (*Bombay University Journal*, May 1937, pp. 150-51 and n.)

cording to the Persian text, the well was built outside the town by one Ramji for a charitable purpose, and the chronogram for the date of its construction gives the Hijri year 1110, or A.D. 1698-9. The Sanskrit text, which mentions the town under its ancient name of Petapadra, describes it as containing many houses of Nāgar Brahmans who were much given to charity, and states that Ramji, the son of Bhimji, had this step-well constructed for the benefit of the citizens, and that it was completed on Friday, the day of *Dhanteras* (*i.e.*, the 13th of the dark-half) of the month of Ashvin in the year 1755 of the Vikram era (October 10, 1699).[21]

Gujarati text of the epigraph

The epigraph proceeds to give some important details in Gujarati to the effect that, 'during the glorious rule' of the Emperor Aurangzeb, and in the pargana of Petlad, which was held as jagir by Prince Azam Tara, and with the latter's consent, Ramji Thakor, the son of Bhimji, belonging to the Vadnagara caste and its auspicious Abhyantara section, had this step-well constructed to provide drinking water for all men, with the approval of Mustafa Quli Beg, the fauzdar, and his subordinates, who are all mentioned by name. Then follows a list of various relatives of Ramji Thakor, who built the well, and the names of the chief supervisor, the master-mason in charge of the work, the person who wrote the epigraph, and the *salat* or stone-cutter who inscribed it.[22]

Relations with Kamal Khan Jalori, 1680

An outstanding political personality in Gujarat during Shujaat Khan's viceroyalty was Kamal Khan of Palanpur, who succeeded his uncle Mujahid Khan in 1663 and ruled for the next forty-two years till 1706. About 1680, the Emperor restored to the Jalori house the parganas of Jalor, Sachor and Bhinmal which had been resumed by the orders of Jahangir in 1617. The reason why Aurangzeb handed back these ancestral territories after a lapse of 64 years has not been stated; but the grant was probably connected with the outbreak in 1680 of the long war with the Rathors which made it necessary that there should be a strong Muslim authority in the south of Marwar in order to keep the Rajputs in check. At a later date (*c.* 1696), Kamal Khan played a leading part in the negotiations between the subahdar of Gujarat and Durgadas for the restoration of Prince Akbar's children. But the Jalori rulers were not destined to enjoy for long the restoration of the three parganas mentioned above, for the emperor, in his desire to conciliate the Rathors, transferred these districts in 1697 to Ajit Singh, the long persecuted heir to the throne of Marwar, and confirmed to Kamal Khan the parganas of Palanpur and Deesa.

21 The epigraph is interesting also because, besides the year in the Hijri and the Vikram eras, it mentions the year 4799 of the Kali or Yudhishthir era also.

22 This trilingual inscription has been transcribed, edited and translated by Mr. M. R. Majumdar in *Journal of the University of Bombay*, May, 1937 (Vol. V, Pt. VI), pp. 144-151.

The districts of Palanpur and Sachore were famous at this time for producing a fine breed of leopards which were in great demand at the Mughal court for hunting purposes, and a number of them were sent there by the Palanpur ruler every year. In 1698, Aurangzeb wrote to Shujaat Khan about the delay in the arrival of the animals, and the royal message was conveyed by the subahdar to Kamal Khan who at once arranged to secure and to forward several pairs. These greatly pleased the Emperor who sent a punning letter of appreciation to the viceroy stating that 'Kamal Khan's present had given supreme (*kamāl*) satisfaction.' The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, referring to the *yuzkhana*, or leopard establishment, in the province of Gujarat, says that the *cheetahs* for hunting found at Islamnagar, Halwad, Palanpur and the Kankrej were of a superior type and that a considerable staff was maintained in the province for catching and training these animals. It consisted of a darogah or superintendent, under whom were a *mushrif* and a *tahwildar*, with a staff of twenty-two hunters.[23]

Cheetahs sent to the court

Kamal Khan died in 1706, and his name takes rank, along with those of Usman Khan, Ghazni Khan and Karimdad Khan, among the famous rulers of his dynasty. His memory is preserved in Palanpur town by a ward known as Kamalpura. But a more attractive memorial of his rule is the *Dilkusha Bagh* to the east of the town which was laid out by his orders in 1693-94 and has survived till today. It is surrounded by a wall and is maintained in excellent condition, and contains a number of fountains in the style of the Mughal period, as also some very large and shady trees known as *borsalis*,[24] which are probably 250 years old. The garden was for several generations the principal pleasure-resort of the rulers of Palanpur. An inscription in Persian engraved on a tablet fixed at the entrance to the Dilkusha Bagh is rendered below:

Memorial of Kamal Khan at Palanpur, 1693

> 'He who is the perfect and consummate gift of the supreme and munificent Lord, and is named Kamal Khan by virtue of his excellence, laid out this garden with exquisite taste. Its cisterns are perennial fountains just as is the bounty of Kamal. When Niamatulla mused on the year of its construction, the invisible angel (*Sarosh*) joyfully revealed to him the words: *Seek the perfect garden*, H. 1105 (A.D. 1693-94).'

One of the last administrative measures of Shujaat Khan was to despatch Nazar Ali Khan with a large force to join the imperial camp which was then at Panhala near Kolhapur. The great viceroy, who had for so long and so ably governed the province, passed away at a ripe old age at Ahmadabad on July 10, 1701, and he was buried in the mausoleum which he

Death of Shujaat Khan, 1701

[23] *Supplement to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Eng. trans., 161.

[24] Nimusops Elingi, L—*Borsali; Bakuli, Violi*—an evergreen tree with smooth scaly bark. The flowers are used for making garlands and a perfume is also distilled from

had constructed for himself, not far from the Lal Gate of the Bhadra citadel. The news of his death was conveyed to the emperor by Khwaja Abdul Hamid, the divan, who looked after the affairs of the province till the arrival of Prince Muhammad Azam who was appointed to this charge. The emperor, who entertained a high opinion of the late viceroy's long and devoted services, sent orders to the effect that Shujaat Khan's property, which had been escheated to the state, should be restored to his heirs as a special mark of the imperial favour. The author of the *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, in recording the death of Shujaat Khan in the chronicles of the 45th year of Aurangzeb's reign, thus comments upon his career: 'He was a wonderfully fortunate man, as he rose from a low position to the dignity of an amir. He was an upright and efficient officer, an able general and administrator, never committing any blunder, and possessing many noble qualities.'[25] Shujaat Khan's memorable administration in Gujarat synchronizes with the last years of peace and administrative stability in the province.

His memory perpetuated in Ahmadabad

Three interesting monuments, situated in the Salapos (Silahposh) locality, perpetuate the memory of the subahdar who ruled at Ahmadabad for the unprecedented period of sixteen years at a very critical juncture in the history of Gujarat. The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* says that in 1692 Shujaat Khan obtained two hundred cart-loads of marble from Patan for being utilised in building a mosque, a college and his own mausoleum which he had planned to erect at Ahmadabad.[26] The masjid and the rauza are built of brick, and, along with the monuments associated with the name of Sardar Khan, they are the only structures built of that material in this city that can be said to possess any architectural beauty. The masjid of Shujaat Khan shows the local Indo-Saracenic style in its decline. It is plain in appearance, with two slender minarets, octagonal in shape and with four storeys each, but there is complete absence of all ornamentation on their bases, unlike the beautifully sculptured tracery on the minars of the 15th and 16th centuries. The roof has three bulbous domes resembling those prevalent in northern India in the 17th century. The beautifully coloured marble used for the floor and the piers and walls of the masjid presents a striking contrast to the plainness of the exterior.[27] Over the central *mihrab* is a short Persian inscription

them. Oil is obtained from the seeds. The flowers, fruit and bark are strongly astringent. (Mozella Isaacs, *The Commoner Flowering Plants of Western India*).

25 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, trans. by J. Sarkar, 265 and *n*. The MS. of this work here adds the following words which have been omitted in the printed Persian text: 'The people of the Subah acknowledge his miracle-working power and read the *fathiha* on his tomb.'

26 Safdar Khan Babi, the deputy governor of Patan, who sent the material, wrote to the Viceroy to say that he could, if required, arrange to forward a thousand cart-loads of marble-slabs from the same town.

27 The walls and the piers of this masjid are lined with marble to a height of about seven feet, and above that with fine lime, 'so white and carefully polished as to rival

giving the *kalima*, or Muslim creed, and the Hijri date 1107 (A.D. 1695-6). The mosque was thus completed about six years before the death of this popular subahdar.

The college or madrasah built and maintained by Shujaat Khan at Ahmadabad is an interesting proof of the promotion of learning under Mughal rule in Gujarat. We know that a similar institution was attached to Shah Wajih-ud-din's masjid in the Khanpur locality built in the time of Jahangir, and to the masjid of Shaikh Muhammad Akram built in 1699. The date of the founding of the college is given in some verses, inscribed on a marble slab at the entrance to the adjoining mosque, which have been rendered as follows:

The College of Shujaat Khan

'The Khan of exalted position, Shujaat Khan, may God be his helper and protector; for the sake of good he built a college and provided a centre for the seekers of knowledge. I sought from reason its chronogram. It replied, *It is the seat of learning and the abode of beauty.*' H. 1109 (A.D. 1697)[28]

The rauza of Shujaat Khan stands on a raised platform in an enclosure to the north of the masjid. It has twenty piers, and over the central chamber is a large-sized bulbous dome. The floor was originally of marble. There are two inscriptions in this gloomy mausoleum which has little to recommend it architecturally. The one on the sarcophagus itself is a short one which, after a quotation from the Quran, and without giving any name, states: 'The date of his decease is Thursday, the 14th of the month of Safar, in the year one thousand one hundred and thirteen of the Hijrat of the Prophet (10 July, 1701).'[29] The other is in verse and longer and it stands at the entrance to the mausoleum. After some introductory verses, the historical portion of the epigraph runs as follows:

The Rauza of the viceroy

'Alas! Shujaat Khan has departed from the world; no governor dispensed justice and displayed kindness in his manner; his rule surpassed that of King Naushirwan in justice. Reason gave thus the year of his death: *The exalted Khan* became the chronogram for the great soul. (*i.e.*, H. 1113 or A.D. 1701)'[30]

marble or ivory in smoothness and brilliancy.' The floor is of white and yellow marble wrought in compartments, in the pattern of prayer-mats, divided from one another by parti-coloured mosaics. H. G. Briggs, says that the monument was commonly known as Nawab-ki-masjid and also as the Marble or Ivory Mosque (*Cities of Gujarashtra*, 223).

[28] M. A. Chaghatai, *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad through their Inscriptions*, 97. The madrasah was located within an enclosure to the south of the masjid. It consisted of many separate rooms round an open court. These rooms have been put to various uses during the last 100 years.

[29] Strangely enough, the *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (trans. by Sarkar, 265) gives the date of the death of Shujaat Khan Muhammad Beg as the 20th Muharram in the 45th year of the reign (16 June 1701). The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* gives 9 July 1701.

[30] M. A. Chaghatai, op. cit., 97-8; J. Burgess, *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Pt. II, 61-62; H. G. Briggs, *Cities of Gujarashtra*, 223.

APPENDIX

THE KATHIS OF KATHIAWAD

The Kathis form one of the many distinctive and interesting races in peninsular Gujarat which came to be called by their name during the last two centuries. The cradle of their race is unknown, but they probably came from more remote regions of Central Asia than did the ancestors of the Rajputs and were possibly allied to the ancient Scythians.[31] They are, however, not considered the aboriginals of the peninsula, which status is assigned to the Ahirs, the Babrias and the Rabadis. The Kathis are grouped under two main branches, *viz.*, the ancient Kathis or *Avartias* (who trace their advent to a period more than a thousand years back) and the modern Kathis or *Shakhayats*. The original settlements of the latter in India are not known, but it appears that they entered the peninsula from Cutch some time about the 15th century, and estbalished themselves at Than which they conquered from the Parmar Rajputs. Here they built a temple of the sun and made their living by plunder rather than by husbandry, and their name became a terror to the country. At a later date, they dispersed to other parts of the peninsula. They are divided into three main branches, *viz.*, the Vala, the Khuman and the Khachar Kathis, each of which has a large number of sub-divisions.

The Kathis were not territorial chieftains or large proprietors during the early period of their residence in the peninsula. Only when the Muslim power showed signs of breaking up, did they begin to acquire territory. Then they spread themselves through the heart of the peninsula, taking Jasdan and other districts from the Jadejas. They also penetrated to the neighbourhood of Amreli, and settled at Kundla and other places on the borders of Babriavad. The Sarvaia Rajputs ceded Chital to them in 1735 and the Nawab of Junagadh ceded to them in 1760 the important districts of Mendarda, Bhilka and Jetpur. Some of the most daring and troublesome of the Kathis established themselves in the Gir hills and became the terror of the whole country, and, at the end of the 18th century, the districts of Vasavad and Chelna were in the hands of the Vala Kathis.

Among the historical references to the Kathis, we may mention that the famous Loma Khuman of Kherdi gave shelter to the ex-Sultan Muzaffar III and was with the Sultan when he took Ahmadabad in 1583. The Mughal viceroys of Gujarat and their *thanadars* in the peninsula found the Kathis as difficult to control as they did the Koli tribes of Kankrej, Chunval, and the Sabar Kantha on the mainland. In the 17th century two major expeditions are recorded against them, *viz.*, the

[31] Col. J. W. Watson considers them to be descended from the Khatti, mentioned in old Assyrian inscriptions, who are also called the Hittites in the Old Testament.

viceroy Azam Khan's campaign in 1636 and that of Shujaat Khan in 1692, as mentioned in this chapter. On both occasions, Ranpur and Dhandhuka were the main targets of the attack from the Kathis who were settled in the central districts of the peninsula.

As late as 1808, Col. Alexander Walker, the British agent in Kathiawar, refers to the marauding habits of the Kathis, which shows that their reformation after they had settled down to husbandry was but gradual and partial. 'The Kathis,' he says, 'are distinguished only for rapacious habits and robbery. To this mode of life they attach neither disgrace nor reproach. On the contrary, they boast of their devastations and rapine. Without property, and frequently without a fixed place of residence, the Kathis despise and brave the resentment of states which are much more powerful than themselves.'

In the last quarter of the 18th century and the first of the 19th, when the famous Vakhatsinghji Gohel was ruler of Bhavnagar (1772-1816), the Khumans were the most warlike clan of the Kathis in the south-east of the peninsula. They had appropriated to themselves the rich district of Kundla, and for a long series of years carried on their depredations in Bhavnagar state and defied the power and authority of its chief. At length, taking advantage of dissensions among them, they were completely subdued by Vakhatsinghji, and in 1796 they gave up the district of Kundla to him. In like manner, Vakhatsinghji also subdued the Khachar Kathis of Botad and Gadhada.

With the establishment of British supremacy in the peninsula, the Kathis succumbed before more powerful forces and settled down to a peaceful mode of life. During the 19th century, except the large estate of Jetpur-Chital and the small compact one of Jasdan, there were no Kathi states of any consequence in the peninsula. Among the smaller Kathi states, prior to the merger, were Bagasra, Chotila, Babra and Paliad. Owing, however, to the absence of the principle of primogeniture, and the consequent perpetual subdivision of property, these states were in course of time broken up into fragments.

The Kathis worship the sun, which is used as a symbol in their title-deeds, and they invoke its protection and aid in all their undertakings. Their contact with the Hindus has instilled into them some respect for the ordinary Hindu gods and for Brahmans. Though illiterate and indolent, they are exceedingly hospitable and always sociable and friendly. Their women are reputed handsome and bear a high character, being on terms of social equality with their husbands and treated as companions. As a pastoral roving tribe, the Kathis were always fond of animals. They used to have large droves of cattle and to pride themselves on their breed of horses.[82]

82 Bombay Gazetteer, VIII (Kathiawad), 122-32; R. E. Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, II, 164-69.



Courtesy: The Jodhpur Darbar

RATHOR DURGADAS, THE HERO OF RAJASTHAN



Courtesy: The Jodhpur Darbar

MAHARAJA JASWANT SINGH OF JODHPUR, TWICE SUBAHDAR OF GUJARAT

CHAPTER XVIII

DURGADAS RATHOR'S CONTACTS WITH GUJARAT, 1687-1707

WE have referred in a previous chapter to Aurangzeb's war against Marwar after the death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh, when the Emperor invaded the Rathor country in 1679, occupied all the chief towns and strongholds, and annexed the kingdom to the Mughal Empire. But the attempt to absorb permanently this ancient Rajput state proved to be in vain, and for well nigh a generation, from 1679 to 1707, the Rathors maintained guerilla warfare against the imperial forces, which ended ultimately in the withdrawal of the Mughal garrisons from Marwar and the restoration of Ajit Singh, the posthumous son of the late ruler, to the throne of his father. It is, however, not generally known that this long and desultory warfare for over a quarter of a century is intimately associated with the history of Gujarat, for, during the greater part of this period, the conduct of the operations was entrusted to Shujaat Khan, the able and resourceful viceroy of Gujarat, who was given the charge of Jodhpur in addition to the government of his province. This Rajput 'War of Independence' is of interest to us for another reason also, for it introduces to us the bold and commanding personality of Durgadas, 'the flower of Rathor chivalry,' who led the Rajput opposition during the dark period that followed the death of Jaswant Singh, and who, at a later date, when reconciled to the Emperor, was granted the pargana of Dhandhuka as jagir and appointed governor of Patan in North Gujarat (1698).

Place of the Rajput War in history of Gujarat

In 1681, Prince Muhammad Akbar, who had been censured by his father for his failure in the campaign against Mewar, broke out into revolt, instigated to it by Durgadas and his own general Tahawwar Khan. But Aurangzeb, by a judicious combination of force and diplomacy, detached the Prince's followers and allies, with the result that the Prince found his cause lost, and was forced to seek refuge in Marwar, taking his infant son and daughter with him in his precipitate flight. Durgadas befriended him in his exile and conveyed him personally from Rajputana, through Gujarat, Baglan and Khandesh, to the camp of the Maratha ruler Sambhaji. For full six years, Durgadas remained in the Deccan to help the Prince's cause, being also actively engaged in promoting his

Prince Akbar's revolt, 1681

own design of throwing off the Mughal yoke on Marwar with Maratha help. But, after the failure of his efforts in both directions, he hired in 1686 from the English merchants at Rajapur a ship in which the Prince sailed to the court of Persia, and thereafter he himself returned to his native land in Marwar. Thus the first period in the struggle of the Rajputs against Aurangzeb, from 1681 to 1686, was a desultory and unorganised war, for Durgadas was in the Maratha country and there was no outstanding leader to guide their opposition. The Rathor clans carried on the strife as best they could, cutting off isolated Mughal outposts and detachments in the plains of Marwar.[1]

Durgadas vs. Shujaat Khan

With the arrival of the Rathor leader in Marwar in 1687, the Rajput resistance to the Mughals begins to stiffen, and we also now see the beginning of that intimate contact of Gujarat with the Rajput war that was to last till the end of Aurangzeb's reign.[2] Inayat Khan, the subahdar of Ajmer, who had been also functioning as Mughal governor of Jodhpur had died in 1682 some years before Durgadas's return. The Emperor now decided, in view of the seriousness of the situation, to remove Jodhpur from the jurisdiction of a comparatively small and poor province such as Ajmer, and to entrust its charge to the energetic and highly efficient subahdar of Gujarat, whose province afforded all the resources in men and money which the war with the Rathors demanded. Kārtalab Khan was, therefore, appointed fauzdar of Jodhpur in addition to his viceroyalty of Gujarat, and he was further ennobled with the title of Shujaat Khan, as already stated. From this time onward, till his death in 1701, the great subahdar spent about six months every year in Marwar, and Durgadas found in him a powerful but honourable antagonist during the fourteen years that followed.

Negotiations for peace, 1696-98

The sporadic warfare between Durgadas and the Gujarat viceroy continued for nearly ten years without any decisive results until, by 1696, both sides were weary of hostilities. Aurangzeb himself during all this period was far away in the Deccan, waging bitter war against the revived power of the Marathas, and he was, therefore, unable to send any help to his subahdar in Gujarat against the Rathors. Durgadas must also have been weary of a long life of outlawry in which he had to evade for well-nigh a decade the pursuit of the Mughal forces. He was, therefore, ready to negotiate for a peace, provided some solid concessions could be secured from the emperor to meet the claims of Ajit Singh to his father's kingdom. The fact that the Rajput patriot had in his possession two

1 In 1681, they found a powerful friend in Raja Muhakam Singh of Mirtha, a Rajput noble attached to the Empire, who gave up Mughal service and joined them. The next year, the Bhatti tribe of Jesalmir rose against the Mughals and made common cause with the Rathors. (J. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, V. 276).

2 The events described in this chapter are based largely on the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar has added to this source some valuable details gathered from the *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* and other works in his *History of Aurangzeb*, V, 268-92.

of Prince Akbar's children, scions of the imperial Mughal dynasty, was expected to serve as a potent means of bringing the Emperor to a compromise. These two were a girl named Safiyat-un-nisa, now in her fifteenth year, and a boy called Buland Akhtar, both of whom, being of tender age, had been taken with him by the Prince in his precipitate flight into Marwar from his camp near Ajmer on the failure of his ill-conceived rebellion in 1681.

The negotiations for peace between Shujaat Khan and the Rathor chieftain, which continued for two years, were carried on through a certain Ishwardas, a Nāgar Brahman of Patan, who was in Mughal service, and held the post of *amin* for several *mahals* in Marwar. A historical work in Persian by this talented officer, entitled *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, is of first-rate importance in connection with the Rajput War in which he was now a principal actor.[3] In 1696, Durgadas submitted through Ishwardas that he was willing to forward an appeal to the emperor for pardon, and would restore the Begum Safiyat-un-nisa to the Mughal court, if the subahdar would spare his home from attack till the Emperor had accepted his submission. The viceroy sent on the request to the Emperor in the Deccan who replied immediately to the effect that Durgadas should be given the fullest assurances. Shujaat Khan, thereupon, instructed the Nāgar official to venture once more through the defiles of Marwar to the almost inaccessible haunts of Durgadas in the hills and to convey to him the Emperor's assurances. Ishwardas managed to induce Durgadas to restore the Princess, and himself brought her over to Ahmadabad under an adequate Rajput escort. The young lady appreciated the arrangements made by Ishwardas for her journey, and at her request the viceroy further entrusted him with the duty of conveying her in safety to her grandsire's court in the Deccan (1697).[4]

Services of the historian Ishwardas

Aurangzeb showed his gratification by extending his royal pardon to Durgadas. Ishwardas was granted an interview and instructed to proceed to Marwar and bring back with him both Durgadas and Sultan Buland Akhtar to the court. At the same time, to give concrete expression to his reconciliation with the Rajput leader, the emperor sent orders to Muhammad Mohsin, the newly appointed diwan of the province of Gujarat, to hand over to Durgadas one lakh of rupees from the provincial trea-

Rewards for Durgadas and Ajit

[3] Ishwardas served in Gujarat under the Shaikh-ul-Islam, the son of Abdul Wahhab, and later under the Mughal Viceroy. His historical work covers the period from 1657 to 1698. Only one copy of the manuscript of his history is known to exist. It was copied at Nahrwala-Patan in H. 1163 or A.D. 1749 (J. Bird's *History of Gujarat*, 1835, p. 89; J. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, II, 305).

[4] When the young Begum was at last presented to the aged Emperor, and bowing her head, recited some verses from the Quran, Aurangzeb was agreeably astonished at her attainments, and naturally enquired how she had obtained her knowledge of the holy book. The young lady replied that Durgadas had been careful of her education, and had entrusted the same to a Muslim governess from Ajmer, and that she was, therefore, able to recite the Quran by heart. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I. 349-50).

sury, one half of the amount to be paid to the Rathor leader on his arrival at Jodhpur and the remaining 50,000 rupees on his reaching Ahmadabad. Moreover, the pargana of Mairta was also ordered to be given as jagir to Durgadas, to which Dhandhuka and other mahals were later added. But the Rajput patriot was not likely to accept these benefits for himself without securing some tangible gains for Ajit Singh on whose behalf he had been carrying on so unequal a struggle with the Mughal Empire. At his request, therefore, Aurangzeb pardoned Jaswant's son and granted him the parganas of Jalor, Sachor and Bhinmal in the south of Marwar which had been held by the Muslim dynasty of Palanpur since the end of the 14th century. After Ishwardas had again, under Shujaat Khan's orders, paid more than one visit to Durgadas in his home, the latter, being fully satisfied with the *parwana* for the jagir bestowed upon him, and the sum of one lakh of rupees granted to him, at last came down with Prince Buland Akhtar to Ahmadabad. The subahdar received him with distinction, and accompanied him and the Prince as far as the port of Surat where they met two courtiers who had been sent by the emperor to be tutors to the young Prince and to escort him to the royal camp.[5]

Renewed hostilities

The truce with the Rathors lasted for about four years, from 1698 to the end of 1701, but Ajit Singh was not likely to be permanently satisfied with the jagirs granted to him and was biding his time to recover the entire kingdom of Marwar. The death of Shujaat Khan in 1701 also removed a restraining and conciliatory influence and precipitated the rupture. His successor, both as viceroy of Gujarat and governor of Jodhpur, was Prince Muhammad Azam, who was tactless and imperious. Aurangzeb was also displeased at the fact that Ajit Singh, though he had repeatedly promised to visit his court, had put off doing so under various pretexts. He, therefore, sent orders to Prince Azam to the effect that Durgadas, whom he held responsible for the good behaviour and loyalty of Ajit, should be sent again to the imperial camp, and if he did not obey the orders he should be put to death.

Durgadas at Ahmadabad: his flight, 1701

At the end of 1701, therefore, Prince Muhammad Azam sent orders to Durgadas at Patan, where the latter was governor, to come down to Ahmadabad and to attend his court. At this time, there also arrived in Gujarat Safdar Khan Babi, the aggressive and energetic ex-fauzdar of Patan, who had been sulking in Malwa since 1698 owing to a disagreement with

[5] The *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (trans. by Sarkar, 240) says: 'On 20 May 1698, Durgadas Rathor, through the intercession of Shujaat Khan, brought to court, as the instrument of his pardon, Buland Akhtar, son of Muhammad Akbar, who was born during that Prince's wanderings in the land of the Rathors, and had been left there on his flight from the country and brought up by the Rathors. At this interview, Durgadas came with his wrists tied together. The Emperor ordered him to be unbound, and gave him a robe, a jewelled dagger and the rank of 3-hazari.' Aurangzeb's court was at this time at the famous base camp at Islampuri (Brahmapuri) on the Bheema, not far from the town of Sholapur.

Shujaat Khan. This noble offered either to bring Durgadas a prisoner to the Prince's court or to kill him. On receiving the summons, Durgadas left Patan with some of his troops, and, on reaching Ahmadabad, encamped at the village of Wadej on the north bank of the Sabarmati about a mile distant from the capital. On the day appointed for the interview, Prince Azam Shah issued orders to all the local officials, as also to Safdar Khan Babi and his sons, to attend his court in arms, under the pretext that he was to proceed on a hunting expedition. Durgadas had spent the day in fasting, as it was the *ekadasi* of the Hindu month, and expected to wait on the Prince after he had taken his meals. But, when messengers arrived from the Prince one after another to summon him, his suspicions were aroused, especially when he learnt that the Prince's retainers had gathered in arms. He, therefore, burnt his tents and taking horse fled with his troops back to Patan. Muhammad Azam despatched the superintendent of the artillery, and other officers, including Safdar Khan Babi and his sons, in pursuit of the fugitive towards Patan. When they neared that place, the brave young grandson of Durgadas opposed them with his own troops, and adjured his grandsire to make good his escape while he held the Mughal forces in check and barred further pursuit. Durgadas very reluctantly consented, and escaped to Unjha, 8 miles south of Sidhpur, while his grandson met his death in the battle, in which Salabat Khan, one of Safdar Khan Babi's sons, was wounded. The delay in the pursuit caused by this conflict gave Durgadas just the necessary time to secure his family from Patan and to fly further north to Tharad and then to Marwar. The imperial troops, exhausted with the struggle, encamped outside the town during the night, and the next day entered Patan where the Kotwal nominated by Durgadas was put to death. The army later returned to Ahmadabad abandoning further pursuit.

Last stage of the war, 1702-06

For the next four years (1702-05), Ajit Singh and Durgadas were mostly again 'out in the wilderness' and at war with the Empire, and it was a period of renewed stress and strain for the Rathor nationalists.[6] The scanty resources of their country, reduced by a desolating war, had been further crippled by severe famines, so that, at one time (1696), as the Persian historian of Gujarat says, 'from Jodhpur to Patan neither water nor a blade of grass was to be seen.' To add to these troubles, internal discords now appeared in the land. Ajit Singh was imperious in temper, lacked his father's capacity, and fell out with Durgadas, the devoted champion of his cause for a quarter of a century. Aurangzeb was also

[6] The Emperor's sons appear to have been in communication with Ajit Singh. In 1702, in the 46th regnal year of Aurangzeb's reign, a Farman was adressed to Maharaja Ajit Singh by Muiz-ud-din, son of Prince Muhammad Muazzam, the elder son of the Emperor, announcing the bestowal of the rank of 7,000 *zat* and 7,000 *sawar* on the Maharaja, along with robes of honour. The Maharaja was further requested to come to Delhi with a body of 20 or 30 thousand horse and as many foot. (Paper by Pandit B. N. Reu in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1947, p. 351)

tired of the long drawn out war and anxious to patch up a truce with the Rajputs. In 1705, Durgadas submitted for the second time to the Emperor, returned to Prince Azam's service, and was restored to his mansab of three thousand[7] and his post in Gujarat.

Ajit recovers his kingdom, 1707

But the hour of Rajput deliverance was nigh. Early in 1706, a Maratha army, under the command of Dhanaji Jadhav, penetrated into central Gujarat as far as Broach, and inflicted a signal defeat on the imperial forces at Ratanpur. An opportunity was thus offered to Ajit Singh to rise again in rebellion, and the irrepressible Durgadas joined him once more and caused risings at Tharad and other places. Aurangzeb sent instructions to Prince Bidar Bakht, the eldest son of Muhammad Azam Shah, who was at the time in charge of Gujarat, to put them down, and the Prince sent a force against Durgadas who fled to the Koli country for safety. Ajit, however, defeated Muhakam Singh, now again on the Mughal side, at Drunera. Matters stood thus when, early in March 1707, the momentous news reached Gujarat and Marwar of the death of the great Emperor. A few days later, Ajit Singh marched with his troops against Jodhpur and expelled Jafar Quli, the deputy governor of the place. The Mughal garrison, disconcerted at the death of the sovereign, and hopeless of succour, fled precipitately leaving all its property behind. Sojat, Pali and other centres were soon recovered by Ajit, who was proclaimed Maharaja of Marwar in his ancestral capital, where the fort was purified with Ganges water and *tulsi* leaves. Ajit Singh was about 28 years old when he recovered his father's throne and he ruled over Marwar till his death in 1724. There is, however, one stain on his memory in his relations with Durgadas which has been definitely ascertained. The saviour of Marwar, and the guide of Ajit's youth and manhood, appears to have been banished from the land which his integrity, wisdom and valour had preserved. This historical fact was incidentally discovered by Col. Tod in a collection of papers written from the camp of the Emperor Bahadur Shah.[8] The great patriot died in exile at Ujjain on the banks of the Sipra river at the end of 1718, having reached the ripe old age of 80 years.[9]

Common mission of Shivaji and Durgadas

But Durgadas's lifework had been accomplished. To the student of history, the parallel between the work of the Rathor leader in the country north of the Sabarmati and the Banas rivers, and that of the Maratha warrior in the Deccan, naturally presents itself. Both were for some time contemporaries, though the Maratha chief was the older of the two. Shivaji, who lived to be a Raja and to found a Hindu State, died at

[7] *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, trans. by Sarkar, 296.

[8] J. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Ed. by Crooke, II, 1033-34.

[9] According to information supplied to me by Mr. Jagdish Singh Gahlot of Jodhpur, Durgadas was born in V. S. 1694 Dvitya Shravan Sud 14 (13 August 1638) and died at Ujjain in V. S. 1775 Margsar Sud 11 (22 November 1718).

Raigarh in 1680; in the same year Durgadas began his long crusade of over 25 years against Aurangzeb's usurpation of his country. No doubt, the relations of Shivaji and of the Marathas with the province of Gujarat and its people were unhappy, and the sack twice of its principal seaport (Surat) inspired terror in Gujarat among the rulers and subjects alike. But if Shivaji was the leader of Maratha reaction in the Deccan against Mughal imperialism, Durgadas was the champion of Rajput liberties and of Hindu opposition to the same power in the north. Both had thus a common historical mission to perform, though Shivaji's work in creating a nation and establishing a new State was a greater historical achievement.[10]

[10] We quote below some remarks of Col. James Tod, the annalist of Rajasthan, on the achievements and character of Durgadas: 'What a splendid example is the hero Durgadas of all that constitutes the glory of the Rajput. Valour, loyalty, integrity, combined with prudence, in all the difficulties which surrounded him, are qualities which entitle him to the admiration which his memory continues to enjoy. x x x His chivalrous conduct, in the extrication of Prince Akbar from inevitable destruction, had he fallen into his father's hands, was only surpassed by his generous and delicate behaviour towards the prince's family, which was left in his care. The virtue of the grand-daughter of Aurangzeb, in the sanctuary (*saran*) of Dunara, was in far better keeping than in the trebly walled harem of Agra. x x x But, to conclude our eulogy in the words of their bard : he has reaped the immortality destined for good deeds; his memory is cherished, his actions are the theme of constant praise, and his picture on his white horse, old, yet in vigour, is familiar amongst the collections of portraits of Rajputana'. (J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Ed. by W. Crooke, II, 1017-18). Dunara was the fief of Durgadas on the Luni river in Marwar.

CHAPTER XIX

LAST YEARS OF AURANGZEB'S REIGN IN GUJARAT, 1701-07: MARATHA INVASIONS UNDER DHANAJI JADHAV AND BALAJI VISHVANATH

THE details of the remarkably long administration of Shujaat Khan in Gujarat have been recorded in a previous chapter. After his death at Ahmadabad in July, 1701, Aurangzeb decided to appoint an imperial Prince, his third son Muhammad Azam, to this responsible office which he had himself filled under his father Shah Jahan for a short period in 1645.[1] As the war against Marwar was still going on, the Prince was also nominated governor of Jodhpur, and the Emperor further granted him the Subahdari of the province of Ajmer, in order no doubt to increase both his resources and his prestige in the conflict with the Rajputs. The Prince was encamped at Dhār in Malwa for the Deccan operations at the time when he received the royal orders, and he started at once for Ahmadabad. On the way, the Raja of Jhabua[2] waited on him with a *peshkash* of 16,000 rupees. Thereafter, the Prince met Abdul Hamid Khan and other officers from Gujarat who had gone forward to welcome him, and he entered the capital of his province on 7 November 1701. Among various official arrangements, Jafar Quli was appointed as his deputy at Jodhpur, while the charge of Patan was given to Durgadas Rathor who had been recently reconciled to the Emperor. It appears that Prince Azam found the old royal residences in the Bhadra at Ahmadabad, several of which no doubt dated from the time of the Saltanat, little to his taste, for he gave orders for new buildings to be erected at the Rustam Bagh and the Gulab Bagh, which were situated to the north of the city near the Shahi Bagh, and he continued to stay in tents and pavilions while these works were under construction.

Prince Azam's triple charge

1 Aurangzeb's eldest son was Muhammad Sultan, his mother being Nawab Bai. But he died in prison in 1676 during the Emperor's lifetime. Prince Azam Shah, the third son, was born at Burhanpur in 1653, his mother being Dilras Banu Begum. He was ten years younger than his elder brother Prince Muhammad Muazzam, against whom he was soon to set himself up as a rival in the contest for the throne, when he was killed in battle at Jajau in 1707.

2 Jhabua was till recently a small State in the Central India Agency.

Some imperial orders received by the Prince when he was in charge of the province of Gujarat indicate that his father, though now in his 84th year, was as intolerant as ever in his religious policy. In 1702, orders arrived to the effect that the making of almanacs was against religious injunctions, and that the astrologers should be called upon to give a written undertaking that they would discontinue the practice. In the same year, the Emperor called for information about the exact state of affairs relating to the temple of Somnath, which had been ordered to be destroyed earlier in the reign. The despatch adds that, if the Hindus had revived worship therein, the temple was to be demolished completely.[3] This is the last historical reference we have to this famous Shaivite shrine, located in the extreme south of peninsular Gujarat, which had passed through many vicissitudes ever since the first attack on it by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in 1026, and, though often damaged, had been as often rebuilt or restored by the piety of its Hindu votaries. After this final mutilation no restoration appears to have been attempted during the period of two centuries and a half that followed, until very recently, when the foundations of a grandiose and entirely new temple, which is to be surrounded by a park and attached cultural institutions, were laid in 1951 by the President of the Indian Republic.[4]

Aurangzeb's religious policy

If Aurangzeb was intolerant of the 'idol-worship' of his Hindu subjects, he was not less severe on those Muslims whom he regarded as schismatics. For this reason, the Ismaili Bohra community, which was particularly strong in Gujarat, incurred his displeasure, as its members professed Shiah tenets. Under royal orders, Sunni imams and muezzins were appointed to the mosques of this sect at Ahmadabad.[5] In 1703, it was reported to the Emperor that two Bohras, named Isa and Taj, were spreading their 'heretical' doctrines. On the representation of Shaikh Akram-ud-din, the *Sadr* of Ahmadabad, they were secretly arrested and sent as prisoners to the Court. Some time later, news reached the Emperor that one Mulla Khanji, the leader of the Ismaili Bohras, was preaching heresy with the help of twelve others, and that they had collected 1,14,000 rupees at Ahmadabad for the purpose of securing the release of the imprisoned persons, and were besides in possession of about sixty of their religious books. Orders were, thereupon, received by the Diwan of the province to the effect that the Mulla and his as-

Persecution of the Bohras

[3] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 352-3; J. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 320.

[4] The temple of Somnath, destroyed by Aurangzeb's orders, has been generally identified with the temple rebuilt at very great expense by Kumarpal Solanki in A.D. 1169. (See Vol. I, pp. LXXIII-LXXIV). Its ruins, which gave some idea of the exquisite sculpture of the monument, existed till recent times, but have now been removed.

[5] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 363.

sociates were to be quickly arrested and sent to the court along with the moneys collected and all the heretical books.[6] But Aurangzeb did not rely on repressive measures alone for the purpose of weaning the Bohras from the Shiah faith. He sent orders to the local authorities that the children of the Bohras, as also illiterate adults, should be given religious instruction on the orthodox Sunni lines both in the city of Ahmadabad and in the parganas, and that the cost of their education was to be recovered from this community.

An interesting reference made at this stage by the historian Ali Muhammad Khan, in his *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, is indicative of the high reputation and primacy enjoyed by Gujarat throughout the Mughal period among the imperial provinces, not only because of the fertility of its soil, but also by virtue of the excellence of its manufactures of silks and brocades. In 1702-3, an exalted message from the court reached Prince Muhammad Azam, 'the viceroy of lofty descent and high abilities,' which refers to Gujarat in the most felicitous terms. It states that in the province of Gujarat, 'which was the beauty and ornament of India,' all kinds of fine arts and crafts flourished, and that the articles made in the royal factory (*karkhana*) at Ahmadabad were rich, splendid and lustrous. The Emperor goes on to say that at Shahjahanabad (Delhi) fine brocaded silk and striped cloth used formerly to be manufactured, but that at this time it had been given up. The Prince is, therefore, enjoined to take proper measures to produce successfully such cloth in his province.[7]

Gujarat, 'the beauty and ornament of India'

We find that, in another communication to the imperial Prince at this period, Aurangzeb shows his special interest in the town of Dohad on the eastern boundary of Gujarat. As is well known, the Emperor was born at this place, which is now in the Panch Mahals district and was for centuries the most important frontier town between Gujarat and Malwa. The event occurred on October 24, 1618, in the camp of his grandfather, Jahangir, who was then on his return march from Ahmadabad to Ujjain, and he recorded the fact in his autobiography: 'On the eve of Sunday, the 12th of the Ilahi month of Aban, in the 13th year from my accession, corresponding with the fifteenth Zil-Qada of the Hijri year 1027, the Giver of blessings gave my prosperous son Shah Jahan a precious son by the daughter of Asaf Khan. I hope that his advent may be auspicious and blessed to this everlasting State.'[8] The visitor to Dohad may yet see the peaked masonry tomb raised over Aurangzeb's afterbirth with the mosque attached to it. Many decades later, the thoughts of the aged Aurangzeb, in the midst of the worries and disappointments of his prolonged Deccan campaigns,

Aurangzeb's concern for his birthplace in Gujarat

6 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 356, 358-9.
7 ibid, 352.
8 *Memoirs of Jahangir*, by Rogers and Beveridge, II, 47.

and in the 86th year of his age, turned to the far distant place of his birth, as may be seen from a letter written by him in 1704 to his son Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, then subahdar of Gujarat. The letter says:

'My son of exalted rank, the town of Dohad, one of the dependencies of Gujarat, is the birth-place of this sinner. Please consider a regard for the inhabitants of that town incumbent on you, and continue in office its decrepit old fauzdar. In regard to that old man listen not to the whisperings of those suffering from the disease of self-interest: "Verily they have a sickness in their hearts and Allah addeth to their ailments." '[9]

Maratha storm bursts on Gujarat

Though the stately machinery of the imperial administrative system was still working smoothly in the province during the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign, there is clear evidence to show that its military strength and efficiency were now on the decline after an undisputed sway of 130 years. With the opening years of the 18th century, the dark clouds of Maratha invasion began to roll up the south-eastern horizon of Gujarat, gathering strength and momentum with every decade that followed, until, in the course of half a century, they poured destruction on Mughal rule and plunged the province into political anarchy. The two successful sacks of the wealthy city of Surat by Shivaji in 1664 and 1670, followed by ten years of periodic Maratha scares,[10] now culminated in a series of military invasions during 1703-06 which initiated the Maratha conquest, until by 1758 they had become masters of the country.

Grave threat to Surat, 1703

We learn from the Diaries of both the Old and the New English factories that Surat was usually the first great objective of the invading hosts from the Deccan. A Consultation held by the Council of the Old Company, on 29 January 1703, refers to 'a universal report spread that a strong army of the Marathas, consisting of thirty thousand horse, besides foot, are resolved to assault and plunder the city.' The English accordingly decided to lay by in their factory a large stock of provisions and ammunition, such as powder, lead and ball-shot, which would be necessary for the defence of the factory, and at the same time to engage ten more Europeans as soldiers.[11] Similarly, a week later, we find that the Consul of the New Company, on the report that the Maratha army had arrived within four *kos* of Surat, ordered sixteen well-armed seamen from the *Albemarle* to come to the city, and he also engaged a number of English-

[9] Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 276 *n*.

[10] Detailed accounts of Shivaji's invasion and sack of Surat in 1664 and 1670, as also of the Maratha scares at this town from 1670 till Shivaji's death in 1680, will be given in Vol. III of this work in a Section which will be devoted to events at Surat during the 17th century.

[11] Among the commodities purchased are mentioned 160 maunds of rice and grain, 7 of 'bisket', 20 of oil, 13 of ghee, 9 of sugar and 1 of candles. Besides these, the factory took in 2 mds. of small shot, 90 iron shot, 26 hand 'grenadoes' and 10 mds. powder.

men residing in the town, while every member of his factory was fully armed, and the building was made ready for defence. On February 7, the Marathas began plundering and burning part of the suburbs, and on this occasion a house belonging to Rustomji, the chief Broker of the factory, was burnt down.[12]

The line of advance of the invading Maratha army was probably from the Khandesh district, through the valley of the Tapti, to the flourishing city of Surat which, however, escaped being taken and looted, owing to a display of unusual opposition, as we gather from the English Factory Records. The invaders, nevertheless, were able to destroy all the villages in the neighbourhood. At a Consultation held in the Surat Factory on February 14, 1703, when Sir John Gayer, the Governor of Bombay, was present, along with Stephen Colt and Ephraim Bendall, it was recorded that,

Spirited defence of the town

'The Sevajee (*i.e.*, the Marathas) being disappointed of his hopes of plundering and destroying this city by the continual firing of the great guns from the walls night and day, and some of his principal officers being killed, and several of his spys taken, began to withdraw his army, plundering, burning, and destroying all towns and villages round the same. His army being spread so far about, we have not had any certain information of what number it consisted, but it's reported of seven thousand horse and three thousand foot, and being informed that he designs to take his way towards Ahmadabad and destroy all places as he goes along, we sent the following order to Mr. Brooke (at Broach):

'We presume you have long ere this been advised of the Sevajee's approach towards the city, against which he having not effected anything, hath caused him to plunder and burn almost all the villages round about it, and now we hear he designs for Broach &c., places in his way to Ahmadabad, which you might reasonably expect· therefore, we hope you have taken the utmost care to secure the R. H. Company's goods at all places of investment, and that you have not put out any to washing, but if you have, and yet this reacheth you time enough, get all in again, and order what you think necessary for the security of all, and send on none out again till you hear further from us.'[13]

It is probable that, but for this brave show of defence put up by the Mughal governor of Surat, or its Killedar, this great commercial metropolis might again have suffered the same fate that it experienced in 1664 and 1670, when the city was gutted by fire and sacked of all its wealth by Shivaji. On February 18, the news arrived that the enemy's army had removed 20 *kos* from the city, after burning the suburbs and securing whatever plunder it could find within a radius of three or four

The invaders burn and loot the suburbs, Feb. 1703

12 G. W. Forrest, *Selections*, Home Series, I, 248-49; 252.

13 G. W. Forrest, op. cit., I, 252.

miles of the town. Two days later, the equally welcome information was received that one Nasrullah Khan, sent by the Emperor with 5,000 horse to relieve Surat, had arrived and had encamped within two *kos* of the town. At the same time, the news that the enemy had withdrawn further away from the city, encouraged the Banyas and others, who had fled, to return to their homes, and to remove the goods which they had lodged for safety in the various European factories. On February, 24, Sir Nicholas Waite writes that 'the Sevagees' people, having ravish't the country, and bin encampt plundering and burning about this city upward of fifteen days, impeding all manner of business,' had at last gone, and the Englishmen who had been specially hired for the defence of the factory had been discharged. The Company's permanent staff of factors had performed their duties most creditably, taking their turn in keeping watch day and night, and in consequence of this strain many had impaired their health.[14] An Ensign, named Jno. Bassett, 'a sober stout man,' was granted a special gratuity of ten pounds, or eighty rupees, for particularly energetic service during this emergency.

Prince Azam Shah leaves Gujarat, 1705

As the climate of Ahmadabad was not found suitable to his health, Prince Azam Tara had, during the four years that he held office, twice requested the Emperor to be recalled. The weather conditions at his capital during the summer months were probably as disagreeable to the imperial prince as they had been to his ancestor Jahangir in 1618. It is also possible that the death of his wife Jani Begum[15] at Ahmadabad early in 1705 made the Prince averse to a longer stay in these parts. At the end of this year he received permission to hand over charge to a suitable deputy who would function until Ibrahim Khan, the viceroy of Kashmir, who was now posted to Gujarat, arrived in the province. Accordingly, on 25 November 1705, Prince Azam handed over charge to Abdul Hamid Khan, the diwan, and left with his troops for Burhanpur.

Invasion under Dhanaji Jadhav, 1706

Prince Muhammad Azam had not been away from Gujarat for more than three months, when a vast Maratha army which was led by Dhanaji Jadhav, and whose number was estimated at 15,000 strong, invaded South Gujarat, and inflicted two decisive defeats on the hastily collected Mughal armies on the banks of the Narbada. The fact that the sudden departure of the Prince, owing to news of the Emperor's

[14] G. W. Forrest, *Selections*, 253-4.

[15] Jahanzeb Banu Begum, known as Begum Jani, was the daughter of Prince Dara Shukoh and she died in Feb., 1705 at Ahmadabad from cancer of the breast. Manucci tells us that her death caused great sorrow at the court, and that she left a good name for generosity, and many times stopped her husband from rebellion against Aurangzeb. (*Storia do Mogor*, trans. by W. Irvine, IV, 196-97 and *n*, 461). Some interesting details about the nature of her illness, and her refusal to be examined by a European lady from Delhi, who had been recommended by Mons. Martin, a Frenchman, are given in *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (trans. by Sarkar, 293-94). We are also told that the expenses at her obsequies, including the distribution of money and food, and conveying her body to Delhi, cost two lakhs of rupees.

illness, had left the province without a capable head, and without any disciplined army, and that Abdul Hamid, the diwan, was destitute of any military capacity, as also the knowledge that the Emperor had for twenty years past been unable to spare any troops for Gujarat owing to the war against the Rathors, probably decided the Marathas, who had been hovering on the south-east frontiers of the province, to advance into the heart of Mughal territory, and to offer this bold challenge to imperial authority in one of its fairest provinces.[16] Intimation of the impending danger having been received by Abdul Hamid Khan from Surat, he summoned Nazar Ali Khan, Safdar Khan Babi, and other fauzdars and thanadars, to the capital, and instructed them to proceed at once with their levies to drive out the enemy. So also, a letter was sent to the governor of Baroda that he should join the force that was being sent to Surat. These officers advanced as far as the Baba Piara (Bawapir) ford on the Narbada, where they remained encamped for a month and a half in criminal inactivity and mutual quarrels, merely sending out spies to ascertain where the Maratha army was located.

Mughal defeats on the Narbada

At last, stern reproofs from Abdul Hamid Khan compelled them to cross the Narbada and to march forward until they reached the village of Ratanpur[17] on the other side, where they pitched their camps at some distance from each other. Here their scattered armies were surprised by the great Maratha host and their raw levies were routed in two separate engagements. Many of the troops on the Muslim side were drowned in the Narbada in their flight, while those who escaped managed with difficulty to make their way to Broach. Safdar Khan Babi was wounded and taken prisoner while Nazar Ali Khan burned his tents and was forced to flee for his life. The date of this memorable disaster to Mughal arms at Ratanpur, which opened the way for subsequent Maratha invasions, was 4 March 1706. Meanwhile, Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan at Ahmadabad had collected another mercenary force, and himself proceeded at its head, with more haste than discretion, along with a number of officials, to the help of Nazar Ali Khan. When the Marathas under Dhanaji Jadhav, flushed with their victory at Ratanpur, crossed the Narbada at the Baba Piara *ghat*, they found Abdul Hamid Khan's force encamped on the other side of the river. All night they harassed the Mughal troops and the battle that followed the next day was short and decisive. Many of Abdul Hamid Khan's troops sought safety in flight. The deputy-viceroy and Nazar Ali Khan (who had joined him) were among those taken captives by the Marathas. The

16 The details of this invasion have been given at great length, with the usual circumlocution, by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, and cover several pages of his history. The main historical facts have been summed up in the text.

17 Ratanpur, till recently in the Rajpipla State (before the merger), stands on the left bank of the Narbada river, about 14 miles east of Broach. This place, as also Limodra close by, was long famous for the agates and cornelians found in the mines in the neighbourhood. (See Vol. I, 262 and 268-70 for details about these mines).

fauzdar of Azamabad was wounded and the thanadar of Pethapur was killed. The tents, baggage and equipment of the imperialists were looted and carried off by the Deccanis who encamped at the spot for many days and exacted tribute from the adjacent towns and villages.

Consternation at Ahmadabad, 1706

There was great consternation at Ahmadabad on the arrival of the news that two Mughal armies had been defeated and scattered by the Marathas and that the deputy-subahdar was a prisoner along with other officers. It was feared that the enemy would soon be at the gates of the capital. All eyes now turned to Muhammad Beg Khan, governor of Junagadh, who had been summoned from Sorath with his army and was now encamped at Sarkhej, five miles from Ahmadabad. At a consultation held between the provincial Bakhshi, the Waqai-navis, and the Qazi, it was decided to call upon this able nobleman to take measures for the defence of the city. The latter, therefore, set himself, with the help of money from the state treasury, to the task of enlisting troops, guarding the ravines on the Mahi, strengthening the gates and bastions of the city, and providing for the defence of the suburbs. The details of these measures were conveyed by means of swift couriers to the Emperor.[18]

Captive nobles held to ransom

The Maratha victors in South Gujarat had made themselves well acquainted with the status of all the Mughal nobles whom they had taken captive, and had fixed upon the amount that was to be demanded for the ransom of each of them. Among these, Safdar Khan Babi, having left his son Salabat Muhammad Khan as a hostage in the Maratha camp, arrived at Broach, and secured his freedom after collecting the required amount. Nazar Ali Khan effected his release in a similar manner though with much greater difficulty. As for Abdul Hamid Khan, the deputy viceroy, the heavy amount of three lakhs of rupees had been fixed for his ransom. He, therefore, wrote to his friends and relatives, and especially to Kahandas, his *peshkar*, to try and secure this sum, but his relatives found it impossible to make up the amount. When the news reached Aurangzeb's ears that Abdul Hamid Khan was instructing his *peshkar* to forward to him the ransom-money from the state treasury at Ahmadabad, he sent orders to Muhammad Beg Khan not to allow a single rupee to be drawn for such a purpose from the treasury. Kahandas, however, managed to send his master the larger part of the ransom, and Abdul Hamid Khan was able to return to Ahmadabad after leaving his two nephews with the Marathas as security for the balance.[19]

18 From Jan. 20, 1706 onward, till his death on Feb. 20, 1707, Aurangzeb's camp was located at Ahmadnagar.

19 A brief reference to this Maratha invasion is also made by the Venetian physician, Niccolao Manucci, who spent 55 years in India in the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. He says that, in February (1706), a body of 40,000 horsemen plundered again the district of Surat, and penetrated as far as the city of Broach, but that not more than 6,000 horsemen came forth, under the command of Nazar Ali and 'Coja Amit' (Khwaja

The Emperor, in view of the serious situation in Gujarat, sent orders to Prince Bidār Bakht,[20] the eldest son of Prince Muhammad Azam, who was at this time subahdar of Burhanpur, to proceed as soon as possible by way of Jhabua to Ahmadabad, and to take charge of the province until the arrival of Ibrahim Khan who had been appointed to succeed Prince Azam. He was also instructed to arrange for the appointment of new fauzdars in place of those who had been killed or made captives in the recent defeats. When news of the Prince's approach reached the Marathas, and as the wet season was near, they left the province after ravaging several villages in the Kaira district, and the territory round about the town of Surat. Emboldened, however, by these victories in 1706 at Ratanpur and the Bawapir ford, they repeated their attack on Gujarat in the following year with almost equal success.

Prince Bidar Bakht sent to Gujarat

Prince Muhammad Bidār Bakht, having been received with due honour by the principal officials of Gujarat on the frontiers of the province, entered Ahmadabad on 1 July 1706 and took up his residence at the Shahi Bagh. Soon after, news arrived of an attack on the Mughal post at Dwarka in which the thanadar was killed though his nephew defended the fort with courage. The Emperor, thereupon, sent an order that the great temple at this place should be pulled down; but it is doubtful whether, in the troubles that overtook the province shortly after, this order was put into effect. On the representation of Prince Bidār Bakht to his grandsire about the need of a competent general, such as Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, to repel the expected Maratha attacks, and on his asking for military reinforcements to supplement the small force at his command, Aurangzeb replied that the situation in the Deccan was such as to make it impossible for him to send a single soldier to his help. The Prince was further told that Gujarat had always been a fine recruiting ground for soldiers, and that in the time of the Subahdari of the Emperor's brother, Murad Bakhsh, the latter used to maintain a body of two thousand local horse, so that Bidār Bakht should be able to enlist a force of four to five thousand troopers. In this year, Nazar Ali Khan, who had formerly held the jagir of Halwad in Jhalawad (1672-78), and had been deprived of the same by the ruler of Wankaner, was appointed by the Prince as fauzdar of Halwad if he could drive out its Jhala ruler.

His short rule as viceroy, 1706-07

Hamid) to repulse this great army. The Mughal force, being unable to make a stand, was cut to pieces. Manucci adds that both these nobles were made prisoners and carried off, with their sons, by the Marathas, and that a sum of eight lacs of rupees was demanded by the invaders for their ransom. (*Storia do Mogor*, trans. by Irvine, IV, 246-47).

20 Prince Bidār Bakht was the son of Prince Muhammad Azam and his wife Jahanzeb Banu Begum, and he was born on 4 Aug., 1670 (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, trans. by Sarkar, 65).

Some idea of the careful scrutiny exercised by the Emperor over provincial expenditure, even though he was encamped at Ahmadnagar in the Deccan, may be obtained from a despatch which at this time arrived from the court to the effect that, when Muhammad Beg Khan was in charge of the province after the disaster at Ratanpur, a sum of two lakhs and seventy thousand rupees had been drawn from the royal treasury, and out of this one lakh had been reported to have been given to one Saiyid Ahmad Baqir for guarding the ravines of the Mahi river, but that enquiries showed that no one had proceeded to guard the aforesaid ravines. A full report was accordingly demanded about the purpose for which this expenditure had been incurred. In reply, Muhahammad Beg Khan was able to prove satisfactorily, with the help of the Qazi of the city, that there had been no malversation of funds.[21]

Check on provincial expenditure

Ibrahim Khan,[22] the viceroy-designate, arrived from Kashmir at Ahmadabad on February 8, 1707 and took over charge of his office from the Prince, who left the capital three weeks later, on March 1, after holding temporary charge for some seven months. He was still at or near Ahmadabad when news arrived of his grandfather's death. Loyal as he was to his father Azam Shah, he at once wrote to him proposing to raise troops and to march by way of Ajmer to Agra in order to secure that important capital and its treasures against his uncle, Prince Muhammad Muazzam. At first, Azam Shah, who had proclaimed himself Emperor, assented, and sent a farman to his son to that effect. The Prince then started from Ahmadabad, but his father, distrustful of his intentions, sent another order directing him to proceed only as far as Gwalior. It was after a stay of over a month at that place that Prince Bidār Bakht was able to join Azam Shah's army when it arrived in the north after great privations on the journey; and in the disastrous battle of Jajau that took place in June 1707 both father and son were killed.[23]

Ibrahim Khan as viceroy, Feb. 1707

A few days after the assumption of office by Ibrahim Khan at Ahmadabad, the great Emperor, who had for half a century dominated the political world in India, passed away on 20 February, 1707 in his camp at Ahmadnagar in the eighty-ninth year of his age. He was buried quietly and without any ceremonial at Khuldabad,[24] four miles west of Daulatabad; but, unlike the other Great Mughals, and at his express desire, no grandiose mausoleum was raised over his tomb. As has

Death of Aurangzeb, 20 Feb., 1707

[21] In 1706 Kamal Khan Jalori of Palanpur died after a long rule of 42 years.

[22] Ibrahim Khan's father was the famous Ali Mardan Khan, the Amir-ul-Umara, and skilled in engineering works, who constructed the canal which was long known after his name, and who laid out the Shalemar gardens at Lahore.

[23] W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, 14-15.

[24] Aurangzeb's tomb at Rauzah or Khuldabad lies about 14 miles north-west of Aurangabad on a lofty plateau.

been well said by Mr. Irvine, 'it was Aurangzeb's fate to be born in and to die in a camp, and to pass many years of his life in one.' Besides his earlier campaigns, he spent the last 23 years of his life encamped at various places in the Deccan in his attempt to reduce the Deccan Sultanates and the Maratha power to submission.

Invasion under Balaji Vishvanath, 1707

A few weeks after the ominous news of the death of the great Alamgir reached Ahmadabad, the districts of North Gujarat were convulsed by a second Maratha invasion. Dhanaji Jadhav, the Senapati of Shahu Raja, had not been away from the province for a year when Balaji Vishvanath burst into east Gujarat through Malwa by way of Jhabua with another great army in the spring of 1707. Spreading destruction in their wake, the invaders reached Godhra, the Mughal governor of which town found himself incapable of offering them any resistance. The disasters of the previous year, and the events that we have now to record, illustrate the decline in the military strength of the central government, and show also that the fighting classes recruited in the province had lost their martial virtues and were incapable of stemming the tide of foreign invasion. The route taken by the invaders lay through the fertile tract of the Charotar where they sacked and burnt the prosperous town of Mahudha and bivouacked in the pargana of Nadiad. News of their approach, forwarded to Abdul Hamid Khan, the diwan of the subah, by the officer stationed at Mahmudabad,[25] reached the capital on 28 April 1707.

The viceroy's efforts to defend the capital

Ibrahim Khan at once proceeded to take measures to meet this sudden danger, and managed within three days to collect from the Muslim population to the north of the Sabarmati a force of 8,000 horse and 3,000 foot, while the Kolis and Rajputs of the surrounding parts supplied another 4,000 men. Supported by Abdul Hamid Khan, Muhammad Beg Khan, Nazar Ali Khan, Safdar Khan Babi, and other mansabdars and fauzdars, with their retinues and artillery, the viceroy took up his station at the Kankaria tank, just outside the city, to oppose the enemy who were expected to reach Ahmadabad by way of Bareja. But the presence of this armed force gave no confidence to the people of the suburbs or to the villages near the capital, and crowds of terror-stricken men and women, taking as much of their effects with them as they could carry, flocked to the city in order to find protection within its formidable girdle of masonry. In the city itself the streets were crowded with this unexpected influx in its population. The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, whose father was an eye-witness to these scenes, describes the panic in the capital of Gujarat which had been free from the horrors of war ever since its capture by the ex-Sultan Muzaffar III

25 Mahmudabad on the Vatrak, founded by Sultan Mahmud I Begada in 1479, is now generally corrupted into Mehmdabad. It is in the Kaira District and situated on the main line of the Western Ry. (See Vol. I, 176).

in 1583 during the reign of Akbar. He says that the cries of parents bereft of their children, added to the hurry and bustle of the soldiery, were 'like the terror of the Day of Resurrection'. Not again for another thirty years[26] were the inhabitants of the capital of Gujarat in such danger from an enemy at their gates as they were at this very early period of Maratha incursions into Gujarat. Meanwhile, the invading troops advanced as far as Mahmudabad on the Vatrak, 18 miles south-east of the capital, spreading terror in their path, while the bolder spirits in their camp penetrated as far as the village of Vatva, only five miles from Ahmadabad, and plundered it. But the disastrous defeats on the Narbada in the previous year had completely demoralised the Mughal troops, so that, as the Persian historian says, when Ibrahim Khan rode out to inspect the army, 'his practised eye as a general saw in the dejected looks of the soldiers no hope of success in any action against the invading hordes.'

Balaji Vishvanath secures a tribute

Communications were, accordingly, opened with the Maratha commander to negotiate the conditions on which the invaders would agree to withdraw. It was a sad and humiliating day for Mughal rule in Gujarat when the subahdar of one of the greatest of the imperial provinces, in charge of a populous capital, defended by massive fortifications, had to confess his inability to lead forth his army to chastise an enemy encamped twenty miles away, and was prepared to purchase its forbearance and to secure its retirement on payment of a heavy bribe or tribute. On the other hand, Balaji Vishvanath, soon to be the first of the distinguished line of the Peshwas of Poona, could hardly have been ignorant of the fact that he had neither the artillery nor the equipment, even if he had the intention, to lay siege to Ahmadabad, whose city-walls,[27] stronger and more massive than those of the Mughal capital at Shahjahanabad (Delhi), were capable of putting up a formidable defence for an indefinite period. He was well content, therefore, to demand and to receive a sum of two lacs and ten thousand rupees as the condition for his retirement. This amount was accordingly paid from the royal treasury by the diwan under the orders of the subahdar. Thereafter, the army and its officers returned to the capital on May 8, 1707, while the inhabitants of the city and of the suburbs heaved a sigh of relief at the departure of the enemy, little aware that neither they nor their descendants for the next half a century would be for any length of time free from the threat of Maratha invasion.

26 In 1737, Momin Khan I, the Mughal governor of Cambay and the viceroy-designate of Gujarat, in alliance with Damaji Gaekwad, laid siege to the city of Ahmadabad in order to drive out Ratansingh Bhandari, the deputy of Maharaja Abhaesingh, who had been dismissed by the Emperor. The siege was a very protracted affair.

27 The famous city-walls of Ahmadabad, begun in the reign of Sultan Ahmad I (1411-42) and completed in the reign of Sultan Mahmud I in 1487, and repaired time after time during the Mughal period, are among the most important of the historical monuments of this capital. For a full account of them see Vol. I, 96-100.

A brief reference has already been made to the Civil War in the empire on the death of Aurangzeb, and to the victory of Prince Muhammad Muazzam over his younger brother Azam Shah Tara at Jajau, between Agra and Dholpur, in June 1707. The victor was proclaimed Emperor at Agra shortly after under the title of Bahadur Shah (Shah Alam I), and one of his first measures was to send an imperial farman to Ibrahim Khan in Gujarat confirming him in his appointment. The text of this document has been reproduced in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, and we note therein with interest the instructions which the sovereign sends to the subahdar to the effect that he should improve the condition of the subjects, recover the state revenues, and put down thieves and robbers. But Ibrahim Khan had evidently no heart in his new post, probably because of the ignominious conditions which he had to accept from the Maratha commander. Within seven months of his arrival at Ahmadabad, he tendered his resignation, and, appointing Muhammad Beg Khan as his deputy, he left for Delhi on 25 September 1707, probably with the object of justifying his policy to the sovereign. The Emperor accepted his resignation, and appointed Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang, who was in charge of Khandesh, as the fortieth Mughal subahdar of Gujarat. Here then, at the end of Aurangzeb's reign, we close our survey of the history of Gujarat in so far as it deals with the palmy days of the Mughal empire. The chequered story of the decline and fall of imperial rule in this province will be related in the concluding section of this volume.[28]

Accession of Bahadur Shah, 1707

28 See Part V, Chapters 34 to 46.

PART II

RELIGIOUS LEADERS FROM GUJARAT AT THE COURTS OF AKBAR AND JAHANGIR, 1578-1618 :
(Chapter XX to XXIII)

THIRD JESUIT MISSION'S CONTACTS WITH GUJARAT, 1594-1615
(Chapter XXIV to XXV)

CHAPTER XX

PARSIS FROM NAVSARI AT AKBAR'S COURT, 1578-79

ZOROASTRIAN INFLUENCES

THE historical records of Akbar's reign relating to the progress of his religious views make it abundantly clear that, during and subsequent to the theological discussions held by the Emperor at Fathpur-Sikri, the influence exercised on his mind and policy by Parsi and Jain religious teaching was very considerable, and it is well known that the representatives of both these ancient faiths came from Gujarat. It is, however, a matter for regret that, while the most ample information about the visit of the Jain religious teachers to the imperial capital is available from Jain literary sources, as also from epigraphic and documental records, we have to depend upon some scanty references made by Persian historians, and upon a few old Parsi documents and traditions, for our knowledge about the influence exerted by the religious heads of the Zoroastrians in Gujarat on Akbar's ecclesiastical innovations.

Paucity of historical material

It may be pointed out that the earliest contact of the Parsis of Navsari and Surat with a Mughal Emperor took place, not in the time of Akbar, but in the reign of Humayun when that monarch invaded Gujarat in 1535-36 in the time of Sultan Bahadur. In his settlement of this kingdom after its temporary conquest, we find that Broach, Navsari and the port of Surat were placed in charge of one Qasim Husain Sultan, which shows that all South Gujarat had given allegiance to the Emperor. But soon the counter-revolution in favour of Bahadur began, and Humayun, abandoning his proposed journey to Div, hastily retraced his steps from Dhandhuka, and marched by way of Cambay, Baroda and Broach to Surat on his way to Burhanpur. It was probably when he was at Surat that an event mentioned in the Parsi records took place, *viz.*, that a layman named Manek, the son of Changa Asha of Navsari, met the Emperor, entered his service, and accompanied him to his capital. We are further informed that, pleased with him, Humayun confirmed him in the *desaigiri* of Navsari, Parchol and five other places. But, either from jealousy at this important office being granted to a non-Muslim, or from personal enmity, we find that Manek Changa

Contact of the Parsis with Humayun, 1535

(Mangashah), shortly after his return to Navsari from the court, was murdered by some Muslims in 1537 along with his eldest son and his nephew.[1]

Badayuni's account of the Parsis at court

Turning now to the subject of the Parsis from Gujarat at the religious discussions held at Akbar's court, we find that the only direct reference to the event is made by Abdul Qadir Badayuni, the well-known orthodox historian of Akbar's reign, whose work, the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, is of great value for the study of the Emperor's religious policy. Referring to the events of the Hijri year 986, *i.e.*, A.D. 1578-9, the historian says:

> 'Fire-worshippers[2] also had come from Navsari in Gujarat and proved to His Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines: they called fire-worship the great worship, and impressed the Emperor so favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the Parsis, and ordered Abul Fazl to make arrangements that the sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings in whose fire-temples it had been continually burning; for fire was one of the manifestations of God and a ray of his rays.'[3]

Testimony of other writers

The remarks above quoted as regards the visit of the Parsis from Gujarat to Akbar's court are supported by other Persian writers also. Thus Abul Fazl refers in his *Akbarnama* to the presence of Zoroastrians, along with persons of various other religions, in Akbar's assembly, under the events of the twenty-third year of this reign (1578). So also do we find Badayuni's account repeated almost verbatim by the author of the *Dabistan*, a work written about sixty years after Akbar's death by an unknown writer 'with strong Parsi tendencies.'[4] There is yet another historical composition, though of a very much later date, the *Tarikh-i-Mamalik-i-Hind*, written by one Ghulam Basit in H. 1196 (A.D. 1782), which distinctly says that, in the 24th year of his reign Akbar was led away from Islam by several learned men, among whom he mentions Abul Fazl and Faizi, Birbal and the Brahmans, as also 'several infidel Parsis who are devoted to the religion of the Magi.'[5] All these statements thus point to the year 1578-79 as the date for the visit of the Parsis to Akbar's court.

[1] J. J. Modi, *Petition of Dastur Kaikobad of Navsari to the Emperor Jahangir* (K. R. Cama Institute monograph), 132-35; 166-68.

[2] To describe the Parsis or Zoroastrians as 'fire-worshippers' is inaccurate since their religion is perhaps the most ancient among the purely monotheistic creeds of the world. According to its tenets, there is only one Supreme Creator of the Universe—self-existing and self-created—and he is styled 'Ahura Mazda' in the Avesta. In the temples of the ancient Persians, and of the modern Parsis, fire is kept perpetually burning as a symbol of the Deity.

[3] Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 184. (Extracts from Badayuni's history).

[4] The *Dabistan-al-Mazahib*, translated into English by Shea and Troyer in 3 Vols (Paris, 1843), III, 95-96

[5] *The Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana* by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Bombay, 1903, pp. 33-34.

Since Badayuni has unfortunately not made any reference to the names of the Parsis who went to the Mughal court from Navsari in Gujarat, it is necessary for us to mention the genuine historical tradition, current for several centuries among the Parsis in that town, to the effect that Dastur Meherji (Mahyar) Rana was the learned priest who was invited to the Mughal court and who expounded to the great Emperor 'the truth of Zarathustra's doctrines.'[6] The town of Navsari, it may be noted, is situated about 18 miles to the south of Surat, and it has always been one of the principal centres of the Parsi population in Gujarat, with a considerable number of priestly families. Though Meherji Rana's name as the leader of the mission is thus based on tradition, we may mention that a reference to his contact with Akbar's court as early as 1573 is recorded in a petition in Persian verse submitted by his son Dastur Kaikobad to the Emperor Jahangir in or about 1618. In this petition, Kaikobad refers as follows to the contact of his father with the great Emperor: 'It is 48 years since the time when the fortunate King (Akbar) took Surat. My father was Mahyar by name. He attended to pay his respects to the illustrious monarch, who bestowed many favours upon him, and made many enquiries about the religion and the customs (of the Parsis). The distinguished Badshah brought him to Agra in his auspicious service. This slave was a fellow-traveller with his father following the auspicious stirrup of His Majesty.'[7] According to this authentic Persian manuscript, therefore, both Mahyar[8] and his son Kaikobad accompanied the Emperor when the latter returned from Surat to Agra in 1573 after the conquest of Gujarat. It is, however, significant that the petitioner makes no reference to his father's later contact with Akbar's court in 1578. Nor is there anything to show that Meherji was in residence at the Mughal capital from the time of his visit in 1573 upto the period of the religious discussions in the Ibadat-khana at Fathpur-Sikri.

Meherji Rana and the Parsi mission

The historical tradition mentioned above finds some support from two imperial farmans issued by Akbar in favour of Dastur Kaikobad confirming to him a grant of 200 *bigahs* of land in the Navsari mahal of the sarkar of Surat. These documents are still in the possession of his descendants. The farman for the original grant of this land, stated to have been given to Mahyar, does not exist. The earlier of the two issued in favour of Kaikobad is dated the 40th year of the Emperor's reign (1595) and

Farmans for Kaikobad

6 The eminent Parsi scholar, Sir Jivanji J. Modi, collected some fifty years ago all the available information bearing on this subject, and published the same in an elaborate monograph, entitled *The Parsis at the court of King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana*, which was also published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol XXI, 69-245.

7 *A Petition in Persian verse by Dastur Kaikobad of Navsari to the Emperor Jahangir*, by Jivanji J. Modi. (K. R. Cama Institute monograph), 90-91.

8 Mahyar is the original Persian form of the name which has been changed into Mahyarji and then into Meherji.

it confirms to him the land granted to his father, together with an addition of 100 *bigahs*. A specific reference to the original grant is contained in the text in these words: 'The above-mentioned land was granted to Mahyar previously as *madad-i-maash*[9] in the pargana of Navsari.' Since we know of no other adequate reason, we may assume that the grant was made to Mahyar for his services at the time when, along with other Parsis from Navsari, he went to the court in 1579 to expound the principles of his religion. Local tradition states that, after the death of Mahyar in 1591, Dastur Kaikobad went in person to Akbar's court for securing a renewal of the grant made to his deceased father, and evidently impressed the Emperor so favourably that the latter made an addition of 100 *bigahs* to the original amount. Another confirmatory farman was granted by Akbar to Dastur Kaikobad in the 48th year of the imperial accession, *i.e.*, in 1603, and it repeats the statement made in the first, to the effect that the grant of 200 *bigahs* of land was originally made in favour of his father Mahyar.[10] It is not necessary to discuss in detail further circumstantial evidence which goes to identify the name of Meherji Rana with the mission from the Navsari Parsis to Akbar's court.[11]

Oral traditions recorded in the 18th century

The local traditions mentioned above appear to have been handed down orally for several generations till we find them recorded in the manuscript notes of the French scholar, M. Anquetil Du Perron, who resided at Surat between 1755 and 1761, and who also refers to the Dastur's meeting with the Emperor in that city.[12] Four years after Anquetil's departure from India, in 1765, a Parsi writer of Navsari, by name Dastur Shapurji Manekji Sanjana, in a treatise in Persian verse called *Kisseh-i-Atash-Bahram-i-Navsari*, refers to Mahyar as a learned and pious leader who had gone to King Akbar's court and had given there many proofs of the truth of his religion.[13] These references show that the traditions about Meherji were not put into writing till after the middle of the 18th century, *i.e.*, nearly a century and three quarters after the events to which they relate.

9 The term *madad-i-maash* signifies 'assistance of livelihood' and refers to 'lands given for benevolent purposes.' Such lands were hereditary, and differ for this reason from jagir or tuyul lands (Blochmann's *Ain*, I, 198).

10 For the text and translation of these Farmans granted to Dastur Kaikobad, see J. J. Modi, op. cit., 93-104 and 119-24.

11 A very old Hindi song, alleged to have been written by Tansen, the famous musician of Akbar's court, has been found in a manuscript of songs and poems compiled in 1792 by a Parsi priest at Surat. It is interesting as indicating the connection of Mahyar with Akbar. There are, besides this, other songs in which we find the Navsari priest's contact with Akbar's court commemorated, and a couple of lines in one of them state that Akbar even put on the sacred shirt (Sudreh) generally worn by all Parsis. (J. J. Modi, op. cit., 42-44; 163-64).

12 J. J. Modi's paper *Notes of Anquetil Du Perron on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana* (J. B. B. R. A. S., 1903).

13 J. J. Modi, *The Parsis at the Court of Akbar*, 45-46.

Dastur Meherji Rana died at Navsari in 1591, and his name holds a prominent place in the chronicles of the Parsis in India, as the most historically significant figure in their annals during the period between the death of Changa Asha of Navsari about 1515 and the rise of Rustam Manek of Surat during the reign of Aurangzeb. Two contemporary Parsi documents, dating from the last quarter of the sixteenth century, indicate the increase in Meherji Rana's status in his native town in the years 1579-80, which is the period immediately following the close of the theological discussions in the *Ibadat-khana* at Fathpur-Sikri. In these documents the leading Parsi priests of Navsari inform their Anjuman or congregation that they had agreed to entrust Meherji Rana[14] with the custody and proper distribution of the income of the fire-temple of the town, and that they had decided not to perform various specified religious ceremonies without receiving his previous permission.[15] We may reasonably infer that this increase in the status of Meherji Rana, and his being thus formally recognised as their religious head by a well-known section of the priestly community of Navsari, was the direct result of the distinction which he had secured for himself and his community through the part played by him at the court of the great Emperor. Thus the identity of at least one of the outstanding Zoroastrians from Navsari who explained to Akbar the tenets of their religion is now reasonably established; but it is not possible, in the present state of our information, to ascertain the names of those who were his associates.

Meherji Rana's place in Parsi annals

We shall now turn from the discussion of the personnel of the Parsi mission that visited Akbar's court to the considerable influence which it presumbly exercised directly or indirectly on Akbar's religious policy. In 1582, if not earlier, the era of the Hijra, associated with the religion of Islam, was abolished, and a new era was introduced, called the *Tarikh-i-Ilahi* (the Divine era), of which the first year was to be the year of the Emperor's accession to the throne, evidently in imitation of the practice of rulers of the Sasanian dynasty of ancient Persia. Farmans were issued by Akbar to all the provinces establishing the new era throughout his dominions, with instructions for its use on coins, almanacs, astronomical books and public records. Moreover, in place of the Hijri months of the year, there were now substituted the names of the thirty days and twelve months (from *Farwardin* to *Asfandarmad*) which were in

Zoroastrian influences on Akbar

14 During his lifetime Meherji Rana is styled as 'Ervad' only, and it is not till after his death that we find the honorific epithet of Dastur first prefixed to his name in a document dated Samvat 1655 (A. D. 1599). See S. K. Hodivala, *Pāk Iranshahni Tawarikh*, 156 and *n*.

15 These documents are preserved in the Meherji Rana Library at Navsari. (J. J. Modi, op. cit., 46-47; 147-150). The lifesize portrait of Meherji Rana in this library, put up in recent years, is purely conjectural, being based on an unidentified figure in a Mughal miniature painting located at Poona (*Vide* paper in Journal, B. B. R. A. S., 1928).

use under the ancient Persian rulers, and which are still current among the Parsis of India. At the same time, fourteen specific Zoroastrian festivals were introduced and took the place of the usual Muslim feasts.[16] Already as early as 1580, Akbar had begun the practice of openly revering the sun and the fire, and the courtiers had been ordered to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace.[17] These changes were largely the result of Zoroastrian influences. Though Akbar also put into practice the teaching of the Jain religion in respect of *ahimsa*, and though, at the same time, he showed reverence for the Bible, it cannot be denied that he was much impressed by the religion and rites of the ancient Zoroastrian rulers of Iran as conveyed to him by the teaching of the Parsi priests at his court.

Akbar invites Ardeshir Kermani, c., 1592

It will not be out of place in this chapter, which is devoted to Akbar's religious contact with the Parsis from Gujarat, to refer to his contacts with other Zoroastrians. We may, therefore, mention the invitation which the Emperor extended to the well-known scholar, Dastur Ardeshir Noshirwan, a citizen of Kerman in Persia, in connection with the preparation of the great lexicon which is known under the name of the *Farhang-i-Jahangiri*. This work was compiled by a learned scholar of Akbar's time, named Mir Jamal-ud-din, who completed it in the third year of the reign of Jahangir (1608), and dedicated it to that Emperor as suggested by its title. In his preface to this work, the author says that he had been engaged for well nigh a generation on his etymological researches, and that he had made it a special point to incorporate in the compilation all archaic words and idioms derived from the Pahalavi and allied languages. He mentions that, thirteen years after its commencement, he was introduced by his friends to Akbar in 1592 at the capital of Kashmir. The Emperor, who was himself much interested in the study of words, extended his special patronage to him, so that this author purchased a large number of books written in Zend and Pāzend for facilitating his investigations. Mir Jamal-ud-din adds that, as there was no one in India acquainted with the ancient languages of Persia, Akbar sent an invitation to a learned Zoroastrian scholar, named Ardeshir, residing at Kerman in Persia, to come to India and help in the preparation of this dictionary. Ardeshir was thus invited to Akbar's court for this special object, and he came after 1592, *i.e.*, a long time subsequent to the re-

16 Blochmann's *Ain*, I, 195

17 The poet Tennyson, in his beautiful poem *Akbar's Dream*, makes the great Emperor say:

"The sun, the sun! they rail
At me, the Zoroastrian. Let the Sun,
Who heats our earth to yield us grain and fruit,
And laughs upon thy field as well as mine,
And warms the blood of Shiah and Sunnee,
Symbol the Eternal."

ligious disputations in the *Ibadat-khana*. His visit to India was thus in no way connected with the religious enquiries of the great Emperor.[18]

Some further light bearing on the visit of this Zoroastrian scholar to India is thrown by the manuscript-notes of the French savant, M. Anquetil du Perron, to whom reference has already been made in this chapter. From these it appears that it was Dastur Meherji Rana who suggested the name of Ardeshir Kermani to the Emperor in connection with the help required in the preparation of the lexicon on which Akbar had set his heart. We also learn that Akbar wrote to his famous contemporary, Shah Abbas the Great of Persia, who came to the throne in 1587, requesting him to send this scholar Ardeshir to the Mughal court. We reproduce below, rendered into English, the French scholar's manuscript note which was discovered in the *Bibliothèque National* of Paris in 1903 by Mme. Menant and forwarded by her to her friends in Bombay:

Reference to Ardeshir by Du Perron

> 'The Mogol Akbar, finding no Dastur, who had an answer for everything, according to Meherji Rana's suggestion, wrote to Shah Abbas Sophi (Safawi) of Persia to send him one from Kerman. Shah Abbas sent him the Dastur Ardeshir, who began under him the *Far (hang)* that was finished under Jehanguir and bears his name'.[19]

We are told by the author of the *Dabistan* that, besides inviting 'fire-worshippers' from the town of Navsari in Gujarat, and an Iranian scholar from Kerman, Akbar also sent a letter to the distinguished sage, Dastur Āzar Kaivan, the head of the Yazdanian or Ābādian[20] sect of Persia, who had settled in Patna, and invited him to his court. Azar Kaiwan is said to have replied asking to be excused, but at the same time he sent to the Emperor some words of advice as also a book written by himself 'on the self-existing Being.' Some interesting details about the career of this famous saint have been preserved for us in the pages of the *Dabistan*. He derived his descent from some of the most illustrious names of Ancient Iran, and from his childhood onwards he devoted himself to abstinence, nocturnal vigils and voluntary mortification. Till the age of twenty-eight he lived at the town of Khum in Persia, but removed later from Iran to India where he came to reside finally at Patna,[21] and

Dastur Azar Kaivan

[18] The visit of this accomplished and learned Zoroastrian from Persia is proved from internal evidence in the Lexicon. In defining the ancient Avestic word *Barsam*, the author says: 'The meaning of this word is written after being ascertained from a Magus, who was very proficient in the knowledge of his religion, and who had the name of Ardeshir, and whom His Glorious Majesty, having sent money for him, had specially called from Kerman for the purpose of ascertaining the meanings of Persian words.' (J. J. Modi, op. cit., 21-22).

[19] J. J. Modi, *Notes of Anquetil du Perron on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana* (J. B. B. R. A. S., 1903).

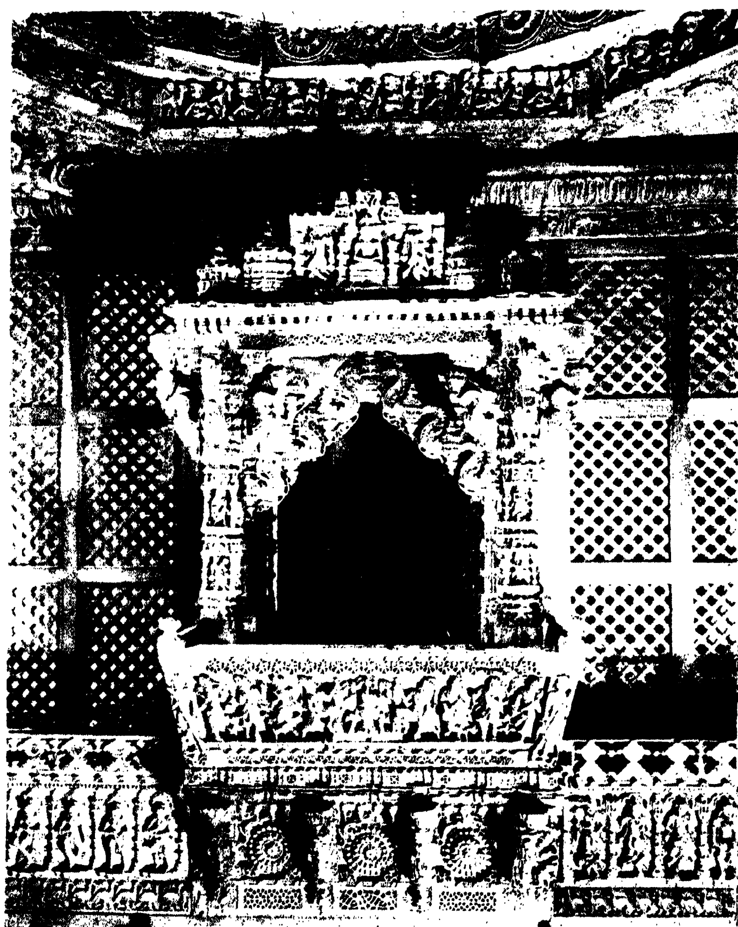
[20] Ābādian refers to Mehabad, the earliest teacher of Ancient Iran, who is supposed to have flourished many centuries before the time of Zoroaster.

[21] Azar Kaivan appears to have visited Kashmir and Agra in Akbar's reign about the years 1566 to 1568 before he finally settled down at Patna (J. J. Modi, *Oriental Conference Papers*, 351).

there he died in 1618 (H. 1027) during the reign of Jahangir, at the ripe old age of eighty-five years. Āzar Kaivān is recorded to have mastered the philosophical systems of all the eminent sages of antiquity and was entitled *Zul-ulum*, or the 'Master of the Sciences.' He forbade his followers from eating flesh, and preached against the slaughter of animals and injury to living creatures. He is said to have enjoyed the reputation of having reached the highest stage of spiritual exaltation, for he used to say, 'The connection of my spirit with this body resembles the relation of the body to a loose robe: whenever I wish, I can separate myself from it, and resume it at my desire.'[22] The names and careers of more than a dozen disciples of this saintly leader have been given by the author of the *Dabistan*, who says that he himself came into personal contact, in northern India, with several of them during the early decades of the seventeenth century. Tradition says that many Muslims and Hindus in India were to be counted among the followers of Dastur Azar Kaivan.[23]

22 The *Dabistan*, op. cit., I, 87-90, 93, 95.

23 Bamanji B. Patel, *Parsi Prakash*, 10.



Courtesy: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U. S. A.

BALCONY-WINDOW IN VADI PARSWANATH'S TEMPLE AT PATAN IN NORTH GUJARAT, 1596 (pp. 238-39)

CHAPTER XXI

JAIN ACHARYAS FROM GUJARAT AT AKBAR'S COURT, 1582-1605

THE province of Gujarat, and particularly its peninsular area, had for centuries been the stronghold of Jainism in India, and Akbar, with his deep interest in comparative religion, was naturally anxious to know the principles and doctrines of this faith, especially as his conquest of the western seaboard had brought to his notice the small but wealthy Jain community resident there. The contacts with the Jain religious leaders, which were established in 1582, lasted for over twenty years, and profoundly affected the policy of the Emperor, whose successive orders in support of the Jain doctrine of *ahimsa*, and against the destruction of animal life, remind us of the Rock-Edicts on similar lines published eighteen hundred years before him by the great Buddhist Emperor Aśoka. We shall devote this chapter and the next to the history of the Jain missions under Hiravijaya Suri and his disciples to the Mughal court, and to a survey of the memorable career of this famous Acharya, for which the most ample materials are available, not only in a number of valuable contemporary Jain biographical works, but also in imperial farmans and in epigraphic records in the temples at Shatrunjaya and other centres.

Akbar's contacts with the Jains

Among the many famous historical persons whose names shed lustre on the brilliant Age of Akbar during the second half of the sixteenth century, we must include that of Hiravijaya Suri, the supreme pontiff of the Swetambar branch of the Jain church, and the most outstanding personality in the religious history of Jainism in modern times. He was born in 1526 at the ancient town of Palanpur on the extreme northern boundary of Gujarat, and died sixty-nine years later, in 1595, at Una, another town of hoary antiquity, situated in the far south of the Kathiawar peninsula, adjoining the Portuguese settlement of Div. Orphaned when yet a child, Hiravijaya was placed as a disciple under Vijayadan Suri at Patan, and received at the latter's hands the status of an acharya in 1554 at the town of Sirohi. Twelve years later, in 1566, he succeeded to his *guru's* high position as the religious head of the Jain community. This was the period when the once brilliant and powerful Gujarat Saltanat was tottering to its downfall, for the boy-Sultan Muzaffar III was only a puppet in the hands of his great nobles who had practically

Early career of Hiravijayaji

divided the kingdom among themselves, and civil war had become chronic in the land. Taking advantage of this situation, the Emperor Akbar, at the invitation of Itimad Khan, the all-powerful minister of the last Sultan, marched on Gujarat, and with but little difficulty annexed this much-coveted maritime and wealthy province to the Mughal empire in 1573.

Ten years later, in 1582, the Emperor, having heard of the surpassing holiness and godliness of Hiravijaya Suri, and of the severe penances performed by him, decided to invite him to his court. The contemporary Sanskrit and Gujarati works[1] bearing on the life and career of the Suri give full accounts of the circumstances attending this invitation, and they record at length the details of his subsequent journey from his native province to the Mughal capital. Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan (Shihab Khan) was at this time functioning at Ahmadabad as viceroy of Gujarat, and imperial orders were sent to him to arrange for the Jain Suri's departure, and to offer him every help and facility for the journey. At the same time, Akbar sent a more direct invitation to Hiravijaya through the Jain *sangh* or congregation at Agra. The famous acharya was at Gandhar, a small sea-port on the coast of the Broach district, when he received the news, and although there were many misgivings among his devoted followers about the Emperor's object in summoning their revered leader to his court hundreds of miles away, it was decided, on the initiative of the acharya himself, that the invitation should be accepted. On arrival at Ahmadabad, Shihab Khan, the subahdar, honoured the Suri at a Darbar, and offered every help in the way of funds, as also palanquins, horses and elephants, in order that he might proceed to the court as safely and comfortably as possible. But Hiravijaya replied that the monastic vows of poverty and abstinence forbade him and his followers from accepting any of these comforts, and that their duty was to procced on foot from village to village, preaching as they went. The accounts of his journey, and of the centres where he halted on his way, are of special interest to us because they indicate the trade and traffic routes from Gujarat to Agra followed by travellers at the end of the sixteenth century. On arrival at Patan, the ancient capital of Gujarat, the Suri sent ahead one of his leading disciples, Vimalharsha Upadhyaya, to the Mughal capital with a party of monks. At Siddhpur, he bade good-bye to Vijayasena Suri, for it had been arranged that, as the next in spiritual dignity and authority, the latter was to remain in Gujarat and to minister to the religious needs of his community during the absence of Hiravijayaji.[2]

He is invited to Akbar's court, 1582

1 Among these, the best known are *Hiravijayasuri Ras* by Rishabhdas, the *Kriparaskos* by Shantichandra Upadhyaya, the *Hirasaubhagya Kavya* by Pandit Deovimal, and the *Jagadguru Kavya* by Pandit Padmasagargani.

2 *Surishwar and Samrat* by Muniraj Vidyavijayaji, 22-28, 78-83, 84-92, 94-98, 101-06. This historical biography has been written on the basis of a number of original works in Sanskrit or Gujarati as stated above.

At last, on June 7, 1583, the distinguished but no doubt weary traveller, escorted by sixty-seven monks, reached Fathpur-Sikri, and was taken in procession to the *upashraya* in the town by the Jains of the place. Having visited Abul Fazl soon after, he was introduced by the latter to the Emperor, who was much impressed by his learned discourse. Hiravijayaji's stay at Sikri and Agra lasted for over two years, till almost the end of 1585, the rainy season being spent with the Jains of Agra, from which place he paid visits to Mathura and Gwalior on religious duty. During these two years, the acharya was no doubt brought into frequent personal contact with Akbar, whenever the latter was at his capital at the end of his military expeditions. The contemporary Jain works in Sanskrit and Gujarati on the Suri inform us that the Emperor conferred upon the acharya the title of *Jagat Guru*, or World Teacher,[3] and pressed him to ask for any boon he wished. This was just the opportunity which the Jain leader had no doubt hoped for when he started on his journey to the imperial court. He had indeed no personal favours to ask for, but he desired such concessions as would benefit his community and redound to the glory of his ancient faith. At his request, the Emperor is said to have issued farmans to the high officials in charge of six of the provinces of his empire, where Jains were resident, prohibiting animal slaughter for twelve days during the holy *Paryushana* festival of the Jains. Akbar is also stated to have granted the Suri's request to remove the jaziya tax levied on the Hindus in the province of Gujarat, as also the *mundaka*, or the tax collected from Hindus at their places of pilgrimage.

The Acharya at Sikri and Agra, 1583-85

The details given above, from Jain literary sources, about the prohibition of animal slaughter by Akbar at the time of the Paryushana festival, are happily confirmed by documentary evidence in the form of an authentic imperial farman in Persian, dated June, 1584, and addressed to the officials of the province of Malwa, in favour of Hiravijaya Suri's request for the prohibition of animal slaughter. The original of this document was shown to Sir John Malcolm by the head priest of the Jains of Ujjain when that distinguished soldier and administrator was stationed in Malwa as Political Officer during 1819-20. This was done in order to support a petition of the Jain community of Ujjain requesting this popular officer to prohibit the slaughter of cattle during their annual festival just as Akbar had done. Malcolm reproduces in his work an authentic English translation of this farman.[4] The grant is dated the 7th of the month of Jamad-us-sani, Hijri 992 (June 6, 1584). The document says that, having heard of the extraordinary holiness and the severe penances of Hiravijaya Suri and his disciples, who resided in

Imperial Farman of 1584 in favour of Hiravijayaji

[3] Vide Paper on *Jain influence at the Mughal Court* by Kalipada Mitra, in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 1063, note 4.

[4] J. Malcolm: *A Memoir of Central India andMalwa* (Ed. of 1880), II, 135 and *note*.

Gujarat, the Emperor had them summoned to the court, and that at their departure they made a request that orders may be issued to the effect that during the twelve days of the Paryushana festival, which takes place in the month of Bhadrapad, no cattle should be slaughtered in the cities where the Jains were residing. The farman adds that this request had been granted, and it enjoins upon the imperial officers in the province of Malwa, to whom it is addressed, to put it into effect.

Bhanuchandra at the Court, c. 1586-1605

After the departure of Hiravijaya Suri in 1585, the persuasive influence of several other Jain teachers of eminence and learning continued to be operative at Akbar's court for over two decades, till the Emperor's death. The earliest among these was Shantichandra, who had accompanied the great acharya to Agra; and later came Bhānuchandra, whom Hiravijaya sent from Gujarat to Lahore when Akbar held his court in that capital from 1586 onwards. Shantichandra composed a Sanskrit poem, named *Kriparaskosh*, which is a panegyric on the pious actions of Akbar under the influence of the great acharya.[5] He left the court in 1587, and from that date Bhānuchandra remained as Akbar's principal Jain friend and teacher. In view of his long stay at the Mughal court, and his continued influence there under both Akbar and Jahangir, his place in the history of the Jain mission is analogous to that enjoyed by Fr. Jerome Xavier of the Third Jesuit Mission. Both were great favourites and privileged persons, though, strangely enough, the Jain records are completely silent about the Jesuit Padres, just as no reference to the Jain monks is found in the letters of Fr. Xavier. Abul Fazl, in his *Ain*, mentions Bhānuchandra's name as a member of the 'fifth class' among the learned men gathered at Akbar's court.

Farman of 1590 about Jain monks

Though Hiravijayaji left Akbar's court in 1585, two other farmans, known to us to have been granted to the Jains before his death, were both made out in his favour as the acknowledged leader of this community. One of them, dated 1590, was found by Muni Vidyavijayaji in the Jain Bhandar at Cambay. It is addressed to the Khan-i-Azam (Mirza Aziz Koka)[6] who was at the time viceroy of Gujarat. After a long preamble, it says: 'In view of the genuine *Yoga* practices and search after God by Hiravijaya Suri Shevda, and by the followers of his faith, who have received the honour of presenting themselves before us, it is ordered that no one should lodge in their temples or *upashrayas* (resting-places) or molest them. Moreover, if any charitable person wanted to rebuild or repair

5 When Shantichandra left the court in 1587, Akbar granted him a farman abolishing the Jaziya tax and prohibiting animal slaughter on specified days aggregating in all six months in the year. See quotation from *Hira-Saubhagya-Mahakavya*, Chap. XIV, verses 273-74, in Intrn. to *Bhanuchandra-charitra*, Ed. by Mohanlal D. Desai, p. 8, note 11.

6 The Khan-i-Azam, Akbar's foster-brother, was Subahdar of Gujarat (for the second time) from 1589 to 1593, during which period he finally defeated the ex-Sultan Muzaffar III in Kathiawar (1591) and later took him prisoner.

these buildings, because they had fallen down or had become dilapidated, no one should put a restraint on such action.' The viceroy is further informed that some persons, ignorant about the Godhead, accused the Jain monks of preventing rainfall and doing similar acts which are in God's power, and harassed them under the stupid idea that they exercised magical arts, he (the viceroy) should not allow such ill-treatment under his administration. The hakems and mutasaddis should consider this order, 'which is equivalent to God's farman,' as the means of bettering their condition, and they should not act contrary to the same. After keeping a copy, the farman was to be handed over to the Jains in order that it may serve as a *sanad* to them for ever. This farman is dated 'Khurdad, the sixth day of the month of Adar, in the Ilahi year 35, corresponding to the 28th of Muharram in the Hijri year 999' (November 16, 1590).[7]

Bhānuchandra was famous for his mastery of the Jain scriptures and he is described in Jain records as the 'crowning jewel of the Tapa gaccha.'[8] He composed, among several other learned works, a commentary in Sanskrit on the thousand names of the sun, and he used to explain their significance to the Emperor, who recited them every morning in the monk's company with his face turned towards that luminary. This practice of the adoration of the sun was not, however, definitely the result of Jain influence, and it may be considered to have reinforced the earlier teaching of the Parsi priests. The Rajput influences at the court and in the harem also tended in the same direction. If we are to accept Badayuni's chronology, the Emperor's adoration of the sun was in operation as early as 1583 (H. 991), for he says that, in this year,

Akbar's adoration of the sun

> 'A second order was given that the Sun should be worshipped four times a day, in the morning and evening, and at noon and midnight. His Majesty had also one thousand and one Sanskrit names of the sun collected, and read them daily, devoutly turning towards the sun.'[9]

Some details of Bhānuchandra's stay at Akbar's court are given in the Jain biographical poem, called *Bhanuchandra-Charita*, written by his disciple Siddhichandra. When news of the defeat of the Jam[10] and the ex-Sultan Muzaffar III (1591) reached the court from the Khan-i-Azam, Akbar offered to the monk a box of vauable things as a *purnapātra*, but the latter

Akbar's esteem for Bhanuchandra

[7] For the Persian transcript of this farman see *Sureshwar and Samrat*, Appendix and pp. 375-78. An English translation will be found in Intrn. to *Bhanuchandra-charita*, Ed. by Mohanlal D. Desai (1941), 78-79.

[8] According to Bhānuchandra's biographer, Abul Fazl studied under his guidance the *Sad-darsana-samucchaya*, a treatise expounding the six systems of Jain philosophy (*Bhanuchandra-charita*, Intrn., 28).

[9] Blochmann's *Ain.*, I, 200.

[10] This was Jam Sataji, son of Vibhaji, who espoused the cause of Muzaffar III and was defeated in the battle of Bhuchar Mori in 1591. The name Sataji is an abbreviation of Satrasal, which is the more usual form for the Sanskrit Satrusalya, *i.e.*, 'an arrow for his enemies.'

refused to accept any such gift and requested instead that the Emperor should set free the prisoners of war taken in Saurashtra. When a daughter was born to Prince Salim, Akbar was told that the constellation under which she was born augured ill for her father. Bhānuchandra suggested the performance of certain Jain rituals which would effectively avert the evil. Accordingly, elaborate arrangements for the same were made at the Jain *upashraya*, and the ceremonies were witnessed by the Emperor and Prince Salim, who both attended with the members of the court. Another incident mentioned in the Jain poem is that Akbar desired to have the title of 'Upadhyaya' bestowed on Bhānuchandra, but being told that the privilege of granting the same was vested in the head of the Jain church, Abul Fazl was ordered to write to Hiravijaya Suri to confirm and make valid this title, and the acharya willingly sent a letter to that effect. When Akbar went to Kashmir in August, 1592, Bhānuchandra accompanied him on foot, and it was at Shrinagar that he requested the Emperor to remit the tax on pilgrims visiting Mount Shatrunjaya. Such was the imperial esteem for the Jain teacher that Akbar made a special halt for three days when crossing the Pir Panjal Pass to enable Bhānuchandra, whose feet had got inflamed during the journey, to recover.[11]

Farman about the hills sacred to the Jains, 1592

It was no doubt under the influence of Bhānuchandra that Akbar issued in 1592, in the 37th year of his reign, another famous farman in favour of Hiravijaya Suri, the original of which is now in the custody of the Trust of Sheth Anandji Kalyanji at Ahmadabad. It is a beautiful document, with its borders decorated in colour, and it is decidedly the most artistically illuminated of the large number of imperial farmans bearing on Gujarat which the author of this history was able to locate during his long residence in the capital of this province. The royal orders are addressed to the governors, jagirdars and officials of the provinces of Malwa, Akbarabad (Agra), Lahore, Multan, Ahmadabad, and the rest of the empire. The farman states that the Emperor, having heard of the saintliness of Hiravijaya Suri, the acharya of the Jain Swetamber religion, had sent for him, and that, when the Suri was returning to his native land, he had made a request that the 'heaven-reaching' hills of Siddhachal, Girnar, Taranga,[12] Keshrinath and Abu, all situated in Gujarat, as also the five hills of Rajgir, and the hill of Samet Shikhar or Parswanath in Bengal, together with all the temples and *kothis* at the foot of these hills, and likewise, all other places of pilgrimage of the Jain Swetambar community throughout

11 *Bhanuchandra-charitu*, Ed. by Mohanlal M. Desai, Intrn., 30-33 ; 36-37.

12 Taranga Hill, situated 20 m. south of Danta in the Banas Kantha District, is sacred to the Jains and contains two temples dedicated to Ajitnathji and Shambhavnathji. The main temple was built by Kumarpal Solanki of Anahilwad Patan (A.D. 1143-74) after he became a convert to Jain tenets (Bombay Gazetteer., V, 442). The temple of Kesharinath is situated in the village of Dhuleva, about 36 miles from the town of Udaipur in Rajasthan.

the empire, should be handed over to them, so that no one might kill any animal on these hills or near these temples. The document goes on to state that the Emperor, finding this request 'just and reasonable and not contrary to the (Islamic) Law,' issued this order bestowing all these hills and temples on Hiravijaya Suri, as the representative of the Jain community, for whose benefit the order was issued.[13]

Apart from the farmans mentioned above, the visit of Hiravijaya Suri to the imperial court, and the generous concessions to Jain religious sentiments made by Akbar, are also commemorated at length in several famous epigraphic records in Sanskrit or Prakrit in the temples on the sacred hill of Shatrunjaya at Palitana and at Una in the south of Kathiawar. These will be reviewed in the next chapter in our survey of the later career of this acharya after he left the Mughal court.

Epigraphic records

Though the majority of the Jain divines who assembled at Akbar's court from time to time belonged to the famous school known as the Tapa gachha, it is clear that the Emperor extended his patronage equally to the leaders of the rival Kharatara sect also. Having learnt of the fame of Jinachandra Suri, the head of this order, Akbar called to his side Mantri Karmachandra,[14] a favourite courtier and lay member of this *gachha*, and secured from him full details about his preceptor. Thereafter, an imperial order was sent to Gujarat to summon Jinachandra to the court. The latter, who was at Cambay, started in November, 1591, and reached Lahore on 14 February 1592, accompanied by thirty-one Jain monks. He was given a cordial welcome by the Emperor and invited to be present at all religious debates and discussions. Shortly after, the Suri received news that Naurang Khan, during a campaign in Kathiawar under orders from the Khan-i-Azam, in pursuit of the ex-Sultan Muzaffar III, had taken Dwarka (Jagat) and destroyed the Jain temple there. He brought this grievance to Akbar's notice and secured from him an order addressed to the Khan-i-Azam for the protection of Jain temples and places of pilgrimage. Before starting on his second expedition to Kashmir (Aug., 1592), Akbar issued, at Jinachandra's request, a farman to all the provinces of the empire prohibiting the slaughter of animals for seven days every year from the 9th of the bright half of the month

Akbar invites Jinachandra, 1592

13 See my monograph on *Imperial Mughal Farmans in Gujarat* (Journal, University of Bombay, Vol. IX, Pt. I., July, 1940), p. 10 and *note*.

14 Mantri Karmachandra was an Oswal Jain of the well-known Bacchavat family, and for long served as minister to the Rajas of Bikaner. After the annexation of Gujarat, Tarson Khan had plundered Sirohi (1577), and had carried off about a thousand Jain metal idols to Agra. The Mantri is said to have received them back from Akbar in 1583 and they were taken to Bikaner where they were placed in the temple of Chintamani. He later left the service of Bikaner and was given an appointment at Akbar's court (see references given in Intrn. to *Bhanuchandra-charita*, p. 31, note 38).

of Ashadh to the 15th[15]. After his return from Kashmir in December 1592, Akbar conferred upon Jinachandra the title of *Yug-pradhana* ('the lord of the age'). This took place at Lahore on February 23, 1593, and the occasion was celebrated with great rejoicing by Mantri Karmachandra. The grant of the farman and of the above-mentioned title to Jinachandra by Akbar is confirmed in an inscription in one of the Jain temples on Mount Shatrunjaya in Palitana.[16] We also learn that Manasimha, the principal disciple of the Suri, who was also at Lahore, and had even accompanied the Emperor to Kashmir, was now at the Emperor's suggestion elevated to the Suripad and received the title of Jinasimha Suri.[17]

Vijayasena Suri at Lahore, 1593-95

But the urge within Akbar for contacts with Jain ecclesiastics from Gujarat was by no means exhausted, and at his special desire, Hiravijaya Suri now sent his ablest lieutenant and destined successor (*pattadhar*), Vijayasena Suri,[18] to the Mughal court. The latter started from Radhanpur on 27 November 1592 with a batch of 100 monks. On arrival at Ludhiana, he was welcomed by Faizi, the brother of Abul Fazl, and by the leading Shravaks from Lahore who had gone forth to meet him. At a distance of ten miles from the capital, Bhānuchandra and others joined the party, and the procession, escorted by elephants, horses and bands, entered Lahore on 31 May 1593, after a six months' journey on foot. The Suri's stay at this capital extended for a period of about two years, till the news of his superior's declining health led him to ask for permission to return to Gujarat in 1595. One of his many disciples who attended him at the court, *viz.*, Nandivijaya, having performed eight *avadhanas*, *i.e.*, the feat of attending to eight things at a time, Akbar was so pleased that he conferred on him the title of *Khush Faham*. According to Jain accounts, the Brahmans became jealous of the favoured position which the Jain teachers had acquired at Akbar's court,

15 This Farman having been lost by the Kharatara monks, an application was made by Mansingh (Jinasimha Suri) to Akbar in 1604 to renew the grant, and this was done. The latter document is still extant and its contents will be reviewed at the end of this chapter (see pp. 241-42).

16 Jinachandra Suri died in 1614 (S. 1670) during the reign of Jahangir. The inscription in a temple on Mount Shatrunjaya says: 'He awakened the Patshah of Delhi, Akbar, received from him the title of *Yugapradhana*, and made him promulgate an edict forbidding the slaughter of animals during eight days in all countries ; he appeased the angry Jahangir and protected the Sadhus banished by him'. (Epigraphia Indica, II, 37; Guerinot, *Repertoire d'Epigraphie Jaina*, p. 246, Ins. No. 692).

17 *Karmachandra Vamsa Prabandha*, a Sanskrit poem composed by Jayasoma Upadhyaya at Lahore in Sam. 1650 (A.D. 1594). See *Bhanuchandra-Charita*, Intn. 10-12; *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (1939), pp. 1065-68.

18 Vijayasena Suri was born in 1548 at the village of Nadlai in Marwar. He took *diksha* at Surat in 1557 when only nine years of age, and rose to the dignity of an Acharya in 1572 at Ahmadabad. Under his advice, Jain temples were erected at Taranga, Shatrunjaya, Shankheshwar, Panchasar, etc. He died in 1615 at the village of Akbarpur, a suburb of Cambay. Ten Bigahs of land were granted in this village by Jahangir for the erection of a temple in his honour (*Surishwar and Samrat*, 234-37 and notes).

and, therefore, sent Raja Ramdas[19] to Akbar to charge them with non-belief in God. But, at a debate arranged by Abul Fazl for the purpose, Vijayasena proved from the Jain scriptures the falseness of the accusation, and convinced those present that the Jain conception of the Godhead was similar to that expounded in the *Samkhya* philosophy of the Brahmans. We are also told that, at Akbar's desire, Vijayasena performed at Lahore the investiture ceremony in connection with the title of 'Upadhayaya' that had sometime before been bestowed on Bhānuchandra. On this occasion Abul Fazl was present with the local Jain leader Sthanashah.[20] According to a Jain inscription, Vijayasena now received from Akbar the title (*birud*) of *Kālisarasvati*.[21]

On receiving the news of his leader Hiravijayaji's serious illness, Vijayasena Suri asked for Akbar's permission to return to his native province about the middle of 1595. It is recorded in a contemporary poem, the *Labhodaya Rās*, written in Gujarati by Pandit Dayakushal in 1593, that, during his stay at Lahore, Vijayasena Suri induced Akbar to issue orders against the catching of fish in the Indus river for four months; as also against the system of escheats, *i.e.*, the confiscation of the property of deceased persons who left no heirs; and the practice of taking of prisoners in war. These statements in the Jain poem are confirmed by a passage in a well-known inscription, dated 1593-4 (Samvat 1650), in Ādishwar Bhagwan's temple on Mount Shatrunjaya in Palitana, which records that Vijayasena Suri 'was called by Akbar to Labhpur (Lahore), received from him great honours, and a farman forbidding the slaughter of cows, bulls, and buffaloes, as also the confiscation of the property of deceased persons, and taking prisoners in war, and, honoured by the King, the son of Choli Begum, he was an ornament to Gujarat.'[22]

Epigraphic reference to Vijayasenasuri

Hiravijaya had also sent to the court from Gujarat (c. 1593) a young monk named Siddhichandra, who was destined to make, along with Bhānuchandra, a very long stay at the courts of Akbar and Jahangir. In spite of his youth, he had made great progress in learning, and, after arrival at Lahore, he devoted himself to mastering every branch of Sanskrit literature. Moreover, at the Emperor's suggestion, he studied Persian and was soon able to dive deep into works written in this language. We are also told that he was asked to teach the Emperor's grandsons. Among the many works composed by him in Sanskrit may be mentioned the *Bhanuchandra-charita*, a biography which gives much

Arrival of Siddhichandra, 1593

19 For an account of Raja Ramdas at the Mughal Court see *post* Chapter XXII, p. 259 note 12.

20 *Bhanuchandra-charita*, Intn. pp. 38-40 and Notes 52 and 53; *Surishwar and Samrat*, 156-58.

21 Indian Antiquary, XI (1882), p. 256.

22 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, Article by Dr. Buhler on *Jaina Inscriptions from Gujarat*, pp. 53-4, transcript No. XII, lines 25-34.

useful information about the stay of both master and disciple at the Mughal court.

His eulogy of Akbar and Abul Fazl

Siddhichandra's biography of his master is perhaps the only work written by a contemporary Hindu writer which gives some account of Akbar's personality. In a short stanza he sums up the Emperor's virtues: 'There is not a single art, nor a single branch of knowledge, nor a single act of boldness and strength which was not attempted by the Emperor.' Akbar is further described as 'the Rama of the Mughal dynasty, in whose empire thieves and robbers were conspicuous by their absence: his glory was white as the moon because he had defeated all his enemies.' Similarly, though we have considerable information about Shaikh Abul Fazl's intellectual activities and vast knowledge from his own famous writings, the opinion of his attainments pithily expressed by this disinterested Jain ascetic, who passed many years in close company with the great minister, is worthy of note: 'He had gone through the ocean of all literature and he was the best among all learned men.' Siddhichandra adds that the Shaikh was endowed with the eight qualities of the intellect as known to Sanskrit scholars, and he gives a list of the subjects which he had mastered, including Jainism, the Mimamsas, Buddhism, Sankhya, Vedanta, music, dramaturgy, rhetoric, prosody, astrology, politics, mathematics, palmistry, etc.[23]

The death of Hiravijayaji, 1595

Akbar expressed great regret when news of the death of Hiravijayaji, which took place at Una in Kathiawar in September, 1595, was conveyed to him by Bhānuchandra, who also informed the Emperor of the miracle attending the cremation of the deceased saint, when the mango trees standing near the pyre blossomed into fruit. At this monk's request, Akbar granted several Bigahs of land at Una to the Jain community for the erection of a *stupa* in memory of their deceased leader, and the despatch containing these orders was immediately forwarded to Gujarat.[24] We shall refer further in detail to these events in the next chapter.

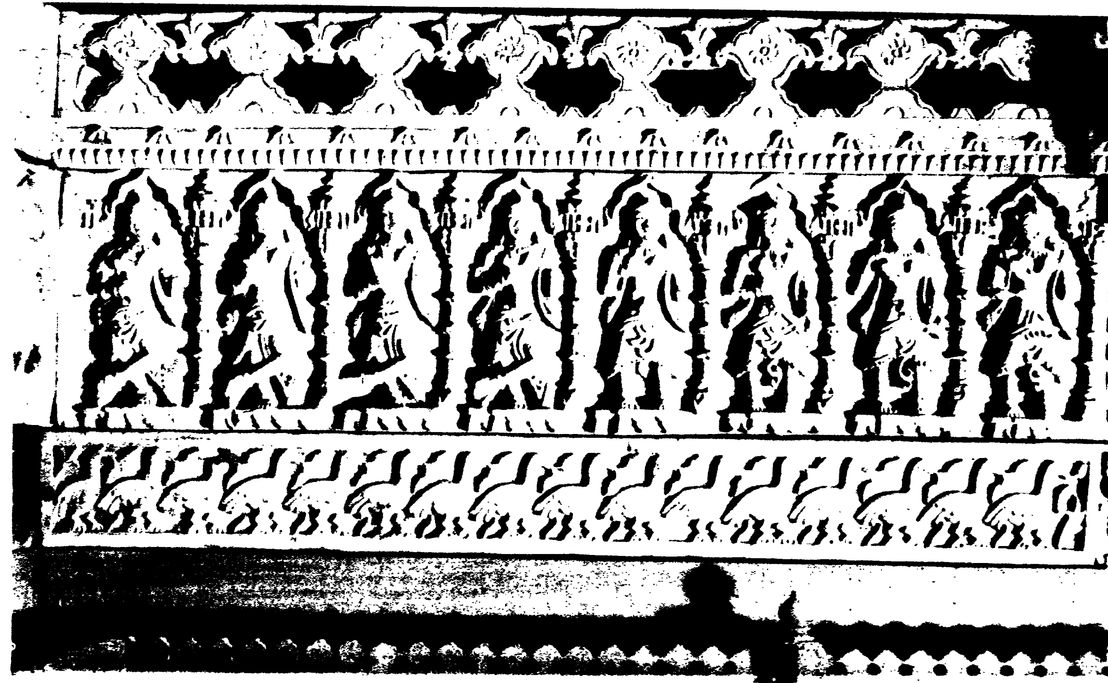
Temple of Vadi Parsvanath at Patan, 1594-6

Contemporary with this age of supreme Jain influence from Gujarat at the Mughal court, was the construction of the beautiful shrine known as the Vadi Parsvanath temple, during 1594-96, at Patan Anhilvad, the ancient capital of the province, which was for centuries a great centre of Jain learning. An inscription[25] on a marble slab, built into the wall of the principal *mandapa* of this temple, states that it was dedicated to the Jina Parsvanath of Vadipura and that it took 18 months to complete. The epigraph goes on to say that the temple was founded by one Amaradatta of the

23 *Bhanuchandra-Charita*, Intrn., VII-VIII, 23-25.

24 ibid, Intrn., 41.

25 See Appendix to this Chapter for translation of excerptsf rom this epigraph.



Courtesy : The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U. S. A.

FRESCO IN VADI PARSWANATH'S TEMPLE AT PATAN, 1596 (pp. 238-39)

Osval[26] sect, with whom were associated his sister and his daughter, and that it was built on the advice of the famous Jain acharya, Jinachandra Suri, 'described by Akbar as the most virtuous and glorious pontiff of the age.' The most characteristic feature of the temple of Vadi Parsvanath was the beautiful wooden carving in its interior decoration, covering the entire ceiling, the balcony and the parapets. All the wealth of sculptured marble which we find in the famous Jain temples at Mount Abu was seen here reproduced on a more pliable material.[27] These wooden panels were removed at the restoration of the temple in the last century when sculptured stone took the place of the medieval wooden structure. The discarded material was acquired for the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, and the plates given in this chapter show the artistic wealth which, though lost to Gujarat, is fortunately still preserved in the United States of America.

Akbar's third visit to Kashmir, 1597

In May, 1597, Akbar left Lahore on his third visit to Kashmir, and, among others, was accompanied by the Jain monks Bhānuchandra and Siddhichandra. We learn from Jesuit sources that Fr. Jerome Xavier and Fr. Benedict de Goes of the Third Mission were also members of the party. This visit to the Happy Valley, which Akbar called 'his private garden,' was a fairly long one, and the Emperor did not return to Lahore till after six months, in November, 1597. It was during his stay in Kashmir that he was severely wounded when witnessing an antelope fight, and the animal's horn penetrated deep into his thigh, so that he suffered great pain and was confined to his bed for fifty days. According to the Jain *Rās*, no persons except Abul Fazl and Bhānuchandra were allowed to go near him in his private chamber, while the Jesuit records state that Fr. Xavier alone enjoyed this privilege. As the Muslim historian says, 'Akbar recovered, after retiring for a few days to the inner apartments and seating himself on the carpet of affliction, and restored comfort to the hearts of the world'. After his recovery the Emperor sent 500 cows to the Jain monks for being distributed in charity.[28]

Jain monks with Akbar at Burhanpur, 1600

At the end of 1598, Akbar, who had held his court in the Panjab for 13 years to guard against the Uzbegs beyond the frontier, left Lahore for Agra, and in 1599 he marched to the Deccan to supervise the operations of his generals against the rulers of Khandesh and Ahmadnagar. Having taken Burhanpur on the Tapti, he established himself there to direct

[26] The word Oswal, originally a tribal name, now represents the most influential and wealthy section (gnati) among the Jain community. There is no doubt that *Upakesha* is the original Sanskrit word from which other forms (*e.g.* Ukesh, Usha, Osha, etc.) are derived with the addition of the termination of *val.* According to the rules of the Jain and Maharastri Prakrits, the preposition *upa* may be represented by *o*. See Hemachandra, *Prakrita vyakrana*, i, 173 (Dr. G. Buhler's Article in *Epigraphia Indica*, II, p. 40).

[27] Burgess and Cousens: *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat* (Arch. Survey of Western India, N.S., Vol. IX, 1903).

[28] *Akbarnama*, trans. by Beveridge, III, 1061-63; *Bhanuchandra-charita*, Intn., 42 and note 59; V.A. Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, 1st Ed., 268; Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, VI, 193.

the siege of the great fort of Asirgadh. According to Jain accounts, both Bhānuchandra and Siddhichandra went with Akbar to Burhanpur. We are further told that finding no Jain shrines in this city, the two monks obtained the Emperor's sanction for their erection, with the result that some five temples and *upashrayas*, or resting places, were built by wealthy Jain laymen in that place. When Akbar returned to his capital from the south in 1601, Siddhichandra accompanied him to Agra, while Bhānuchandra, who was ill, continued for some time at Burhanpur, and followed at a later date.[29]

Further service rendered by the Jain monks

After Akbar's return from Burhanpur to Agra in 1601, when Siddhichandra alone was in attendance on him, news arrived from Saurashtra that Mirza Khurram, the governor of Junagadh, and the third son of Mirza Aziz Koka (who had been appointed subahdar of Gujarat for the third time, 1600-05), had demolished a Jain temple which stood at the foot of Mount Vimala (Shatrunjaya). Also that some persons had surrounded the principal temple on the top of the hill and had heaped piles of wood on all sides in order to burn it down. Siddhichandra at once proceeded to the Emperor and succeeded in getting imperial orders issued for preventing the sacrilege. Some time later, after Bhānuchandra had also arrived at Agra, Vijayasena Suri sent a letter to the Upadhyaya to the effect that, owing to standing orders from the Emperor, no new temple could be erected on the hill of Shatrunjaya. The acharya further pointed out that if this state of affairs continued, the hill held so sacred by the Jains would have little significance for the community in future, 'for the old temples would crumble down with the lapse of time and no new ones would take their place.' Bhānuchandra and his disciple, thereupon, both approached the Emperor, and induced him to send forth orders allowing the erection of new temples on the hill.[30]

Omnibus Farman of 1601

Vijayasena Suri became the supreme pontiff of the Tapa *gachha* after his master's death in 1595 and held that position for twenty years till his own death in 1615. Akbar had not forgotten his visit to the imperial court at Lahore, and continued to extend to him the same consideration that he had given to his predecessor. This may be gathered from yet another of the valuable imperial farmans found in the Jain *bhandar* at Cambay. This document, which is dated 1601, bears the *nishan* of Sultan Salim Shah, and it is addressed to the hakems, the jagirdars and the mutasaddis of the subah of Gujarat and the sarkar of Sorath (Kathiawar). It is an omnibus farman confirming and reasserting earlier grants in favour

29 *Bhanuchandra-Charita*, Intrn., 43-45 and notes.

30 ibid, Intn., 46. Unfortunately this excellent historical biography gives no dates. The events mentioned above probably took place between 1601 and 1604.

of the Jains made by the Emperor.[31] It says that the killing of cows, bullocks and buffaloes at any time, and the flaying them in the presence of Shevdas (Jain monks), had been prohibited, and that on certain days in every month, mentioned on the reverse of this farman,[32] the eating of the flesh of these animals had been forbidden; so also the hunting or encaging of those creatures which kept their nests in trees or houses. Moreover, Vijayasena Suri Sevda, the disciple of Hiravijaya Suri, the best of those practising yoga, and his attendants, had the honour of attending the court, and, in view of the genuineness of their yoga practices and search for God, it had been ordered that no one should put up in their temples or *upashrayas*, nor insult them: and if these places were out of repair or fell into ruin through lapse of time, and if any people wished from charitable motives to repair or rebuild them, no one with insufficient knowledge or fanaticism should prevent them from doing so. 'And as some, who do not know God, level against these God-knowing men (monks) charges of stopping rain and such other acts, and from a belief that these are magical arts, subject them to hardships, and stop them from performing their ceremonies, we ordain that such imputations should not be made against these humble men, and they should be allowed to devote themselves to God freely at their resting-places and to perform their ceremonies according to their religion.' The farman is dated the 1st of the month of Seherewar, Ilahi year 46, corresponding to the 25th of the month of Safar, Hijri year 1010 (15 August 1601).[33]

Last Farman granted to the Jains, 1604

Akbar's intimate and friendly contacts with the leading Jain religious teachers of Gujarat, which began with the invitation to Hiravijaya in 1582, continued right up to the end of his reign. This is proved by his farman, dated 1604, in the 49th year of his accession, about a year before his death, which is directed to the officials and jagirdars of the subah of Multan. It is to the effect that, in previous years, Jinachandra Suri, of the Kharatara sect, had attended on him and had received royal favours. At that time (*i.e.*, in 1592), this acharya had requested that, since formerly the Emperor had granted the prayer of Hiravijayaji that

31 It may be pointed out that under the Mughal Emperors no Imperial grants were expected to have permanent validity. Hence we find that the donee had to get them confirmed periodically even by the ruler who originally issued them. This was even more necessary under his successor.

32 The following list, mentioned on the reverse of this document, deserves to be compared with that given by Badayuni and quoted on a later page: 'The month of Farvardin; the days on which the Sun passes from one zodiac to another; the day of Meher; Sundays in every month; Mondays in the month of Rajab; the month of Aban in which His Majesty was born; the first day of every solar month known by the name of Hormazd; and the twelve sacred days (of the Jains), *viz.*, the last six days of Shravan and the first six days of the month of Bhadrapad.'

33 The Persian text will be found in the Appendix to *Surishwar and Samrat*, pp, 379-81. See also Mohanlal D. Desai's Intrn. to *Bhanuchandra-charita*, 79-81.

no animals or birds or fish should be killed for twelve days in any part of the imperial territories, he hoped that a similar order for one additional week would be made in his favour. Accordingly, His Majesty had issued orders that for seven days in every year, from Ashadh Shukla 9 to the Purnamasi (or 15th) of the same month, no animal should be killed and no one should harass any living thing, 'in as much as, when God has created for human beings things of various kinds, he should not make his stomach the grave of animals.'[34] After thus repeating the contents of the previous farman granted to Jinachandra, the document proceeds: 'At this time (*i.e.*, in 1604), the acharya Jinasimha (*alias* Manasimha) has made an application that the farman which we had issued had been lost, hence we have granted this new farman in accordance with the old one.' The document is dated the 31st of the month of Khurdad, Ilahi year 49 (A.D. 1604)[35].

Jain influence on Akbar's personal habits

The history of the Jain mission at the Mughal court, reviewed above, based as it is on authentic records, leaves little doubt about the profound influence on Akbar's ideas and domestic policy exerted by the doctrine of *ahimsa* taught by the Jain monks from Gujarat who were welcomed at his capital for twenty years. Beginning with 1582, Akbar's decrees against the slaughter of animals in his empire became so stringent that the aggregate number of days on which no animal was to be killed amounted to fully six months in the year. Whether these orders were successfully enforced in all the provinces of the empire, we have no means of ascertaining. But the policy of putting into effect the Jain doctrine reacted on the Emperor himself, and affected his personal habits so far that, according to contemporary historians, he developed an aversion to animal food and gave up flesh-eating to a large extent. The details are given fully by Badayuni, an orthodox Muslim, who resented the influence of all non-Islamic teachers at his master's court:

> 'In these days (H. 991—A.D. 1583) new orders were given. The killing of animals on certain days was forbidden, as on Sundays, because this day is sacred to the sun; during the first eighteen days of the month of Farwardin; the whole month of Aban (the month in which His Majesty was born); and on several other days, to please the Hindus. This order was extended over the whole realm, and capital punishment was inflicted on every one who acted against the command. Many a family was ruined. During the time of these fasts, His Majesty abstained altogether from meat, as a religious penance, gradually extending the several fasts during a year over

34 The original Farman (see p. 235) was dated Sheherewar, the fourth day of the month of Meher, in the Ilahi year 37 (A.D. 1592), as published in the Jain work *Yugapradhana Shri Jinachandra Suri*, p. 306.

35 This Farman was discovered in the Jain *Bhandar* at Lucknow in 1912. For a full translation and various references to it in modern Jain works, see Mohanlal M. Desai's Intrn. to *Bhanuchandra-Charita*, 81-82.

six months and even more, with the view of eventually discontinuing the use of meat altogether'.[36]

APPENDIX

INSCRIPTION IN THE JAIN TEMPLE OF VADI PARSVANATH AT PATAN ANHILVAD, 1596

Built into the wall of the principal *mandapa* of this temple is a marble slab, measuring 28 in. high and 16½ in. across, on which is carved a lengthy inscription of forty-two lines which is in almost perfect preservation. The opening lines are as follows: 'Hail! may the glorious Jina Parsva of Vadipura, who resides in Patan, ever grant wealth, prosperity, and eternal happiness to the builder of this temple (*chaitya*) for the community (*samgha*). In the temple of the glorious Parsvanath of Vadipura is this eulogy written, preceded by a genealogy of the venerable pontiffs of the Brihad Kharatara (*gachha*). The construction of the temple was begun in the reign of the Padshah, the renowned Akbar, in an auspicious hour, on Monday, the 9th of the bright half of Margasirsa in the year 1651 of the era of the illustrious King Vikram (11th November 1594).'

After these introductory lines, the epigraph gives a long list mentioning the names and virtues of the famous acharyas of the Kharatara gachha, beginning about the end of the 10th century and ending with Shri Jinachandra Suri (VI), who was head of this order at the time. Then follows an account of this pontiff: 'The Chief of the Surishwars, everywhere victorious, the best of those who subdue the three worlds (*tribhuvana*), who, by constant meditation on the sacred *surimantra*, abased the pride of all disputants. He resided in the Samvat year 1648 (A.D. 1591-92) at the holy city of Stambhatirtha (Cambay) for the *chaturmās* (*i.e.*, the four months of the rainy season). Hearing of his great exaltation, the glorious Jalal-ud-din Akbar expressed his desire to see him. He went accordingly, and delighted the Emperor by the extent of his virtues, and thereby secured from this ruler a farman forbidding the slaughter of animals throughout his dominions during eight days of the happy month of Ashadh, as also another for the protection of the fish in the sea at Stambhatirtha (Cambay), and upon him was bestowed the title of *Suttama shri yugapradhana* (*i.e.*, the most virtuous and glorious pontiff of the age). Further, at the command of the Emperor, he crossed by magic the rivers of the Punjab on the 12th lunar day of the bright half of Magha in the Samvat year 1652 (February 1, 1596) to see the five Pirs,[37] by which feat he obtained the distinction of *paramavara*. With the

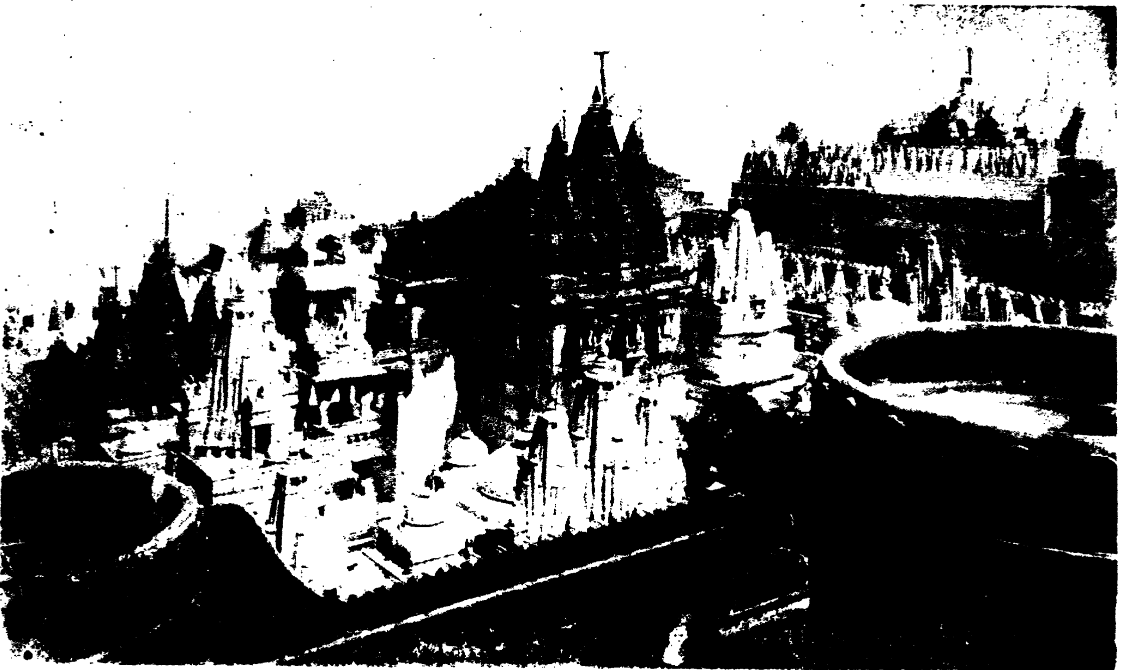
[36] Extracts from Badayuni's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* translated in Blochmann's *Ain*, I, 200. See also trans. of Badayuni by W. H. Lowe, II, 331.

[37] The purport of this portion in the text is not very clear from the translations available.

consent of his followers, he conferred the dignity of Acharya on Shri Jinasimha in the presence of the Emperor.'

The inscription next proceeds to give the genealogy of Amaradatta, the builder of the temple, who belonged to the Oswal clan, and it concludes by stating that the ceremony of consecrating the image of Shri Vadi Parsvanath was performed in the *Paushada* hall of this temple, 'which was an ornament to the famous city of Anahilapura,' on Thursday, the 12th of the dark half of Vaishakh in the Samvat year 1652 (13 May 1596), in the Ilahi year 41.[88]

[88] Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat* (1903), pp. 49-51; Gazetteer of the Baroda State, by Desai and Clarke (1923), II, 582; *Notes on a Visit to Gujarat in Dec., 1869*, by J. Burgess (Bombay, 1870), pp. 115-20.



Jain Temples on Mount Shatrunjaya at Palitana in Saurashtra (pp. 252-54)

(From *The Glories of Hindustan*. By Dr. Alfred Newrath.)

CHAPTER XXII

EPIGRAPHIC RECORDS ON HIRAVIJAYAJI IN SAURASHTRA

AFTER his final departure from Fathpur Sikri at the end of 1585, Hiravijayaji proceeded by easy stages to Gujarat, making prolonged halts at the principal centres of Jain population on the way. He stayed for some time at Medta, and subsequently at Nagore, where he passed the rainy season of 1587. The next considerable sojourn was at Sirohi, at which place Vijayasena Suri arrived from Gujarat to confer with his superior after their prolonged separation. The monsoon of 1589 was spent at Patan and that of the following year at Cambay. The year 1590-91 saw the Suriji at last at Ahmadabad, where he passed also the following year 1592, and during this period came into contact with the great Khan-i-Azam, Mirza Aziz Koka, who was then viceroy of the province.[1] The meeting is said to have taken place after the return of the viceroy from his successful campaign against the ex-Sultan Muzaffar III in Kathiawar, in which, at the memorable battle of Bhuchar Mori, Jam Sataji of Nawanagar had been defeated, and his son Ajoji and minister Jasa Ladhak were slain.[2] From Ahmadabad the Suri proceeded to Radhanpur, at which place he received a letter from Akbar requesting him to send Vijayasena Suri to his court.

The Suri's itinerary from 1585 to 1593

The Samvat year 1650 (A.D. 1593-94) was a red-letter date in the history of Jainism in Western India, for it saw what was probably the largest gathering of Jain pilgrims from every part of India assembled in Gujarat for a pilgrimage to the sacred hill of Shatrunjaya under the leadership of their revered acharya Hiravijayaji. From the very full accounts that are available of this famous event, we learn that invitations were sent out by the *sangh* at Patan, not only to the Jain congregations of every town in Gujarat, but also to all the Jain centres in Rajputana and the Panjab, and even as far as distant Bengal. The response was universal. Attended by his monks, the Suriji started on the pilgrimage with the Jains of Patan Anhilvad at an auspicious hour, and by the time the gathering had reached Ahmadabad, its numbers could be counted by several thousands. Prince Murad, Akbar's second son, was at this time viceroy of the province, and he gave a suitable welcome to the acharya at his

Pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya, March, 1594

[1] *Surishwar and Samrat*, 264-65.

[2] ibid., 192-99.

capital. Proceeding by way of Dholka, the *sangh* entered Kathiawar, where Naurang Khan was the fauzdar, or officer in charge of the peninsula. He too received the Suri with due respect, and, in this manner, the vast body of pilgrims arrived at Palitana, situated at the foot of the sacred hill of Shatrunjaya.[8]

On the summit of the hill

The full moon day of the month of Chaitra of the Samvat year 1650 (March 26, 1594) had been fixed for the ascent of the holy mountain, and the previous night was spent by the great *Sanghpati* and the whole body of pilgrims at the base of the hill. Ascending it on foot, the Suriji reached one of the two fortified peaks at the summit, and the order in which he made his obeisance to the sacred images and 'padukas' at the various shrines is recorded by the author of the *Hirasaubhagya-kāvya* and other biographers. It may be mentioned here that in comparison with the large number of Jain temples that at present cover almost the entire area of the summit of Mount Shatrunjaya, the shrines in existence at the end of the 16th century were comparatively few and insignificant in number, as may be concluded from a study of the inscriptions on the hill. Their devotions being paid, the pilgrims returned to the foot of the hill, as is still the practice ; for no person, but a few men doing guard duty, is allowed to reside on the top of the hill, which is abandoned after midday to the silent Tirthankaras in whose honour the shrines are erected. In virtue, however, of the advanced age of the Suri, and the acknowledged piety of his life, he stayed a few days on the top, being unable to bear the fatigue of another journey on the same day. We are told that, before the pilgrims left the holy summit, Hiravijayaji delivered a discourse on the *Shatrunjaya mahatmaya.*

Hiravijaya invited to Div and Una

When the pilgrims and their leader were once again gathered at the town of Palitana, preparing to depart for their several homes, a special request was made to the Suriji by the leaders of the Jain *sangh* from Div to visit their town and to give them the benefit of his presence and teaching. The request was specially pressed by a rich Jain lady of the same place, named Ladakibai. Hiravijayaji acceded to the same, and, taking leave of all the assemblage, he began his journey towards the sea-coast by way of Mahuva and Delvada. After being welcomed at Div, he made his headquarters at Una, near by, where he passed the rest of the year and also the next (1595).

Epigraphic record at Satrunjaya, 1594

We may refer at this stage to two inscriptional records at Mount Shatrunjaya which make very interesting references to Hiravijaya Suri, and which are both dated Samvat 1650 (1593-94), *i.e.*, the very year in which this great leader conducted the pilgrimage which has just been described. The longer and more important one of the two is in Prakrit and it is located on the portal of the great temple of Ādishwar

[8] *Surishwar and Samrat,* 266-68; 203.

on the hill. It records the fact that a lay disciple, Soni Tejapala, after a pilgrimage to Mount Shatrunjaya in s. 1646, restored the temple of Adishwar which had not been repaired since s. 1588 (A.D. 1531-32). The work was completed in s. 1649, and the temple was consecrated in the following year by Hiravijaya, the pontiff of the Tapa *gachha*. It is thus very probable that the consecration took place on the occasion of the great acharya's pilgrimage to the sacred hill.

The first part of the inscription relates to the *pattavali*, or succession list, of the Tapa sect among the Swetambar monks of the Jain religion, which was founded by Jagachandra in A.D. 1228.

Akbar's edicts recapitulated

The record states that, in 1525, Anandavimala imposed a new discipline on the sect, and that the next leader was Vijayadana, who was succeeded by the celebrated pontiff Hiravijaya. Then follow ten lines of the inscription about this acharya—'who was called by Shah Akbar to Mewat, and who persuaded the Emperor in s. 1639 (A.D. 1582-83) to issue an edict to forbid the slaughter of animals for six months, to abolish the jaziya(*sujija*) tax and the practice of the confiscation of the property of deceased persons, to set free many captives, snared birds and animals, to present Shatrunjaya hill to the Jains, to establish a Jain library, and to become a saint like King Shrenica.' The epigraph then states how Hiravijaya was a persuasive advocate : 'He converted Meghaji, the leader of the Lumpakas, brought many adherents to the Tapa *gachha*, caused many temples to be built in Gujarat, and made many people from this province and from Malwa undertake pilgrimages to Shatrunjaya.' The inscription proceeds to add that Hiravijaya had as his disciple Vijayasena, who also came into contact with Akbar, and the emperor, at his request, promulgated a new edict forbidding the killing of cows and oxen, the confiscation of the property of deceased persons, and the taking of prisoners in war.[4]

The other important inscription on the Shatruñjaya hill, also dated Samvat 1650 (A.D. 1593-94), is shorter than the above, and it is located on the south wall of the temple of Adishwar Bhagwan.

Inscription about the pilgrimage of 200 monks, 1594

It records that, in this year, Vimalavijaya the pupil of Hiravijaya, made a pilgrimage to the hill accompanied by 200 other monks. The full text of the epigraph reads as follows :

> 'Hail! On the full moon day of the first (*i.e.*, the intercalary) Chaitra month, in the Samvat year 1650, on the first *Chaitri Purnima* festival—subsequent to the abolition of the practice of appropriating to the state the property of the deceased in cases of intestacy by His imperial Majesty Akbar, who was highly struck with the greatness of six times adorable Hiravijaya Suri—Vimalavijayagani, the crowning gem of the series of the learned *munis* who were the disciples of

[4] *Repertoire D'Epigraphie Jaina*, 242-43 (Inscription No. 682). For the text see *Epigraphia Indica*, II, article on *Jain Inscriptions from Shatrunjaya* by G. Bühler, 38, 52-53 (transcript No. XII, lines 14-24.) Soni Tejpal also built a great Jain temple in his native town of Cambay in 1605 (S-1661).

Hiravijaya, as also Pandit Devaharshagani who devoutly loved the holy Mount Shatrunjaya, Pandit Dhanvijayagani, Pandit Jayavijayagani, Jasavijayagani, Hamsavijayagani, *muni* Vesala and others, counting in all two hundred, accomplished the pilgrimage to the shrine of Hiravijaya, who was the tide-causing moon to the milky ocean of justice, to whom Mount Shatrunjaya was given away by the emperor Akbar who was pleased with his sermons, and whose feet were worshipped by the adorable Bhatturaka Vijayasena and others, as the bees lick lotuses, with great devotion. May all be happy.'[5]

Hiravijayaji attains nirvana at Una, 1595

It now remains to record the details that have been given by the Jain writers about the death of the great acharya at Una. After the rains of 1595, Hiravijayaji desired to resume his tours, but he was already in the grip of his last illness and had perforce to prolong his stay at Una. He had premonition that his end was drawing near, and he was, therefore, anxious to meet his chief disciple, Vijayasena Suri, who was still at Lahore at Akbar's court, and who was to succeed him as the head of the Tapa *gachha*. The monks in attendance on the Suri decided to send one of their number, Dhanavijayaji by name, to the court to convey the information. Thereupon, Vijayasena Suri asked for the Emperor's permission to return to Gujarat, and this was readily granted under the circumstances. But, in spite of all the haste that he made on his long journey, Vijayasena Suri was not destined to meet his master, for, on arrival at Patan Anhilvad, he was informed that the great Suri had passed away at Una on the 11th of the bright half of Bhadrapad, s. 1652, (Sept., 4, 1595).[6]

The funeral rites of the great Acharya

Meanwhile, the Jain *sanghas* of Una and Div had carried out, with great solemnity and at considerable expense, the obsequies of their deceased leader. A special bier was prepared, decorated with velvets and silks, and adorned with strings of pearls and bells of gold and silver, and in it was reverently placed the body of the *guru* anointed with saffron and sandalwood. With great respect, the leading Jains carried the bier through the main street of Una, followed by thousands of mourners, to a mango-grove outside the town. Here the body was removed and placed on a pyre prepared with 15 *man* of sandalwood, three *man* of aloe-wood (*agar*), three *sers* of camphor, two *sers* of sweet musk, and three of saffron. In all, an expense of 7,000 *larins* is stated to have been incurred in connection with the funeral of the great acharya. For three days, the monks observed a fast in memory of their leader, and special precautions were taken to ensure that for some time no one should indulge in fishing along the adjoining coast.[7]

[5] *Epigraphia Indica*, II, Article on *Jain Inscriptions from Shatrunjaya* by G. Bühler, p. 86 (transcript No. CXVIII.)
[6] *Surishwar and Samrat*, 289-96 ; 300.
[7] ib.d, 297-99.

It is related by the poet Rishabhadās, in his *Hiravijayasuri Ras*, that a Nagar Brahman, who was sleeping in a field adjoining the garden in which the acharya had been cremated, saw strange and unearthly sights on the night of that event, and the next morning related them to the people of Una. Thousands flocked to the grove, and were surprised to find that the mango trees had all borne fruit, though it was the month of September, when the mango season had long since passed, and though no sign of flower or fruit had been visible on the previous day. The news of this miracle spread far and wide. The poet mentioned above, who wrote his work about 33 years after the event, further adds that many of these mangoes were taken down and sent to various towns in Gujarat, some being forwarded even to the emperor, to attest the miracle attending the *nirvana* of the deceased saint.[8] A contemporary inscription at Una, which is given below, also contains a reference to this miracle.

Miracle attending the death of the saint

This mango-garden, together with twenty-two *bighas* of land adjoining it, was presented by Akbar to the Jains as a token of his regard for their late leader. In the same garden, Bai Ladaki, the rich Shrawak lady of Div already mentioned, had a small shrine erected, in which the *padukas* of Hiravijaya Suri were consecrated by Vijayasena Suri on the 5th of the dark half of Kartika, S. 1652 (November 12, 1595).[9] These *padukas* may still be seen, together with an important inscription in Sanskrit relating to the achievements of Hiravijaya Suri and his death at Una. The garden is now known as the 'Shah Bagh' and within its area stands a Jain temple. The inscription just mentioned is to be found in the first shrine to the west in a group of seven attached to this temple. It is written in Sanskrit and its interesting text is rendered below. As will be seen, it confirms the information derived from literary and documentary sources about the favours granted by Akbar to the Suri as the representative of the Jain community and religion:

Inscription in the Shah Bagh at Una, 1595

'Hail ! These are the footmarks of holy Hiravijaya, the best of Suris, on his monument—manifesting their spiritual eminence through the ringing of the bells of heavenly cars heard and lights seen everyday—of holy Hiravijaya, the *guru* of the world, who had been on a pilgrimage to the sacred hill of Shatrunjaya with a caravan of (Jain) pilgrims from all countries, and, attaining *nirvana* on the eleventh day of the bright half of Bhādrapada, had caused the mango trees in the vicinity of the place of his cremation to bear fruit. The mighty Emperor Akbar, King of Kings, filled with admiration on hearing reports of his many good qualities, such as penance,

[8] *Surishwar and Samrat*, 299, 301-02.

[9] Hiravijayaji died in Samvat 1652 Bhadrapad S. 11. The date of this inscription at Una is Kartik V. 5, and that of the inscription round the Padukas at Shatrunjaya is Margarshirsha V. 2, of the same Samvat 1652. The discrepancy in the sequence of months can be reconciled only by assuming the year S. 1652 to begin with Chaitra as is still done in Northern India.

asceticism and lovability, had invited him to the province of Delhi from Gujarat, had listened to his preaching, and had presented to him a library of (Jain) manuscripts. At his instance, the emperor had proscribed fishing in the big lake named Devara,[10] prohibited the killing of animals for six months in the year, abolished for good the poll-tax on pilgrims visiting the sacred Mount Shatrunjaya, reduced the jajiya tax, annulled escheatage throughout the land, disallowed taking of prisoners in battle, and promulgated such other acts of piety. These footmarks were caused to be constructed by Pandit Megha, his wife Ladaki, and other members of his family, and were consecrated by the holy Bhattaraka Vijayasena, head of the Tapa *gachha*, by Upadhyaya Vimalaharshagani, by Upadhyaya Kalyanavijayagani, and by Upadhyaya Somavijayagani, on Wednesday, the fifth day of the dark half of Kartika in the Samvat year 1652, and were paid homage to by the faithful. May they fare well, being worshipped for all time. The inscription is the composition of Padmanandagani. May the good town of Unnata (Una) prosper'.[11]

Epigraph on the saint's padukas at Shatrunjaya. 1596

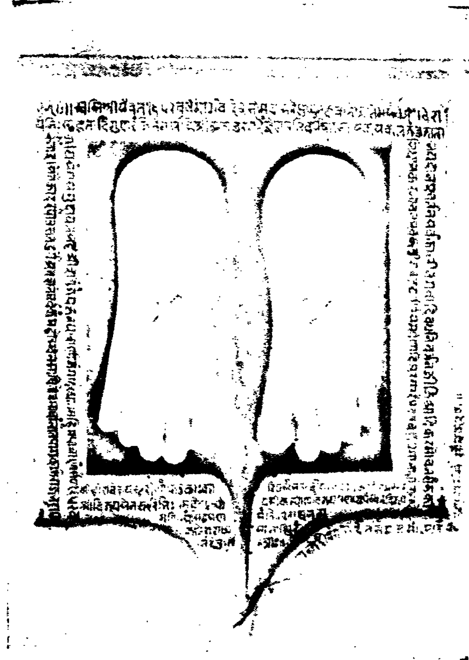
It will be seen that these *padukas* of Hiravijaya Suri at Una, and the inscription around them, were put up by Pandit Meghji and his good wife Ladaki within two months after the famous saint passed away, and, therefore, the value of the epigraph as a great historical and absolutely contemporary record can hardly be exaggerated. What is more, we have another equally important and contemporary record, in a temple on the lofty heights of Shatrunjaya, which is dated only a month after that at Una, and recounts in almost similar language the great services of Hiravijaya to the Jain religion. The epigraph was in this case put up by a pious Jain of Cambay, named Udayakarana, and it is inscribed round a pair of Padukas in a small shrine to the west of Adishwar Bhagwan's temple on the hill. The Sanskrit text is rendered below:[12]

'Hail! May all be blessed! In the year 1652 of the Samvat era, on the second day of the dark half of the Margasirsha month, on Monday (December 8, 1595), under the lunar mansion (*nakshatra*) Pushya, Udayakarana of Cambay, leader of a caravan of pilgrims, caused to be built the shrine containing the footmarks (*padukas*) of revered Hiravijayasuri, who was highly honoured by His Imperial Majesty the worshipful Shah Akbar by the promulgation of the order of non-killing of animals of all kinds for six months in the year, by the prohibition of the slaughter of cows, etc., for all time, by the abolition of the jajiya-tax as also of the capitation (मुंडक) tax, and further

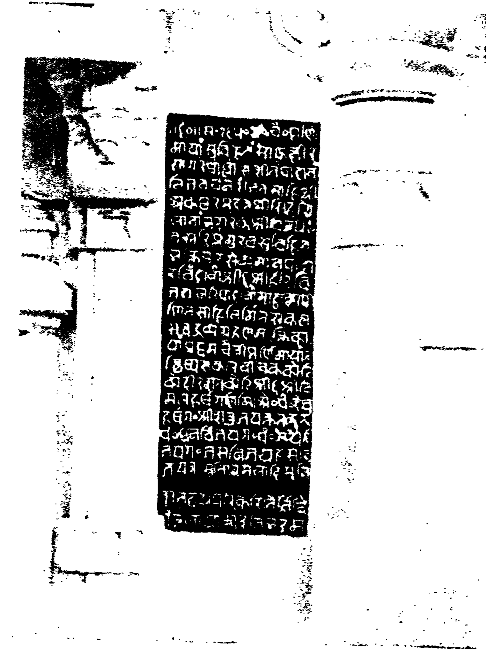
10 This was a lake in the vicinity of Fathpur-Sikri. It has been variously called 'Dābar' and 'Dāmara' in other works. See also Lowe's trans. of Badayuni's *Muntakhab-ut-tawarikh*, p. 174, where the name Dāir is suggested.

11 For a transcript of the Sanskrit text of this inscription, see *Jaina Inscriptions* by Puran Chand Nahar, 1927, Pt. II, No. 1796. See also Intrn. to *Bhanuchandra-Charita* by Mohanlal D. Desai, p. 41 *n*.

12 This inscription is given in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, in the article by Dr. J. Bühler entitled *Jaina Inscriptions from Shatrunjaya*, pp. 59-60, transcript No. XIII; also in Burgess and Cousens, *List of Antiquarian Remains*, p. 198, No. 119.



Tablet recording the consecration of the *Padukas* of Hiravijayasuri on Shatrunjaya Hill 1595 pp. 250-51



Inscription tablet about the pilgrimage of 200 monks under Vimalharsha to Shatrunjaya Hill, 1593-4 pp. 247-48

by making over (to the Suri) Mount Shatrunjaya, which is a place of pilgrimage, and by such other gifts—His Imperial Majesty being pleased with the Suri's incomparable qualities, such as asceticism and austerity. He (*i.e.*, the Suri) had come on a pilgrimage to holy Shatrunjaya with a number of caravans of pilgrims from various countries. Possessing worldwide reputation, he attained the highest object of life (*i.e.*, freedom from rebirth) by the observance of the grand festival of starving oneself to death, in the town of Unnata (Una), on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Bhādra in the Samvat year 1652. Adorable Bhattaraka Vijayasenasuri, contributor to the glory of Jainism, along with adorable Mahamahopadhyaya Kalyanavijayagani and Pandit Dhanavijayagani paid homage (to the footmarks). May these continue to be worshipped by devout persons. Amen.'[13]

Triple combination of historical evidence

It will thus be seen that our information about the career of this eminent religious leader—whom Akbar delighted to honour, on whom the emperor bestowed all the sacred hills of Jain worship, and at whose request the most powerful Muslim potentate of the age issued very special and unusual orders for putting into effect the Jain doctrine of *ahimsa*—is confirmed by three absolutely distinct and independent sources of historical information. In the first place, we have the excellent Jain biographical works, or *Rāses*, written in Sanskrit and in Old Gujarati, bearing on the life and career of this famous acharya ; next, we have the imperial farmans issued by the Emperor in favour of Hiravijayaji, five of which have been definitely located and the authenticity of which is not in any doubt ; and lastly, we have the four contemporary Sanskrit or Prakrit epigraphic records in peninsular Gujarat, one at Una and three on the hill of Shatrunjaya at Palitana, which have been reviewed in detail in this chapter. In these literary works, Persian farmans and Sanskrit inscriptions, Hiravijaya Suri stands out as the representative of the Jain community of India in the second half of the sixteenth century, just as, during the half century that followed, the famous jeweller and financier, Shantidas Jawahari of Ahmadabad, is the recipient from successive Mughal emperors of various religious grants as the representative leader of the same wealthy and influential community in Gujarat.

13 The Sanskrit text of this inscription, as also that of the inscription at Una, was kindly translated for me, some years before his death, by my friend, the late Diwan Bahadur K. H. Dhruva of Ahmadabad.

APPENDIX

MOUNT SHATRUNJAYA AND ITS JAIN TEMPLES IN SAURASHTRA

The aggregation on a hill-top of a number of temples to form what may be called a 'City of Temples' is a peculiarity which the Jains practised more than the followers of any other religion in India.[14] The hill of Shatrunjaya (1977 ft. above sea level), situated about a mile and a half from the town of Palitana in the south-east of Saurashtra, is the most sacred among the holy places of the Jain community in India, being dedicated to their great Tirthankar Adinath. A brief account of this hill, including the picturesque description by A. K. Forbes of the temples on it, has been given in the introductory chapter to the first volume of this work.[15] It will not be out of place, however, to give some further details here of a place which stands unique among the historical and religious centres of India.

The hill of Palitana rises gently from the plains to twin summits linked together by a saddle or shallow valley. These tops, each about 350 yards long, as also the intervening valley, covered with hundreds of beautiful temples of all sizes and designs, have well been described as 'a sacred city in mid air.' 'The one thing that removes this collection of temples,' says Mr. H. Cousens, 'from others of its kind, as found in the cities of the plains, is the total absence of dwellings of any kind, not only among the temples, but anywhere upon the hill. Everyday life, which is so wedded to all collections of sacred buildings in and about the towns, is here conspicuous by its absence ; and this it is, together with its thoroughly isolated position among the clouds, that at once gives it that charm and mysterious air which is so peculiarly its own.'[16]

The ascent up the hill begins with a wide flight of steps, guarded on either side by the statue of an elephant, but the road is, over a large part, paved with rough stones. The hillside is in many places excessively steep, yet most pilgrims perform the journey on foot. After ascending about three-quarters of the way, the northern crest comes suddenly into view with the great *Chaumukha* temple rising high above all. A little further on, the road bifurcates, one branch leading straight to the north ridge while the other rounds the foot of the spur and makes

14 The lofty mountain of Girnar, near Junagadh, 3,666 ft. high, is held by the Jains as only second to Shatrunjaya in sanctity. It, too, has a famous group of temples located on a ledge on its top, several of them very ancient, but the total number of shrines here is much smaller than on the hill of Palitana. The antiquity of several of the temples, *e.g.*, the triple one erected by Vastupal and Tejpal in A.D. 1177, can hardly be suspected because of the coatings of lime and paint on them. This act of renovation, though prompted by piety, offends the historical sense and shocks the antiquarian visiting this and other Jain religious centres.

15 See Vol. I of this History, Introdn. LXXXII-LXXXIII.

16 H. Cousens, *Somanatha and other Mediaeval Temples of Kathiawad*, 74.

for the southern summit on which stands the famous temple of Adinath or Adishwar Bhagwan. Both the ridges, and the valley between, are surrounded with massive battlemented walls for the purpose of defence. The buildings on both ridges are again divided and grouped into a number of separate enclosures, called *tuks*, each generally containing one principal temple, with a varying number of smaller ones. Of these *tuks* there are some nine and each one is protected by strong gates and walls, and the gates are carefully closed at sundown. Practically the entire area of the hill-tops and of the valley between appears to have been utilised for shrines and their courts and cloisters, and the total number of temples, large and small, on the hill is over 500. There is a cleanliness about every square, passage and hall, and a total absence of all dirt, that produces a very pleasing impression on the visitor.

Though very remote antiquity is claimed by the Jains for several of the shrines on the hill, especially for that of Adishwar Bhagwan, the renovation and rebuilding of the older ones, as also layers of plaster and whitewash, have left but little, if any, of the original appearance in evidence anywhere. The history of the early structures may to some extent be reconstructed with the help of the inscriptions and the iconography of the hill. We find nothing dated earlier than the 12th century, A.D. The earliest of the epigraphs are all found inscribed upon the marble image seats, or *simhasanas*, more or less mutilated, stained with age, and now built up in modern cells and shrines. It is possible that, as is said by the Jains, Kumarpal Solanki (A.D. 1143-74), who was a great patron of Jainism, built one or more shrines upon the hill. We may safely say that some 300 years ago there could not have been more than two small groups of temples upon the hill—perhaps not a dozen shrines in all, *viz.*, that of *Chaumukha* on the northern crest and that of Adishwar on the southern. There are several inscriptions dated between the 12th century and the 15th, but of the 16th century there are only three ; while from the early part of the 17th to the present time they are found in an unbroken succession.

A device which seems to have been adopted by the Jains to avert the iconoclastic propensities of the early Muslim rulers may yet be seen on the hill. In the front of the tower of the great temple of Adishwar, as also above the south corridor and the adjoining temple, have been built miniature *idgahs* in masonry which could only have been intended to prevent a sacrilege of the temples by the enemies of their faith. It being contrary to the teaching of Islam to destroy a mosque or *idgah* when once built, the destruction of the temple would have involved the fall of the *idgah* as well. Another fact that probably points to Muslim iconoclasm is that the sacred image of Adishwar has a gold nose, from which it may be inferred that the original in marble had been broken off. There are, besides, many old images in the cells of the corridors which have particularly flat noses, and it is surmised that these noses 'have been refashioned upon the stumps of the former ones, with a little

necessary digging into the face to get sufficient protuberance for the new ones'.[17]

We may conclude by reference to a striking aspect of the temple-crowned hill of Shatrunjaya. By noon every day, the crowd of pilgrims which has ascended the hill from early morning, begins its descent to the plains, for, after sunset, no visitors are allowed to remain on the top, and the hill is deserted except for the *punjaris* and the watchmen, who then retire to their secluded quarters. 'There now reigns such a solemn and profound silence over the whole place, broken but occasionally by the sudden flight and gyration around the pinnacles of flocks of rock-pigeons, as to make one almost conjure up the belief that he has been spirited away into some enchanted marble halls, whose inmates, all turned to stone, sit singly or in rows in perpetual silence within the recesses of their mysterious shrines peering out upon him in their ever unchanging, fixed, and glassy stare.'[18] The practice mentioned above has led another writer to say that the hill of Shatrunjaya is a 'city of the gods, meant for them only, and not intended for the use of mortals.'[19]

17 H. Cousens, op. cit., 76.
18 *ibid* 83.
19 J. Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, 24.



Courtesy : D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., Bombay

PANELS DEPICTING THE DELIVERY OF JAHANGIR'S FARMAN OF 1610 TO ACHARYA VIJAYASENA SURI IN SAURASHTRA (p. 266)

CHAPTER XXIII

JAHANGIR'S PATRONAGE OF THE JAIN RELIGIOUS LEADERS OF GUJARAT, 1605-1618

THOUGH Jahangir's imperial autobiography and the formal histories of his reign are silent on the subject, we have sufficient information from Jain biographies of their religious leaders and from some half a dozen royal farmans to show that, as with the Jesuit Fathers of the Third Mission, the persuasive influence of eminent Jain religious teachers, begun under Akbar, continued at the Mughal court during the first half of the emperor Jahangir's reign also. On his accession, however, both Bhanuchandra and his disciple Siddhichandra, who had been continuously in residence at Akbar's court for the record period of 20 years, sought and received the royal permission to return to their native country. The earliest of several imperial farmans issued by Jahangir in favour of the Jains, some of which are located in the Jain *bhandar* at Cambay, was probably granted to these Jain leaders on their departure from Agra for Gujarat in 1605-06.[1] It is addressed particularly to the officials or mutasaddis of the *sarkar* of Sorath (Saurashtra) to the effect that the 'Yatis' Bhanuchandra and Siddhichandra (who was entitled *Khush Faham*) had made a humble representation that the jaziya tax, and the slaughter of cows, bulls and buffaloes, had been prohibited by *Ala Hazarat* (i.e. Akbar); so also the killing of other animals on specified days in the year (mentioned on the reverse of the document),[2] the confiscation of the property of deceased persons, the taking of captives in war, and the poll-tax on pilgrims to Mount Shatrunjaya, had been abolished by that monarch. In response to the request made by the monks, these prohibitions are now confirmed by Jahangir after adding to the list of days on which animal slaughter was prohibited, one more month, *viz.*, the one in which he was born. The Emperor further orders the officials that they should attend properly to Vijayasena Suri and Vijayadeva Suri who were then in Gujarat, and that Bhanuchandra and Siddhichandra on their arrival should also be looked after, and

Bhanuchandra takes leave of Jahangir

[1] The Tughra in this document, *viz.*, *Farman of Abul Muzaffar Sultan Shah Salim Ghazi*, shows that it was issued by the Emperor before he assumed his formal imperial titles of 'Nur-ud-din Muhammad Jahangir Badshah-i-Ghazi.' The date of the farman is not legible, but it may be placed in the very first year of Jahangir's reign.

[2] This list of days on which animal slaughter was prohibited is similar to the list mentioned in the chapter on Akbar's relations with the Jains. (See p. 241 *n*)

whatever they required to be done should be attended to. The farman also directs that in the pargana of Una there was an oart in which the foot-prints of 'Hiraji' (Hiravijayaji) were consecrated: this garden was to be considered exempt from all taxes, etc., according to the existing practice, and there was to be no interference with the same.[3]

After receiving the usual ceremonial welcome at the various Jain centres on their journey to the Western coast, Bhanuchandra and his disciple arrived at Ahmadabad in 1606 and proceeded to Cambay to pay homage to the acharya Vijayasena Suri, the head of the Tapa *gachha*. Thereafter, they returned to this capital, where the Rajput noble, Raja Vikramajit, had been appointed by Jahangir for a time as viceroy of Gujarat.[4] At the local *upashraya*, the Raja, accompanied by Siddhichandra, performed the worship of the Jinas and issued a proclamation, by beat of drum, prohibiting animal slaughter. From 1607 to 1610, both master and disciple remained in Gujarat, and during this period Siddhichandra increased his reputation for learning. Once, when Mirza Sadulla (Navaziz Khan), the governor of Patan, forbade a *jalyatra* procession on the occasion of the installation of the idol of a Jain Tirthankar, this monk boldly approached him, with the leading members of the Jain congregation, and prevailed upon him not only to permit the ceremony but to attend it himself.[5] Bhanuchandra and his disciple appear to have passed in all four monsoons in Gujarat. In 1610-11, an order arrived at Ahmadabad from the court to the effect that the Emperor wanted both the Jain religious teachers to return to Agra. Before we proceed with the details of their second stay at the Mughal court, we shall refer to two other farmans, which were evidently issued by Jahangir during the interval between their departure in 1606 and their return in 1611, and which show that other Jain monks of repute, such as Vivekharsa and Parmanand, had visited the court at Agra during their absence in Gujarat.

His stay in Gujarat 1606-10.

[3] The originals of this and several other farmans issued by Jahangir in favour of the Jains were found several years ago by Muni Vidyavijaya in a collection of old books located in the Sagar *upashraya* in Sagotapada at Cambay, and the Persian transcripts of the same are printed in his Gujarati work, *Surishwar and Samrat* (See pp. 388-89). An English translation of this farman is given in *Bhanuchandra-Charita*, Ed. by Mohanlal M. Desai, 82-83.

[4] Jahangir says that, in H. 1014 (A.D. 1605-06), the son of the ex-Sultan Muzaffar III having attacked and plundered the environs of Ahmadabad, he sent Raja Vikramajit and others with 6,000 horse to assist the army of Gujarat. It was decided that, thereafter, the Raja should be Subahdar of Gujarat and that Qulij Khan, who had previously been nominated to that office, should come to court (*Memoirs of Jahangir*, R and B, I, 49-50.)

[5] *Bhanuchandra-Charita*, Intrn., 47-49.

We have already referred to the farman issued in the first year of Jahangir's accession. The next is dated the third year of the reign (1608), and it is addressed to the governors, officials and jagirdars of the subah of Gujarat. It is to the effect that the Yatis Vivekharsha[6] and Parmanand had presented themselves before the emperor and had submitted a representation on behalf of Vijayasena Suri, Vijayadeva Suri, and Nandivijaya for the protection of their temples and *dharamsalas* in every town and place. This farman was, therefore, issued to direct that no one should enter these temples or put up at these resting places without permission, and no objection should be made to their being repaired or rebuilt. The Jains were also to be allowed to visit their *tirtha* at Shatrunjaya free from all taxes. And further, it was ordered that on Sunday and Thursday in every week, and on the day of the new moon in every month, and on the day of Nauroz, and on the anniversary day of His Majesty's accession, there should be no slaughter of animals anywhere in the empire, nor should anyone indulge in hunting and fishing or the catching of birds.[7]

Jahangir's Farman of 1608

Another farman was issued two years later, in 1610, to the effect that Vivekharsha, Parmanand and Udaiharsha, the disciples of Vijayasena Suri, and others of the Tapa sect, had submitted a request that, during the holy days of the Paryushana festival of the Jains, in the month of Bhādarva, there should be no slaughter of animals in any part of His Majesty's dominions, and that thereby the Jains would feel honoured, the lives of many animals would be saved, and the good reward therefrom would accrue to 'the pure and happy kingdom.' This request was granted, and a farman was issued ordering the governors and officials in the empire not to permit any animal to be killed during twelve days of the Jain festival every year in any of the slaughter-houses in 'the protected territories'. The date of this document is the 26th of the month of Farvardin in the fifth year of the accession (April, 1610).[8]

Farman of 1610 about the Paryushana festival

[6] Vivekharsha was an active Jain leader of the Topa *gachha*. He made Bharmal, the Rao of Cutch, sympathise with Jain religious doctrines, and consecrated an idol at a village named Khakhar in Cutch in S. 1659 (A. D. 1603). In the reign of Jahangir, he installed several Jain idols at Agra on 10 Jan., 1611 (M. D. Desai, op. cit., p. 20, Note No. 19).

[7] This Farman has been reproduced in facsimile and translated in English in the *Memorial to the Secretary of State from the Firm of Sheth Anandji Kalyanji . . . re the Shatrunjaya Hill*, 27-28. See also *Bhanuchandra-Charita*, Ed. by Mohanlal D. Desai, (1941), pp. 83-84.

[8] An English translation of this Farman is given in *Bhanuchandragani-Charita*, 85; for the Persian text, etc., see *Surishwar and Samrat*, Appendix, pp. 382-86.

Though the authenticity of this document is beyond any doubt, its *issue is confirmed by the contents of a pictorial epistle*, belonging to the class known among the Jains as *Vijnaptipatras*, which was sent by the Jain congregation (*sangh*) at Agra in 1610 to their head Vijayasena Suri, who was at the time residing at Somnath Patan in Kathiawar. Before proceeding with the details of this remarkable document, we may mention that it was the custom among the Jain *sanghs* to send an 'Annual Letter', at the time of their holy Paryushana festival, to their chief acharya, conveying to him their greetings, asking for the forgiveness of their sins, recounting any meritorious deeds performed by them during the year that had ended, and inviting the *guru* to spend the ensuing *chaturmas*, or monsoon period, with them. These letters came to be known as *Vijnaptipatras*, or 'letters of solicitation', and an illustrated Memoir on this subject was published, with reproductions of selected documents, by Dr. Hirananda Shastri for the Baroda State in 1942.[9] It appears, from the information so far available, that this practice was peculiar to the Jain Swetambar community, belonging especially to the *Tapa gachha*, whose acharyas, or spiritual leaders, were connected mostly with Gujarat and the peninsula of Kathiawar. The special value of these *Vijnaptipatras*[10] lies in the fact that they were generally pictorial documents and were illustrated in colour with various figures and scenes connected with the town of issue or bearing on the subject-matter of the letter. They were in the form of long scrolls about a dozen inches wide and varying in length very considerably. Apart from the historical information that is often incidentally found in them, they are of great value as depicting the dress, the arts and crafts, and some of the manners and customs of the age in which they were composed. Similar letters were also written by Jain monks to their religious heads, but these were generally undecorated with pictures.

Jain Vijnaptipatras

The particular Paryushana letter under reference[11], sent from Agra to Gujarat, is dated the 2nd of the bright half of Kartik, Vikram Samvat 1667 (Oct. 8, 1610), and, besides its historical importance as conveying the information about the grant of the above-mentioned farman by Jahangir, is of very special interest as the beautiful coloured panels which precede the text of the letter were painted by no less an artist than the Ustad Salivahana, the famous court painter under Akbar

Pictorial letter to Vijayasena Suri, 1610

[9] *Ancient Vijnaptipatras* by Dr. Hirananda Shastri (Memoir No. 1 Sri-Pratapsimha Maharaja Rajyabhisheka Granthmala), 1942.

[10] They are also known as *Samvatsarika-patras*, being despatched on the Samvatsari day, which is the last day of the Paryushana festival, and as *Kshamapana-patras*, *i.e.*, letters asking the persons to whom they were addressed for forgiveness.

[11] Muni Jinavijayaji, now Director, Bharatya Vidya Bhavan, was the first to bring this unique document to the notice of scholars in an article published in the *Jaina Sahitya Samshodhaka*, Pt. I, Samvat 1977. It was found in the custody of the late Muni Hamsavijayji of Patan and is now with Muni Punyavijayaji of the same place.

and Jahangir. The epistle, which is about 13ft. long and 13in. broad, is written in Old Western Rajasthani, and begins with a long eulogy of the virtues, the perfections and the transcendental qualifications of the great Guru to whom it is addressed—'a new Shri-Hiravijaya (who had expounded the *Dharma* to King Akbar), possessed of greater lustre than the sun, the reincarnation of Gautama in the *Kali* age, the garland of decoration of the *Tapa* community, the sun of the lustre of asceticism, the sole master of the *gachha*, who is named Shri (21 times) the illustrious Vijayasena'. Then follows a list of the names of the signatories—'bowing down to his feet, the solicitors residing in Agra Fort, his obedient servants, the slaves of his slaves, who are the dust of his feet.'

Its historical references

It is in the concluding portion of the text of this document that we find the historical references which constitute for us its special importance: 'We are all well and happy here by your blessings. The *Paryushana* festival has passed off without any hitch. You will be pleased to learn that, for twelve days, *amari* (i.e. non-slaughter of animals) was observed, particularly in the eastern provinces and in the districts of Delhi, Mewat, Ranthambhor, etc. No such unique incident has taken place since the accession of the emperor Jahangir to the throne. By your grace, the glory of the Tapagachha has been greatly increased thereby. Two farmans have been issued. Prior to the Paryushana, Raja Ramdas[12] submitted his prayer to the emperor. The orders were given as desired, and announced by beat of drum. At that time the darbar was being held and the emperor was seated at the *jharokha*. Raja Ramdas was in front, and behind him stood Pandit Vivekharsa with the farman (granted by Akbar), and after him Pandit Udayaharsha. They made a request about non-slaughter of animals and the emperor gave immediate orders. Ustad Salivahana is the royal painter, and he has reproduced (in this document) the scene exactly as he witnessed it, and he has also sent to you his humble greetings. We invite Your Holiness to come and stay with us. Your presence will greatly increase the prestige of the community.'[13]

[12] Raja Ramdas, who belonged to the Kachhwaha clan of Jaipur, was one of the favourite courtiers of the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. He was also a man of learning and patronised the Brahmans. At one time, he was the Naib of Todar Mall in the financial department. Though he had a palace at Agra, he lived in the imperial guard-house with his 200 Rajputs. Jahangir, on his accession, gave him the title of Raja and raised his mansab to 3000, and in 1611 sent him to Gujarat, along with Abdulla Khan Bahadur Firuz Jung, the subahdar, in order to advise the latter in the Deccan campaign. He died in 1613 while on military service at Bangash in the subah of Kabul (*Aini-Akbari*, I, 438 ; *Tuzuk*, I, 21, 201-2,252. See also *Bhanuchandra-Charita*, Ed. by Mohanlal D. Desai, Intn. 39 *n*.)

[13] Dr. Hirananda Shastri, op. cit., 24-30; N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 69-73.

Reverting to the presence of Jain monks at Jahangir's court, we may say that it is from the Jain historical biography, the *Bhanuchandra-Charita*, composed in Sanskrit verse by Siddhichandra, that we gather some information about the return of both these religious teachers to the imperial court at Agra after an absence of about four or five years in Gujarat. When Jahangir Quli Khan (Mirza Shams-ud-din) was serving as deputy viceroy of this province (1609-11) for his father Mirza Aziz Koka, an order reached him to the effect that the Emperor desired that these Jain leaders should meet him again. Intimation of this command was conveyed to them at Patan, and they came to Ahmadabad, where they were given a suitable welcome by the deputy. After the usual journey to the north, they reached Agra, where Raja Ramdas conducted them to the Emperor.[14] The two monks probably arrived at the court in 1611 and stayed there till 1613. The Jain biographical work does not give any dates about their arrival, or the length of their second stay at the Mughal court, but it recounts some interesting incidents to which we shall refer.

Bhanuchandra again at the court, c. 1611

Jahangir, we are told, was specially attracted by Siddhichandra, who, apart from his wide learning, both in Sanskrit and Persian, was extremely handsome. Jahangir, struck by the contrast between his youth and appearance and his severe austerities, asked him his age and was told that the monk was only twenty-five. Then followed a discussion in which the Emperor pointed out that youth was the time for pleasure and love, and that austerities should be reserved for old age, which was the proper time for renouncing the world in order to achieve spiritual perfection. To this, Siddhichandra offered boldly but respectfully a convincing reply. In old age, he declared, a man had little vitality, without which no austerities could be performed, and, therefore, youth was the proper time for initiation into monkhood. Knowledge, derived from meditation, which taught men how to be reunited to the Supreme Being, was sufficient to control the mind against all carnal pleasures, just as an elephant was controlled by means of a goad. The monk further asserted that absolute detachment from worldly shackles was the final aim of existence. The Jain *Ras* states that the beautiful empress Nur Mahal also joined in the discussions.

Jahangir argues with Siddhichandra

Finding that the young monk was getting the better of the argument, Jahangir changed his tone and ordered that he should marry and assume the status of a householder and abandon the barren and miserable life of an ascetic. But Siddhichandra declared that to deviate from his vow was the action of a coward. The Emperor, thereupon, became angry, and, ordering a vicious elephant to be brought up, put before the monk the choice between accepting from him a wife, with lands and wealth, and

Jahangir angry with the monk

14 *Bhanuchandra-Charita*, op. cit., 50-51.

being trampled to death by the furious animal. But, to the astonishment of all, the monk stood firm, calmly facing imminent destruction.[15] Jahangir at last gave an order that he should retire to a forest for disobeying the imperial wishes. The monk, thereupon, left the court and went to stay at Malpur in Jaipur State. He was subsequently called back and restored to favour.[16] These events took place before the Emperor left Agra on 6 Sept., 1613 for Ajmer. About 1612 or 1613, Jahangir had also issued a general order banishing all Jain monks, evidently in one of his drunken fits of passion. But this was also cancelled, and Siddhichandra ends his biographical work with the statement that, after his recall, the emperor, at his request, withdrew his orders for the banishment of the Jain monks. It will be seen in the next paragraph that the acharya Jinachandrasuri also had a hand in the matter.

Jinachandra at Jahangir's court

In our account of Akbar's relations with the Jain acharyas in a preceding chapter, it has been stated that this emperor was not only friendly with the leaders of the Tapa *gachha* but that he extended his patronage to the Suris of the rival Kharatara *gachha* also, and that he invited their leader Jinachandra Suri to Lahore in 1692-93 and conferred upon him the title of *Yugapradhana*. It is evident from Jain contemporary literature that under the Emperor Jahangir also similar favours continued to be enjoyed by the same acharya. In Samvat 1668 (A.D. 1612), Jahangir was incensed at the misconduct of a *Darsani* (monk), and, in a fit of passion, not only had him expelled, but ordered all Jain monks (*sevdas*) to be banished from his realm. In this crisis, the Jain *sangha* at Agra sent a request to their religious head in Gujarat, the acharya Jinachandra Suri, to come to the capital and intercede with the emperor. The Suri, thereupon, came from Patan to Agra, discoursed before the Emperor, and ultimately Jahangir was prevailed upon to withdraw his orders.[17] This information, available from Jain literary sources, is confirmed by an inscription, dated Samvat 1675 (A.D. 1619), in a temple on the hill of Shatrunjaya, which, after referring to Jinachandra's influence on Akbar, adds : 'He appeased the angry Jahangir and protected the Sādhus banished by him.'[18]

15 Another Jain biography, the *Vijaya-Tilaka Rasa Adhikara*, also describes Siddhichandra as remaining firm at Jahangir's order that he should marry, even under the threat of being trampled to death by an elephant if he did not. (*Bhanuchandra-Charita*, Note No. 88, p. 57).

16 *Bhanuchandra-Charita* 52-58.

17 See extracts from contemporary Jain literature, *e.g.*, *Sri Yugapradhana-nirvana ras*, and other works, quoted by Prof. Kalipada Mitra in a Paper *Historical references in Jain poems*, published in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 6th Session, 1943, pp. 344-47.

18 Guerinot, *Repertoire d'Epigraphie-Jaina*, 246, Ins. No. 692.

The acharya Jinachandra Suri died in 1614 at Bilada, the year after his visit to Jahangir's court, and he was succeeded as head of the Kharatara *gachha* by his disciple Manasimha, who had accompanied him to Akbar's court at Lahore in 1692-93 and had received at that time at the hands of his master the dignity of an acharya with the *biruda* or title of Jinasimha Suri. His disciple Rajasamudra says that Jahangir (who now held his court at Ajmer) honoured him much and ordered Muqarrab Khan to invest him with the title of *Yugapradhana*, which had previously been bestowed by Akbar on his master Jinachandra. This event is supported by epigraphic evidence also.[19] Some time later, in Samvat 1674 (A.D. 1617-18), when the monk was at Bikaner, Jahangir, who, according to the Jain poem, loved the Suri and was anxious to see him, sent a farman to his officers asking them to send him to his court. Jinasimha, thereupon, left Bikaner, but, after he had passed Medta, his health failed him, and he died on 14 Jan., 1618.[20] This account, based on authentic Jain sources, cannot be reconciled with the bitter and abusive remarks which Jahangir makes in his *Memoirs* against Manasimha, to which we shall refer later.

Jahangir's relations with Manasimha

The Emperor left Agra in the autumn of 1613 and was away from his capital for nearly five years, till 1618. During this period his court was held successively at Ajmer, at Mandu, and at Ahmadabad, and he spent long months on his journeys to and from these places. The events that we shall now describe, relating to his contacts with the Jain leaders, belong to these years, and the places where they occurred can be located with exactness, as Jahangir gives in his Memoirs exact dates for his marches and his sojourn at the three capital towns mentioned above. That he should have been brought during these years into even closer relations with the Jain *gurus* was to be expected, as he was now in the very home-lands of the Jain community in Rajputana, Malwa and Gujarat. After his final departure from Ahmadabad for the imperial capital late in 1618, these contacts evidently ceased to operate, and we have no further information on the subject.

Jahangir's tour in the Western Provinces, 1613-18

19 The Sanskrit inscription, dated S. 1675 (A.D. 1619), on the Shatrunjaya hill, which has been mentioned above, proceeds to state : 'The successor of Jinachandra Suri (as pontiff of the Kharatara *gaccha*) was Jinasimha Suri, who pleased Akbar Shah, stopped for a year the killing of aquatic animals, caused an edict forbidding killing to be proclaimed in various countries, and received the title of *Yugapradhana* from Jahangira-Nuradi-Muhammada (*i.e.* Jahangir Nur-ud-din Muhammad)'. (Ep. Ind., II, 37. and Guerinot, *Repertoire D'Epigraphie Jaina*, p. 246, Insn. No. 692). Jinasimha was born in S. 1615 (A.D. 1559), was made an acharya at Lahore in S. 1649 (A.D. 1593) and died at Medta in S. 1674 (A.D. 1618). *Vide* Ind. Antiquary, XI, p. 250, No. 62.

20 Kalipada Mitra, op. cit., 345 ; Mohanlal D. Desai, op. cit., Intn. pp. 18, 20.

After leaving Agra in Sept., 1613, Jahangir was resident for the long period of three years at Ajmer, and we find that, towards the end of his stay in that city (1616), he issued two farmans in favour of the Jains. The earlier of these was granted late in the year 1615 to Chandu Sanghavi of Agra,[21] to the effect that 10 Bigahs of land should be given as *madad-i-maash* to this Jain leader in the village lands of Akbarpur, near Cambay, in the Chorasi pargana, free of all dues and charges. In the official memoranda attached to the farman, it is stated that this Chandu Sanghavi presented himself before the emperor, offered a valuable ring set with a precious stone, and prayed that ten Bigahs of land may be granted to him in the village mentioned above for the purpose of building a temple and putting up a garden and a memorial in honour of the deceased Jain acharya, Vijayayasena Suri.[22] In making this grant, Jahangir was clearly following in the footsteps of his father Akbar, who had made a similar award of land in 1595 in the Shah Bagh at Una in Saurashtra for the purpose of a temple in which were consecrated the footprints of Hiravijaya Suri, the predecessor of Vijayasena Suri. The farman is dated 'the 17th of the month of Rajab, H. 1024 (August 2, 1615).'[23]

Land granted at Cambay for a temple, 1616

The second farman, issued by Jahangir at Ajmer in July, 1616, orders his officials throughout the empire to allow complete freedom of worship to the monks (*yatis*) of the Jain community. It says that Vivekharsha and Jayanand, the disciples of Vijayadeva Suri, presented themselves before the Emperor and begged for an urgent farman in favour of the Jain monks, who are described in the document as 'virtuous and whose sole function is the worship and adoration of God.' In response to the same, this 'Jahangiri order' had the honour of being published, to the effect that the mutasaddis, jagirdars and the administrators of royal affairs throughout the empire should allow these monks to attend to their worship and their devotions in perfect peace of mind, 'so that they may pray for the continuance of this holy, exalted and auspicious empire.' The document is dated the 2nd of the month of Amardad in the 11th year of the accession (July, 1616).[24] It is interesting to contrast the honourable

Liberty of worship for Jain monks, 1616

21 This person was probably the lay magnate Sanghpati Chandrapala of Agra who in 1611 (S. 1667) consecrated two idols in a Jain temple in that city as recorded in the inscriptions on these images. (*Bhanuchandra-Charita*, p. 86, Note No. 112).

22 The Acharya Vijayasena Suri died at Cambay in June 1615, and a shrine was erected at the old suburb of Akbarpur by one Somjishah, a Jain magnate of that place. This temple has disappeared, but a stone tablet bearing the *padukas* of the deceased *guru*, with a Sanskrit inscription, which evidently belonged to the shrine, may now be seen inserted in the wall of the underground temple of Shantinath at Cambay (*Surishwar and Samrat*, 237 *n*. The shrine at Akbarpur was consecrated on Jan. 21, 1616,

23 For an English translation of this Farman and its memoranda, see *Bhanuchandra Charita*, 86-88. See also *Surishwar and Samrat*, 394-5.

24 This Farman is reproduced in facsimile, with an English translation, in my monograph *Imperial Mughal Farmans in Gujarat*, published in the Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. IX, Pt. I, July, 1940, pp. 26-29 and Plates I and I-A

and appreciative terms in which the ascetics (*Sevdas*) are referred to in this farman with the abusive remarks against them and their character found in the *Memoirs* of the emperor two years later, when he records the death of one of these monks, Mansingh Sevda, in 1618.

Schism among the Jain religious leaders

During the last months of his stay at Ajmer, the emperor appointed Muqarrab Khan, one of his most trusted nobles, who had long held the post of governor at Surat and Cambay, to be viceroy of Gujarat, and the latter left the court on 13 September 1616 to proceed to this province. On the way, he halted at Jalor where Bhanuchandra was passing the monsoon season. At an interview which took place between them, the *upadhyaya* submitted his complaints against Vijayadeva Suri, the new head of the Tapa-*gachha*, and charged him with making common cause with the Sāgar group which was not following the behests of their late pontiff Hiravijaya Suri. This controversy among the Jain religious teachers of Gujarat had engendered considerable bitterness, leading to the rise of rival pontiffs. In January, 1617, at a plenary conference of Jain monks held at Ahmadabad, attended by leaders from various centres, a learned monk named Ramavijaya was invested with the title of Vijaya-tilak Suri, and proclaimed the acharya or supreme head of the Tapa *gachha*, thus depriving Vijayadeva Suri of this position.[25]

Jahangir at Mandu: Vijayadev Suri invited, 1617

After an unusually prolonged stay at Ajmer,[26] Jahangir left that city in November, 1616, and, proceeding by easy stages, arrived on the lofty plateau of Mandu, the capital of Malwa, on 3 March 1617. Here he held his court for eight months till he started, at the end of the same year, for his tour in Gujarat. According to the information available from Jain sources, Jahangir continued during this period his contacts with the leading Jain teachers. At the royal invitation, Vijayadeva Suri arrived at the court from Cambay on 2 October 1617, and, so highly pleased and impressed was the emperor at the discussion which took place, that he bestowed upon him the title of 'Jahangiri Maha-Tapa.' The Suri was, thereafter, taken to his retreat in a procession with the royal band playing, The grant of the title mentioned above is also proved by the fact that it is engraved in various consecration inscriptions bearing his name.[27] One of Vijayadeva Suri's followers, Nemisagar Upadhyaya, of the Sāgar group, who held the same views and was an

[25] *Banuchandra-Charita*, Ed. by Mohaulal D. Desai, Int., 61.

[26] Jahangir left Agra on 6 September 1613 and reached Ajmer on 8 November of the same year. After a prolonged stay, he left Ajmer for Mandu on 2 November 1616 and arrived at Mandu on 3 March 1617. Prince Khurram came to the court at this capital on 12 October 1617. Early in November, the Emperor left for the Gujarat tour.

[27] *Bhanuchandra-Charita*, 20-21 and 64. For quotations from Jain literary sources see Kalipada Mitra, op. cit.., 346-47.

eloquent debater, started from Radhanpur and came to Mandu where he died shortly after.[28] It was now that Jahangir made an attempt to reconcile the opposing camps in which the Jain monks were divided over the alleged heresy on the part of Vijayadeva Suri.[29]

Congress of Jain acharyas at Mandu

In order to reconcile the differences between the Jain monks, Jahangir also invited the acharya Vijaya-Tilak Suri and Bhanuchandra to Mandu. There were also present Siddhichandra and Nandivijaya, who had many years before accompanied Vijayasena Suri to Akbar's court. The stage was thus set for a full-dress debate and the Emperor called upon them to propound the matter in dispute. Bhanuchandra declared that Vijayadeva Suri was acting against the behests of the *Purvacharyas* (the previous acharyas), and had made common cause with the heretical monks of the Sāgar *gachha*, and consequently he and others had left him and had selected another leader. From the other side, Vijayadeva Suri and Nemisagar Upadhyaya argued that Dharmasagar's work was in consonance with their sacred books, and was wrongly alleged to be contrary to Jain scriptures, and they challenged their opponents to prove their charge. The Emperor was wise enough not to force a decision upon either party, and he advised both sides to live peacefully and amicably.[30]

Jahangir on the death of Mansingh, 1618

Jahangir left Mandu for the Gujarat tour early in November, 1617, and, after spending some days in Cambay, reached Ahmadabad, on his first visit to this capital early in January, 1618. Here he stayed for over a month and started for Malwa in February. A week later, he records in his *Memoirs* his great satisfaction at the news of the death of the Jain religious leader Mansingh Shevda, and he indulges in a bitter tirade against the character and morals of Jain monks.[31] It may be mentioned that Mansingh, who was a leading member of the Kharatara *gachha*, had received at Lahore in 1593 the religious title of Jinasimha Suri. But he had incurred the bitter dislike of Jahangir when he predicted, at the time of his accession, that his reign would not last for more than two years. The news of his death in 1618 would naturally be welcome to the Emperor. At the same time, in the light of the information available from Jain literary and epigraphic records about Jahangir's patronage of Mansingh, it is difficult to understand or explain the Emperor's outburst.[32] Moreover, according to Jain accounts, Jinasimha

28 *Bhanuchandra-Charita*, 21-22, 63-64. Nemisagar died at Mandu on 29 October 1617.

29 The dispute among them had risen over a book styled *Sarvajna-Sataka* written by one Dharmasagar, which had been condemned and proscribed by both Hiravijava Suri and his successor Vijayasena Suri.

30 *Banuchandra-Charita*, op. cit., 62-64.

31 *Memoirs of Jahangir*, R and B, I, 437-38. See *ante* Chapt. V.

32 For the Jain accounts see *ante* p. 262.

Suri died a natural death at Medta on 14th January 1618, contrary to the statement in the imperial autobiography that he took poison on being summoned to the court.

The last reference to the subject-matter of this chapter, so far available, is a letter from Jahangir addressed to Vijayadeva Suri, dated 1st August 1618, in the monsoon season of that year, when his court was held at Ahmadabad during his enforced second stay in that capital. It is a friendly greeting to the Jain acharya informing him that his disciple Dayakushal Panyasa had presented himself before His Majesty to convey news about his master, and had much impressed him by his intelligence. If the acharya had any matter to be brought to the emperor's notice, he should do so, assuring him that his wishes would receive all due attention.[83] The date of this letter, which was sent with Dayakushal, shows that it was written some six months after the passing outburst in the *Memoirs* referred to in the last paragraph, and it is evident that the relations of the emperor with the monks had not undergone any alteration. No further references to Jahangir's contacts with the Jain religious teachers after 1618 are available either in the *Tuzuk* or in Jain literary works.

Jahangir's letter to Vijayadeva Suri, Aug., 1618

APPENDIX

NOTE ON THE PANELS IN THE VIJNAPTIPATRA SENT IN 1610 TO VIJAYASENA SURI (See Plate facing p. 255).

In the top panel of this plate we see the acharya Vijayasena Suri seated on his *gādi*, while his two followers from Agra arrive and submit the new farman to their master. Behind them is an *ahadi* with the document on his head. The four scenes that follow are devoted to the congregation present in the chamber of the acharya. In the first two we see a couple of Jain monks seated along with a number of leading Shravaks or Jain laymen. Next we have three Jain nuns in white dress, in front of whom stand respectfully three lay sisters. Between them we have the symbol of the *swastika* and a plate for offerings. The last scene represents a gaily dressed young man dancing to the accompaniment of a variety of musical instruments played by three women seated and four men standing. Altogether this scroll supplies us with a unique miniature Mughal painting by one of the master-painters of the age.[84] These and preceeding panels have also been beautifully reproduced in colour in Dr Hirananda Shastri's *Ancient Vijnaptipatras*.

83 This document, what is dated 19th of Shaban H. 1027 (1 Aug. 1618), bears the seal of Shah Nawaz Khan (Iraj) the eldest son of the Khan Khanan. Pandit Dayakushal wrote in S. 1649 (A.D. 1593) his work *Labhodayaras* in praise of his master Vijayasen-suri (see *ante* p. 237). For the persian text and English trans. of Jahangir's letter see *Surishwar and Samrat*, 391 and *Bhanuchandra-Charita*, Int, 91.

84 See N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting* (p. 72) where the panels in this pictorial letter were reproduced for the first time along with an interpretation of the various scenes.

CHAPTER XXIV

CONTACTS OF THE THIRD JESUIT MISSION WITH GUJARAT UNDER AKBAR, 1594-1605

THE paucity of historical information at our disposal relating to the Parsi priests at Akbar's court is in striking contrast to the wealth of material available to us on the subject of the three famous Jesuit missions which were sent from Goa to Agra or Lahore at the special invitation of the great emperor. This material is based on the letters of the Fathers by whom the missions were conducted and on the reports sent by the 'Provincial' at Goa to the General of the Society of Jesus at Rome. Moreover, Father Monserrate, a member of the first mission, wrote, after his return to Goa in 1582, an account of what he saw at Akbar's court, which he subsequently incorporated in his large work in Latin entitled *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius*. This work, together with the official letters and records mentioned above, are the primary sources from which formal histories on the Jesuit missionary activities in the East Indies were compiled, at the end of the sixteenth century and the opening of the seventeenth, by learned Jesuit historians such as Peruschi, Guzman, Guerreiro, Du Jarric and others. These were written in various European languages and are still preserved in the archives of the Jesuit Society or in the great public libraries of the capitals of Europe. The contents of these histories, in Portuguese, Spanish or French, were a sealed book to the English-speaking world until, during the last fifty years, the labours of a number of devoted workers, led by the Rev. H. Hostein and that distinguished scholar and administrator, Sir Edward Maclagan, made them available to students of history.

Historical sources for the Jesuit missions

It is with the contacts of the Jesuit missions with Gujarat, and their religious or political activities directly or indirectly bearing on this province, that we propose to deal in this chapter. The story of their futile attempts to convert the Great Mughal, and their later evangelising activities in the north, are matters which belong to the history of Akbar's reign, and are outside the scope of this book. We have little or nothing, therefore, to say in connection with the famous First Mission (1580-83), led by the saintly Rudolph Aquaviva and the scholarly Monserrate. These Fathers passed through Surat, where they landed on their way from Goa to the court at Agra, but they were brought into no further contact with the province. The same applies to the Second Mission which went to Agra in 1591 and whose stay there was limited to a single year. The history of

The Third Jesuit Mission, 1594

the Third Mission to Akbar's court, however, is of special interest to us. Not only did the Fathers who led it make a stay of three weeks in Cambay at the end of 1594, on their way to Lahore, but, after they had settled down at the court, they were instrumental in obtaining special farmans from both Akbar and his son Jahangir on matters connected with the religious activities of their Society in Gujarat. Moreover, the political activities of these Fathers at the court, where they used their influence to thwart the attempts of the early English merchants to secure permission to settle down at Surat, will also demand our notice. Before proceeding with the story of the arrival of the Fathers in Gujarat, we shall briefly describe the circumstances under which the Third Jesuit Mission was appointed and refer to the character of its personnel.

Akbar's motives in inviting the Mission

In 1594, three years after the departure of the Second Mission from the court, Akbar again sent a messenger to the viceroy at Goa, requesting, for the third time, that Fathers of the same Society might be sent to the court. It seems to us at first sight difficult to understand this eagerness on the part of the Emperor to secure again the presence of the Christian missionaries near him. Any intellectual curiosity, or spiritual yearning, that prompted him to invite the First and the Second missions to Agra, must have been amply satisfied before this period. It could not then have been any religious motive that Akbar had now in view when he sent this pressing request. It might be that his pride was flattered by the presence at his court of learned men of all nations and creeds who gathered there to increase his fame and glory. But he was probably also influenced by political motives, for the bearers of his letters to Goa were able to bring back much useful information about the state of affairs in the Portuguese settlements on the Western coast. Akbar must have naturally resented the control of these places by a foreign nation because of the humiliating restrictions which it imposed on the maritime and commercial activities of his subjects. The 'Provincial' of the Jesuit Society at Goa, who had already seen two missions go and return without having accomplished anything of what they had expected, was not in favour of complying with Akbar's request. But the Portuguese viceroy, Mathias de Albuquerque, who grasped the situation better, pressed him to change his mind. The Provincial, thereupon, after consulting the most eminent Fathers in Goa, gave his consent, knowing that it was also the desire of the Father-General of the Society at Rome that there should always be some Fathers at the court of so great a monarch, both for the benefit of the Christians residing there as well as for other considerations.

Jerome Xavier as the leader

The personnel of the Third Jesuit Mission left little to be desired, for it consisted of picked men who were expected to carry through worthily the various objects which the Portuguese viceroy and the Provincial had in view. The leader of the mission was Father Jerome Xavier, a native of Navarre, and a grand-nephew of the famous St. Francis, 'the Apostle of the Indies.'

Without possessing the enthusiastic asceticism of Aquaviva, he was an earnest man of mature age who had spent all his service in India. For twenty-three years he was to remain at the Mogul court: 'sometimes in favour, sometimes in prison; working sometimes for the spiritual conversion of Emperors, at other times for the material advancement of his compatriots; maintaining on the whole a prominent and honoured position, but like most of those who have striven with Oriental courts, finding himself little more advanced at the end than at the beginning'[1]. It was not till 1617 that Jerome Xavier returned from the Mughal court to Goa, where he died the same year.

Another member of the mission was Father Emmanuel Pinheiro, a Portuguese, and a zealous and experienced champion of the faith. He was, as Maclagan says, the first of the Jesuits on these missions to turn his attention seriously to the people rather than to the court, and he spent many years as pastor of a considerable congregation in Lahore. But Pinheiro's influence and activities were not confined to the mission field. As will be seen later, he was specially employed by the Portuguese viceroy at Goa to thwart the English agents and merchants who visited the Mughal court to secure a commercial footing in India. He also died at Goa after his return from Lahore in 1618.

Fr. Pinheiro and De Goes

Accompanying Fathers Xavier and Pinheiro as a Brother coadjutor was Benoist de Goes, who was to become famous as one of the most remarkable of the early Jesuit travellers in the East. After working for eight years as a useful but undistinguished member of the Third Mission at Lahore (1595-1602), he was appointed by the Provincial at Goa to explore the countries of Tibet and China, and to discover the Christian communities reported to be dwelling in those regions. He, therefore, left Lahore early in 1603, and his place was taken by another missionary, Father Corsi, who was specially sent for the purpose. We may mention here that the members of the mission took with them as guide an Armenian who had conducted Fr. Rudolf Aquaviva and his colleagues in 1580.

The Fathers took ship at Goa on 3rd December, 1594, bound for Daman, from which place they proceeded to Cambay, which they reached shortly before Christmas, and where they made a long stay of three weeks. 'At this city,' says du Jarric, 'our Saviour gave them a foretaste of the fruits which they hoped to gather on this mission, granting them so much spiritual consolation that it seemed to be His desire to recompense them in advance for the labours they were to undergo in His service.'[2]

Christmas at Cambay, 1594

[1] E. D. Maclagan: *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 51. Fr. Jerome was born in 1549 in an aristocratic family, but owing to his connection with St. Francis he adopted the name of Xavier in the Society of Jesus which he entered in 1568. He had spent most of his service in India, and was at this time head of the Professed House of Goa.

[2] Du Jarric, trans. by C. H. Payne in *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 52.

As Christmas was near, the Fathers decided to celebrate the Feast of the Nativity at Cambay, intending thereby not only to minister to the religious needs of the Portuguese families residing there, numering about one hundred, but hoping also to make a deep impression on the people of Gujarat by the splendour of their religious ceremonial, for which the Roman Catholic church is famous. A large room in the house in which they were lodged was, therefore, fitted up as a chapel, and an altar was erected therein for the celebration of mass. The chapel was decorated so beautifully that people of all classes in the city came in great numbers to see it. Even the governor of Cambay, we are told, asked the Fathers for leave to be present at divine service. The Portuguese congregation, in particular, received much spiritual benefit from the sojourn of the Fathers, who preached daily in the courtyard of their lodging, said mass, and performed the other rituals of the Catholic church. One member who had turned a yogi, and had abandoned his worldly life, was reconverted and took up his residence again among the Christians.[3]

Hopes of a 'plentiful harvest'

So pleased were the Fathers with the welcome given to them, and with the many tokens of kindness and help from the people of the town, that Father Pinheiro, in a letter which he wrote from Cambay, addressed to Father Nicolao Pimenta, his superior at Goa, declared that 'they felt as if they were among Christians—even amongst the most devout of Europe.' There can, however, be little doubt that the interest manifested by the people of Cambay in the mission and its doings arose from the tolerant character of the citizens and their not unnatural curiosity to witness the pomp of the religious ceremonies of an alien faith. But the good Father Pinheiro, in his pious zeal, to a large extent misinterpreted the significance of these demonstrations, and came to the conclusion that the people of Gujarat were as a community inclined to piety and devotion, and that 'if they were instructed by the preaching of the Gospel, and moved by divine grace, there was great hope of a plentiful harvest.'[4]

Sultan Murad at Cambay

The Jesuit Fathers had not been in Cambay for more than a couple of days when Sultan Murad, the second son of Akbar, and at this time viceroy of Gujarat, arrived in the city from Ahmadabad with a large army. He had been placed by his father in charge of the war in the Deccan against the Nizam Shahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and was now on his march towards Surat and Burhanpur where he was to join his forces with those of the Khan Khanan who had already advanced from Malwa. The prince had with him a body of four to five thousand horse which he left in camp outside the town, while he himself with a small party took up his residence at the 'Castle' of Cambay. He had, as a boy, been Fr.

[3] Du Jarric, op. cit., 53; Fr. Felix: Article on *Mughal Farmans*, etc., in Panjab His. Soc. Journ, Vol. V, 1916, p. 8; also Article on *Jesuit Missions at Lahore*, ibid. p. 76.

[4] Father Felix: op. cit., p. 8.

Monserrate's pupil at Akbar's court, and, on learning that the Jesuit Fathers were in the town, he sent them word on Christmas eve tha the desired them to come to the citadel to meet him. This they did, and were received with much kindness and honour. But the prince stayed only a night in the castle, and soon marched forth, having collected 200,000 crowns (£50,000) in the town partly in coin and partly in ingots of gold.

He invites the Fathers to his camp

After having advanced a league from Cambay , Prince Murad again summoned the Fathers to his presence in the camp. The order rather disconcerted them, for it was received at three o'clock in the morning and they had arranged to celebrate on that day the feast of the Circumcision of the Lord with special solemnity. They, nevertheless, rose early and set forth after one of them had said mass. When they reached the camp they found that all Murad's captains had assembled to make their morning salutation to their general, and the prince himself was standing in a conspicuous position near a pavilion. Having made their reverence in the Mughal fashion, the Fathers also took their place among the other nobles, 'who were standing like so many statues with their eyes fixed on the Prince.' After this early darbar in the camp had ended, Sultan Murad entered his pavilion which stood in the centre of an elevated plot of ground. It was open on all sides and contained a small couch. Here he took his seat and again received the Fathers at a less formal and more courteous interview. The conversation did not turn on religious matters, for Murad was a free-thinker and fond of pleasure. He chatted about sport and hunting, and asked the Fathers whether bears, hares and other wild animals, as also birds of the chase, such as falcons and hawks, were to be found in Portugal. After answering these - and some more trifling questions, the visitors took leave of the prince.

The Prince's zeal for their comfort

At this meeting there were brought to the Prince fifteen hundred mahmudis which he pressed the Fathers to accept. He told them that he knew that they did not take presents, but as they were poor, and would require help on the journey, he desired them to accept this amount as alms. So saying, he sprang on to an elephant, and from thence on to another huge one 'which seemed like a tower.' Fearing that the Fathers would not take the money, he left orders that the amount should be entrusted to the Armenian who conducted them, so that when they returned to their lodging they should find the 1,500 mahmudis. The prince showed his further solicitude for the Christian priests, who had come to the Mughal realm at his sire's special request, by sending them three carts and six bullocks to carry their loads and also three horses for them to ride on. All these conveniences, as also the money, were found of great help by the mission on its long journey to Lahore.

Here we take leave of this genial and open-hearted prince on his way to Surat for the Deccan campaign. The war against Ahmadnagar was to prove unsuccessful owing to disagreement between him and the Khan Khanan; and five years later he met an early death from the effects of gross intemperence. His name was long associated with Ahmadabad by his laying out the famous garden on the banks of the Sabarmati, which was called the Rustam Bagh after the name of his son. Du Jarric's pen-picture of this prince, based no doubt on the original letters and reports of the Fathers who saw him at Cambay, is interesting: 'He was by nature mild, kind, liberal and good-tempered; but the youthful retainers by whom he was surrounded had already corrupted him. He had no respect for the mosques of Mahomet, which he seldom entered; his sole pleasure was in the chase, in love-making, and in running hither and thither.'[5]

Du Jarric on Murad's character

The Fathers had been kept longer at Cambay than they intended owing to the prince's visit to that town, but, after his departure, they prepared to continue their journey about the middle of January, 1595. The Emperor's court was at this period at Lahore, and, according to the passports supplied to the mission, they were expected to proceed to that city by way of Sind. But as the governor of that province was engaged at this time with the Ramzan fast, he was not able to attend to other affairs. The mission, therefore, had to take the route by way of Ahmadabad, Patan and Rajputana, which entailed considerable expense and suffering owing to the sandy and desert tracts through which it had to pass, and the great scarcity of sweet water. According to the custom of the times, the Fathers joined at Cambay a caravan proceeding towards Ahmadabad. An interesting account of the procedure followed by these caravans is given by Du Jarric. A captain was chosen to lead the 'Kafila' which often contained two to three thousand persons. That which the Fathers joined consisted of four hundred camels, a hundred carts, as many horses, and a large number of poor people who followed the others on foot. Every day, before the caravan started, the captain ordered the drums to be beaten three times. When the first drums were sounded, the tents in which the people had slept during the night were to be folded up; on the second call the camels and carts were loaded; and on the third the cavalcade moved forward. When travelling by night, the drummers led the way beating their instruments all the time. Halts were generally made at night for rest, as also in places where wells were to be found. The bullocks which drew the carts were employed to raise the water from the wells on the route.

The Fathers resume their journey

5 Du Jarric, trans. by Payne, 57.

Du Jarric mentions some 'remarkable things' which the Fathers saw at Ahmadabad. In the middle of the great Square, between the Bhadra towers and the Three Gates, a yogi had established himself; and the people of the city flocked in large numbers to see him because of the austerities which he was reported to practice. But the man was arrogant and conceited, and had none of the humility or courtesy of a mendicant, as the following incident will show. Sultan Murad, when at Ahmadabad in the exalted post of viceroy, summoned him to his presence, probably to satisfy his curiosity. But the yogi disdainfully informed those who were sent to fetch him that the prince could come and see him if he chose, 'for my holiness well merits it.' The prince, being informed of this reply, ordered the 'saint' to be soundly flogged for his presumption and banished him from the province. Evidently the yogi thought he was a Diogenes, but Sultan Murad was not inclined to play the part of Alexander the Great. After a stay of about four days, the Fathers left Ahmadabad on the 19th March, and late on the 24th they reached Patan. Here they remained for three days to celebrate the feast of the Passover, and many Christians who had joined the caravan 'confessed,' including several Armenians. Continuing their journey to the north, in the worst season of the year for travelling, they finally entered the town of Lahore on 5th May 1595, five months and two days after they had started from Goa.[6]

Arrival at Ahmadabad, March, 1595

We have described above at some length the arrival of the Jesuit Fathers, Jerome Xavier and Pinheiro, in Gujarat and their interesting stay at Cambay and Ahmadabad before they reached the court of Akbar. But, perhaps more important than this direct contact at their first arrival in India, was the indirect influence which the members of the Third Jesuit Mission brought to bear on Gujarat affairs during the long period of twenty years that they remained at the Mughal court (1595-1615). This influence was, in the first instance, religious in its character, for the Fathers had carried away the impression that the people of Gujarat were well disposed 'to receive the seed of the Holy Gospel.' They were, therefore, anxious to secure royal sanction to preach openly the Christian faith in Gujarat and to make converts among the king's subjects without molestation. But, during all these years, the Fathers also played, at Lahore and at Agra, another rôle as the agents of the Portuguese viceroy. Their political influence in directing the policy of the Mughal rulers against the settlement of the Dutch and the English at Surat will, there-

Twofold objective of the mission

[6] For details of the history of the Third Jesuit Mission at Akbar's court from 1595-1605, see Sir Edward Maclagan's *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 50-65. During these ten years, Akbar held his court at various places as follows: (*a*) For some 3½ years, from May, 1595 to the end of 1598, at Lahore, except for a brief visit to Kashmir in 1597; (*b*) At the end of 1598 he left for the Deccan where he spent 2½ years and returned to Agra in May, 1601; (*c*) For the remaining 4¼ years, till his death in October, 1605, he was generally resident at Agra.

fore, require our special consideration, especially during Jahangir's reign. In the course of this long stay at the Mughal headquarters, Father Jerome, as the leader of the mission, attached himself more particularly to the person of the emperor, following his court wherever he went. We thus find him accompanying Akbar from Lahore to Kashmir and after that to Agra. At a later date, when Akbar marched in person to Burhanpur, with an immense army, 'comprising a thousand elephants,' to supervise the operations against the Ahmadnagar kingdom, both Xavier and Goes travelled with him in his camp. Father Pinheiro, on the other hand, remained generally at Lahore, looking after the newly established church and ministering to the spiritual needs of the Christian community in that capital.

Religious conversions permitted

During the very first year of their stay at Akbar's court at Lahore, the Fathers were able to obtain an important concession for the religious activities of their Society in Gujarat, and 'letters-patent' were secured from the emperor giving them permission to preach the Christian faith publicly at Cambay and to allow the king's subjects to accept the same without molestation. This grant was sent by Xavier to the Provincial of India in 1595.[7] Three years later, in a letter written to the Father-General in 1598, Father Jerome conveyed the happy news that Akbar had given the Society leave to build a church at Cambay, though 'after much vacillation and obstruction from our opponents.'[8] The concessions thus made by Akbar furnish the most abundant testimony to the catholicity of his character and policy in an age noted for its uncompromising religious intolerance both in India and in Europe.

Farman for a church at Cambay

It is interesting to find that independent documentary evidence is now available to confirm the statement about the permission to build a church at Cambay made in Father Xavier's letter. In a valuable paper read before the Punjab Historical Society in 1913, the Rev. Father Felix brought to the notice of students of history more than a dozen farmans, sanads and parwanahs issued by Akbar and his successors in favour of the Portuguese settled at various places in the Mughal empire. The original documents are still carefully preserved in the archives of the Catholic mission at Agra, and excellent facsimiles of these, together with transcripts and translations of the farmans, have been published in the Journal of the Society for 1916. Three of these farmans are of special interest to us as they refer to grants made by Akbar and Jahangir in favour of the Jesuits in Gujarat. The earliest of these, dated the 42nd year of Akbar's reign, i.e., 1597-98, confirms the information given by Father Xavier in his letter. The translation runs as follows :

7 Du Jarric, trans. by Payne, 70.
8 Fr. Felix, *Jesuit Missions at Lahore*, Journ. Panjab Hist. Soc., 1916, p. 79.

'The Royal Farman of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, Badshah Ghazi.

'Whereas it has reached our eminent and holy notice that the Padris of the holy church of Jesus wish to build a house of prayer in the city of Cambay; therefore, this exalted royal farman, proper to be submitted to, has received the dignity of appearing and the honour of being issued, to the effect that the officer in charge of the city of Cambay should in no case stand in their way, but should allow them to build a church, so that they may engage themselves in their own worship. It is necessary that this order of the emperor should be obeyed in every way. Written on the 25th day of the month of Farwardin, in the year 42 of the Ilahi era. (A. D. 1597-98).'[9]

Fr. Francis Corsi at Cambay, 1600

In March, 1600, yet another Jesuit missionary, Father Francis Corsi, arrived at Cambay from Goa, by way of Daman, on his journey to Lahore to join Father Pinheiro. The latter was feeling the loneliness of his position owing to the fact that his colleagues were hundreds of miles away in Akbar's camp at Burhanpur. The 'Visitor' of the Jesuit Society, who had recently been in India, had noticed this situation, and had decided that a priest should be sent as a companion to Father Pinheiro, 'not only to comfort and encourage him in his labours, but in order that, if God should call one of them from the world, the rich harvest that had been gathered in might not be abandoned.'[10] The priest selected for the purpose was Father Corsi, a man who later came into considerable contact with the early English factors in India and with Sir Thomas Roe. On arrival at the Gujarat coast, he had to remain some time at Cambay awaiting a favourable opportunity to proceed to the royal camp at Burhanpur, for he had instructions to meet Father Xavier there before joining Pinheiro at Lahore. His stay at Cambay was, however, of great use to the Christians in the city, who were without a priest, and Father Corsi employed his time in conducting the divine service of the mass and in administering the holy sacraments. After he had been in the town for nearly two months, the governor secured a guard of soldiers to take him to the imperial headquarters. He proceeded by way of Jambusar and Broach and at last reached Burhanpur. The account of his journey shows clearly that the roads from Gujarat to Khandesh were infested by large bands of robbers, and that it was impossible for people to travel without an adequate guard of armed troops. On arrival at the imperial camp, Corsi was received with great affection by Father Xavier, and, after paying his respects to the emperor, he continued his journey towards Lahore.[11]

[9] Journal of the Panjab Hist. Soc., Vol. V (1916), pp. 10-11. (Plate I, Fig. 2 gives the facsimile of the farman.)

[10] Du Jarric, op. cit., 98-99.

[11] Du Jarric, op. cit., 99-101. Father Corsi was a Florentine by birth and was born in 1573. He came to India in 1599 and, after nearly thirty-five years' service with the 'Mogore Mission', he died on August 1, 1635, and was buried at Agra.

When the Jesuit authorities at Goa received information about the farman of the emperor, granting the Fathers permission to build a church and to preach their religion publicly in Cambay, they at once fitted up a special mission to be sent to Gujarat for this purpose and selected Fathers Antony Machado and Peter Pais to take charge of it. The Archbishop of Goa also gave them ample powers and facilities to secure the conversion of the people. But, owing to various obstructions and unforeseen difficulties, the mission did not start. Du Jarric, however, says that some years later, at the end of Akbar's reign, Fr. Gaspar Suarez, the Superior of the Jesuit house at Div, made a journey to Cambay to ascertain the disposition of the people and their leanings towards Christianity. He embarked on a galliot accompanied by twelve soldiers provided by some of his friends to protect him against pirates at sea. He landed safely at the port of Cambay where a carriage provided by a rich Hindu was ready to convey him to the town. The Banyas of Cambay received him courteously and offered him a commodious house for his residence. The Father turned one large room in the house into a chapel, erected an altar therein, and said mass on Holy Thursday. We are told that there were about 80 Portuguese families in the city. After a short visit to Surat, where he fell ill, Father Suarez returned again to Cambay. Du Jarric adds that the Khan-Khanan (Mirza Abdurrahim Khan) wished to meet the Father, but the latter had already arranged to proceed to Goa and was thus prevented from seeing him. The Jesuit historian mentions two letters written by this nobleman, one to the Provincial and the other to Fr. Suarez. The former bears a date in the 50th year of Akbar's reign, from which we may conclude that the visit of Father Gaspar Suarez to Cambay took place about the year 1605.[13]

Fr. Suarez from Div visits Cambay

Though this chapter is devoted to recording the direct or incidental contacts of the Third Jesuit Mission with Gujarat during Akbar's reign, it would be of interest to refer briefly to the main activities of the Fathers in the Mughal capital cities of the north and to their estimate of Akbar's reign and character. After his return from the Deccan campaign in May 1601, Akbar was, for the next four and a half years, almost continuously resident at Agra till his death in October 1605, and it was during this period that the mission came into closer relations with him. The Emperor had brought with him to Agra both Fr. Xavier and Fr. Pinheiro, who had been in attendance on him in the Deccan, and the next year (1602) they were joined by Brother Goes and Fr. Antony Machado from Goa, the latter being now sent out as an additional missionary. The four thus formed for a time a small 'College' at Agra, 'subject to monastic discipline, and constituting, indeed, the largest group of missionaries yet brought together at the Mughal headquarters.' It was at this period

The Mission at Agra

13 Fr. Felix, *Mughal Farmans, etc.*, in Journ. Panjab Hist. Society, 1916, p. 9.

that, in spite of great obstruction, especially from Mirza Aziz Koka, the Fathers secured another farman from the Emperor permitting them to carry on freely their work of conversion among the people. Pinheiro left soon after for Lahore to join Fr. Corsi and to attend to the mission at that place, while Goes started in 1603 on his long journey for Cathay through Central Asia. Fr. Jerome Xavier had by this time acquired sufficient mastery over Persian to address the Emperor in that language and to conduct his attacks at the court against the doctrines of Islam. He also presented to Akbar a book on the life and teachings of Jesus Christ written by himself in Persian. The prestige and popularity of the mission were also greatly increased by the public exhibition at Agra in 1602 of a beautiful copy of the famous picture of the Madonna on the high altar of St. Maria del Popolo at Rome. So great was the interest created that the inhabitants flocked in thousands to the Jesuit church where it was put up for view. Akbar himself showed a lively interest in the picture, which his own artists sought in vain effectively to reproduce. It was, at his special request, brought over to the royal palace for inspection and for being shown to his mother and the ladies of the harem.[13]

John Mildenhall and the Jesuits

During the years 1603-05, the arrival of an English merchant-traveller, in the person of John Mildenhall, was the cause of much trouble to the mission. This adventurer, without any authority to do so, had assumed the position of a messenger from Queen Elizabeth to Akbar, and his stay at Agra for over two years marked a long struggle between him and the Fathers who were for upholding the Portuguese monopoly of trade in India. Mildenhall's main object was to secure free access for English ships to Mughal ports and permission for them to trade, and he evidently hoped to sell any privileges that he might secure to the newly formed East India Company in London. Father Jerome, however, writing in September 1604, was confident that Akbar would not do anything 'so prejudicial to the State and our Faith' as to grant the Englishman's requests. A spirited account written by Mildenhall himself of his final interview with Akbar in full darbar, when the Jesuit Fathers were also present, during which he related his grievances against them, has been preserved, and makes interesting reading, especially as it gives us a foretaste of the rivalry between the same Fathers and Captain Hawkins at Jahangir's court some years later. According to him, the King was 'very merry, laughed at the Jesuits, and granted the required farman.'[14]

13 Sir E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 62-63 ; 228-34.

14 W. Foster, *Early Travels in India (1583-1619)*, 49-52 ; 57-59. Mildenhall left India after Akbar's death but returned again from Persia in 1614, when we find him a Roman Catholic. He is said to have taken poison which he meant for others, and died at Ajmer in June 1614. His body was brought to Agra and buried there, and his tomb, which is the oldest English monument in India, was discovered in 1909. It bears the epitaph *Joa de Mendenal Ingles, moreo aos . . . de Junho, 1614* (ibid, 51.)

At Lahore, the relations between the Fathers and the Mughal viceroys of that province were, on the whole, less happy than those of Father Xavier with the Emperor at Agra. After Akbar finally left Lahore in 1598, Father Pinheiro's activities progressed for a time peacefully under the friendly protection of two successive heads of the province, *viz.*, Khwaja Shams-ud-din and Zain Khan Koka. Both these nobles honoured and respected the Fathers, so much so that 'they set many prisoners free at their request even though they be Muhammadans or heathens, and often send them the Christians who are brought before them, to be dealt with as the Fathers think fit.'[15] But the mission, which had meanwhile been joined by Father Corsi, found itself in a more difficult position when, in 1601, Zain Khan was recalled and Qulij Khan, one of the most distinguished of Akbar's generals, was appointed as subahdar of Lahore and Kabul.[16] Twenty years before this period, this noble had served in Gujarat, and had taken a leading part in the unsuccessful operations for the capture of Daman in 1581. His early contact with the Portuguese on the Western coast had left no happy memories behind, for he was wounded in the single combat to which he had challenged the Portuguese captain of Daman and had been forced to retire. Besides being a man of learning, he was a staunch Muslim, and thus not likely to approve of the proselytising activities of the Fathers at his capital. In view, however, of Akbar's known tolerance towards them, he treated Fr. Pinheiro with special courtesy, and allowed the Fathers to celebrate with due ceremonies the feasts at Christmas and at Easter. But when they publicly repudiated the teaching of the prophet Muhammad, 'in order to establish the divinity of Jesus Christ as the true son of God', Qulij Khan 'was roused to frenzy and reviled them as vagabonds and seducers.' The Jesuits in their letters describe him as a cruel man whose name was 'as much feared in Hindustan as were formerly those of Nero and Diocletian.'[17] Towards the end of his period of office, Qulij Khan's attitude became less tolerant and we are told that the Christians began to flee from the city while Fr. Pinheiro himself went in fear of death. A day was even believed to have been fixed—September 15, 1604—for the arrest of the Christians in Lahore, but political developments led to the viceroy's departure for Agra and the danger was averted.

Vicissitudes of the Jesuits at Lahore, 1598-1605

15 Fr. Felix, *Jesuit Missions in Lahore*, Journ. Panjab Hist. Soc., 1916, p. 86. This confidence reposed by the Mughal officials in the Jesuit missionaries at Lahore finds a parallel in the position held at a later date by the French Capuchin, Father Ambrose, at Surat in the reign of Aurangzeb. The Mughal governors of that town used to hand over criminals to the holy Father for punishment and to release under-trial prisoners at his special intercession.

16 From 1602 onwards Fr. Xavier and Fr. Machado remained with the court at Agra, while Fr. Pinheiro and Fr. Corsi ministered to the needs of the Christian congregation at Lahore. Brother Goes left India early in 1603 on his long journey to Cathay.

17 The allusion is no doubt to the persecution of Christianity in the Roman Empire in the reigns of Nero and Diocletian.

The Hindu community in this city also resented the Jesuits' attacks on their social and religious practices, and in turn charged the Fathers with all sorts of offences, while their leaders did their best to deprive the mission of some of the houses occupied by it in Lahore.[18]

But the dislike which Qulij Khan entertained for the Christian mission at Lahore, and the threats of coercion which he offered, were not without much justification. It was hardly to be expected that, holding the religious views and the lofty position that he did, the subahdar would tolerate the public attacks on the teaching of the prophet of Islam that Father Pinheiro in his zeal had the audacity to offer in a populous Muslim metropolis in India at the end of the sixteenth century. Du Jarric, who is evidently closely following his primary sources, brings out clearly in his *History* the uncompromising attitude of defiance taken up by the Fathers :

Fr. Pinheiro's defiance of Islam

> 'Finally he (Qulij Khan) warned them to keep to their house, where they were welcome to expound their doctrines to any who were sufficiently depraved to seek them out ; but he bade them take good care never again to speak ill of Mahomed in his presence. The Fathers answered that, not only in their house with closed doors, but in the centre of the city, in its streets and open places, nay, on every side, far and near, would they preach the truth of the Christian law, for it was for that purpose that they had been sent there. To this the viceroy had nothing to reply, knowing full well that the Fathers had the King's leave to preach the faith of Jesus Christ, and to baptise all who desired to embrace it.'[19]

It is clear from the last sentence that the Christian Fathers at Lahore, who were quite prepared to receive the crown of martyrdom, were encouraged in this open challenge to local authority by the knowledge that the Emperor, who was himself an eclectic and indifferent to Islam, would interpose effectively to protect them from any serious troubles which they might bring upon their heads by their bold and aggressive methods of proselytism.[20]

In conclusion we may state that the Jesuit historian Pierre du Jarric's estimate of Akbar as a ruler is of special value as being based on absolutely contemporary Jesuit sources. 'He died,' says this writer, 'as he had lived ; for, as none knew what law he followed in his lifetime, so none knew that in which he died.' Thus it happened that no last rites connected with any faith

Jesuit estimate of Akbar as a ruler

18 E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 59-61.

19 Du Jarric, trans. by E. Maclagan, op. cit., 59.

20 If the testimony of the Christian Fathers of the Third Jesuit Mission may be accepted, Akbar had by this time not only completely broken with Islam, but was actually treating it with disrespect. A letter from Fr. Pinheiro, dated September 3, 1595, says: 'He (Akbar) has practicallly banished the sect of Mahomed from this country; so that in the town of Lahore there is not now a single mosque for the use of the Saracens ; for those which were formerly there have been, by his orders, turned into stables or into public granaries for the storage of wheat, rice, and other grain.' (Du Jarric, trans. by Payne, 67, 237).

were performed at his death-bed. The historian describes him as a great King, 'for he knew that the good ruler is he who can command, simultaneously, the obedience, the respect, the love, and the fear of his subjects.' We are also told that, among his great nobles, he was so predominant that none dared to lift his head too high; but that with the humbler classes 'he was benevolent and debonair,' willingly giving them audience and hearing their petitions. He was generally averse to taking life, and quick to show mercy. To this purpose he had decreed that, if he condemned any person to death, the sentence was not be carried into effect until the receipt of his third order. To sum up: 'He was a Prince beloved of all, and just to all men, high and low, neighbour or stranger, Christian, Saracen or Gentile; so that every one believed that the King was on his side.'[21]

Akbar's private life

Some details of Akbar's private life, as derived from Jesuit sources, are also interesting. 'He lived in the fear of God,' and never failed to pray four times daily, at sunrise, at sunset, at midday, and at midnight; and, despite his many duties, these prayers, which were of considerable duration, were never curtailed. He was sparing in his diet, taking flesh only during three or four months of the year; his diet at other times consisting of milk, rice and sweetmeats. With great difficulty he spared three to four hours of the night for sleep. His versatility was great: 'At one time he would be deeply immersed in state affairs, or giving audience to his subjects; and the next moment he would be seen shearing camels, hewing stones, cutting wood, or hammering iron, and doing all with as much diligence as though engaged in his own particular vocation.' We are further told that Akbar had a wonderful memory and knew the names of his elephants, his pigeons, his deer, the wild animals he kept in his parks, and his horses. Also that, though he could neither read nor write, he knew everything that took place in his kingdom from the letters which were regularly despatched to him by his officers from every quarter and which were read out to him after he had finished his other business or before he retired to sleep.[22]

21 Du Jarric in Payne's *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 203, 205.
22 Du Jarric, op. cit., 205-07.



Courtesy : Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.

MUGHAL PAINTING OF THE EMPEROR JAHANGIR'S COURT WITH A CHRISTIAN PRIEST AMONG THE NOBLES

CHAPTER XXV

JESUIT ACTIVITIES IN JAHANGIR'S REIGN, 1607-15

THE Third Jesuit Mission, led by Fr. Jerome Xavier and Fr. Manoel Pinheiro, arrived at the Mughal court during Akbar's reign in 1595, and continued in high favour with the Emperor and his successor at the capital cities of Lahore and Agra for twenty years till 1615.[1] Its history during Jahangir's reign is beyond the scope of this work, but it is relevant for us to give an account of its contacts with the cities of Gujarat, especially Cambay, Surat and Ahmadabad, and with the embassy which Jahangir proposed to send under Muqarrab Khan to the Portuguese viceroy at Goa. During his father's lifetime, Jahangir (as Prince Salim) had been on particularly friendly terms with the Fathers of the mission, and he had often made public profession of his great regard for their faith. After his accession, his discussions with them on Christian topics, the great interest he showed in their religious images and pictures (which were made the subjects of mural paintings in his palace at Agra),[2] and the open attacks against the religion of Islam that he permitted the Fathers to indulge in, all made Jerome Xavier and his colleagues entertain lively expectations of leading him to embrace the Christian faith. But they were ultimately undeceived, for, while Akbar's penetrating intellect had made him a genuine enquirer after divine truth, Jahangir's frivolous temperament had little inclination for serious religious thought. The Emperor's religious attitude has been well summed up by Mr. C. H. Payne as follows:

Jesuit hopes for Jahangir's conversion

> 'The study of religious problems was with him nothing more than a hobby. It amused him to listen to disputes between the Mullas and the Fathers, just as it amused him to watch a fencing match or a

[1] For the history of this mission under Akbar, Fr. P. du Jarric's *Histoire* was our principal authority, and this writer continues his narrative into Jahangir's reign also. But, as his account of the events between 1605 and 1609 is based almost exclusively on the work of Fr. Fernao Guerreiro, another contemporary Jesuit writer, it appears best to follow the latter work. Guerreiro utilises the substance of three Annual Letters written by Fr. Jerome Xavier from Lahore and Agra to the Provincial of the Jesuit Society at Goa during 1607-08. His work has been translated into English, with elaborate notes, by C. H. Payne in his book *Jahangir and the Jesuits* (1930).

[2] Some of the mural paintings in the royal palace in the Fort at Agra were based on an illuminated copy of the Persian text of the *Lives of the Apostles* which the Fathers had composed with great labour and which was presented to the Emperor when he entered Lahore. (Payne, op. cit., 44,101).

cock-fight. He frequently joined in these disputes; and, as he usually took the side of the Fathers, new hopes began to be entertained of his conversion. These were strengthened by the fondness and reverence he displayed for pictures of Christ and the Virgin and the Christian saints, of which he possessed a large number. But once more the Fathers were too sanguine. He prized the sacred pictures which the Fathers gave him, not, as they fondly imagined, out of veneration for the subjects represented, but because he had a passion for works of art and curios of all kinds, and especially for pictures, of which he was not only an enthusiastic collector, but a very competent judge.'[3]

The mission was, however, more successful in making other converts, both at Lahore and at Agra, and their existence, apart from any other political object, necessitated the continued residence of the Fathers at the Mughal court. In both these cities, the mission had established churches in houses which had been given them by Akbar for this purpose, and these were so beautifully and tastefully fitted up and adorned that they attracted large numbers from among the Muslims and the Hindus. Referring to the church at Lahore, Guerreiro says that the building had the appearance of a College and he adds : 'Thus, in the heart of this Moorish kingdom, there is a Company (of Jesus) established as though it were in a Christian land, exercising all its functions, and regarded with much respect.'[4]

Churches at Lahore and Agra

But while every credit is due to the Fathers for the use which they made of their influence at the court to further the interests and welfare of their Christian flock, as also to succour those who were victimised or otherwise ill-treated, we cannot but wonder that they should have used their privileged position to denounce the founder of Islam as a false prophet not only in harangues at public places but even within the precincts of the mosques of a populous Muslim capital. We have already referred to this activity on the part of Fr. Pinheiro at Lahore during the reign of Akbar. Under the new Emperor the Fathers were not less bold, encouraged perhaps by the freedom with which, to spite the Mullas, he allowed them to attack the Prophet's teaching in his very presence. Guerreiro's remarks on this point deserve to be mentioned :

Public attacks on Islam

'These disputes about Mafamede (Muhammad) were soon talked of throughout the city, and the Moors (Muslims) began to regard the Fathers with intense hatred, following them with evil looks wheresoever they went, *stridebant dentibus in eos* (gnashing their teeth at them), so that each time they returned by night from the King's

[3] C. H. Payne, op. cit., Int, XVIII-XIX. A detailed account of the Third Jesuit Mission at Jahangir's court is given by Sir E. Maclagan in his work *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, Chapter V, 69-92.

[4] C. H. Payne, *Jehangir and the Jesuits*, 14.

palace to their own house, they prepared themselves for what they so earnestly desired, namely, death for confessing Christ.'[5]

The political aspects of the Third Jesuit Mission did not become evident until the last two years of Akbar's reign. After Jahangir's accession, the Fathers began to take a more active part in such matters. On his return to Lahore from Kabul at the end of 1607, the Emperor decided to send an ambassador to the viceroy at Goa, and selected Muqarrab Khan, his physician and one of his most trusted companions, as his representative. At the same time, he summoned the Fathers and expressed his desire that one of them should accompany the envoy. This request was readily acceded to, and Fr. Pinheiro was chosen for the purpose. Guerreiro says that the object of the Emperor in this connection was to establish friendly contacts with the P rtuguese and to secure such objects of rarity or curiosity as could be procured at Goa. The embassy left Lahore for the sea-coast a little before Christmas, 1607.[6]

Projected embassy to Goa

This rather unusually constituted embassy, consisting of a Mughal nobleman with a Roman Catholic Padre as his attaché, reached Cambay in April, 1608. But as the Count de Faria,[7] who had been appointed viceroy-designate, had not yet reached India, Muqarrab Khan decided not to proceed at once to Goa but to await the news of his arrival in order that the embassy might be assured of a more distinguished reception. While thus detained, a fine picture representing the Adoration of the Magi, which had been sent from Rome for the Emperor, arrived in the city. Fr. Pinheiro thought it 'a work of superior excellence and perfection,' and had it placed for exhibition above the altar in the church at Cambay, which was beautifully decorated for the occasion. The fame of the painting soon spread all over the city, so that crowds of Hindus and Muslims flocked to view it, and it was estimated that nearly a thousand people, both men and women, visited the church daily during the thirteen days that it was open to the public. Among others, Muqarrab Khan also came with the ladies of his family, 'and saluted very

Christian painting at Cambay, 1608

[5] Payne, op. cit., 57. The fanaticism of the Mullas had been broken by Akbar's eclecticism for over a generation; it was now further ground down by Jahangir's free-thinking and indifference to the religion of his ancestors. Not till the reign of Aurangzeb were the Mullas able to resume their sway in Mughal India.

[6] When the Emperor left Lahore in 1608 for Agra, Fathers Xavier and Corsi followed his camp to that city. It was during this journey that Jahangir ordered his captive son Khusru, who was carried about in his camp in a cage on an elephant, to be blinded on reaching the site of the battle of Bhairawal at which the Prince's fate had been decided. Xavier's account of this event is of great value as an absolutely contemporary record. (Payne, op. cit., 44,77, 102-3).

[7] The Count de Feyra (Faria) died on his way out to India in 1609 and his body was sent back to Lisbon. Since the death of the Viceroy D. Afonso de Castro in 1606, the government at Goa had been in charge of Dom Alexius de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, who held office till the 18th May 1609 when he was succeeded by Andrea de Mendoça, who had formerly been Governor of Malacca.

reverently the Infant Jesus and his holy mother.'[8] Pinheiro also increased his reputation by his success in restoring to health 'by his prayers' the son of Muqarrab Khan who had fallen ill from a serious attack of fever. But the friendly reception given by Jahangir to Capt. Hawkins at the Mughal court in 1609, and the latter's political activities, effected a breach in the friendly relations between the emperor and the Portuguese in India with the result that the embassy went no further than Cambay.

Jesuit account of Captain Hawkins

The details of Captain Hawkins's stay at Agra which are available to us from English sources are suppleme ited by Guerreiro's narrative, based as it is on Fr. Xavier's contemporary letters from the same capital. According to the Jesuit accounts, Hawkins arrived (Apr., 1609) in great state, very richly clad, styling himself an ambassador of his King, from whom he brought a letter, written in the Spanish language, requesting permission for English ships to trade at the Mughal ports; and he also brought rich presents for the Emperor valued at 25,000 crusados (50,000 rupees).[9] Being a resourceful person, and able to converse in Turki, he soon ingratiated himself with the easy-going Jahangir, no doubt to the great chagrin of Fathers Xavier and Corsi, for Guerreiro says that 'the heretic grew insolent in his behaviour and treated the Fathers with contempt, deeming himself higher than they were in the favour of the King.' The relations between the representatives of the two European nations at Agra became so far strained that when an English lad, whom Hawkins had brought with him, died, the Fathers refused him burial among the Christians as he was an 'heretic', *i.e.*, a non-Catholic. So also, Hawkins was offended when the Fathers declined to perform his marriage ceremony with the daughter of an Armenian 'unless he publicly acknowledged the Pope to be the head of the Universal Church,' and the captain had to be content with having the rites performed by his servant, one Nicholas Ufflet, who had joined his service. We are also told that, as an additional mark of his favour, Jahangir made Hawkins a Captain of 400 horse with a pay of 30,000 rupees per year, 'which made him bound to the imperial service, so that he could not return to his own country without permission.' He also dressed in the Muslim style, but 'he made it known that though he had adopted their costume he had not accepted their law.' However, what excited the serious apprehensions of the Jesuit mission was

[8] On its arrival at Agra, Jahangir sent for the Fathers to explain its purport to him, and holding the picture in his hands he discoursed to his courtiers on the story of the Nativity, 'like a preacher in the pulpit.' (E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 234).

[9] Fr. Xavier probably conveyed this information in his annual letter. But it was based only on rumour. Hawkins himself says in his diary : 'I came with a slight present, having nothing but cloth, and that not esteemed ; for what I had for the King, Mocrab Khan took from me, wherewith I acquainted His Majesty (W. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 80).

that the Emperor enquired of Hawkins by what means the fortress of Div could be captured from the Portuguese; to which he received the reply that with fourteen English ships and a land army of 20,000 men, the Portuguese could be made to capitulate through sheer hunger.'[10]

Guerreiro proceeds to say that, when news of these developments at the Mughal court reached Goa, the Governor of the Portuguese settlements in India was Andrea Furtado de Mendoça, who had recourse to prompt action. Resenting the favourable reception given to Hawkins, and the reported permission granted to the English to trade at Surat, he came to the conclusion 'that the peace and friendship between the Mughal ruler and the Portuguese power had been broken,' and he embarked upon a policy of reprisals. Though, on entering his office, he had written to Muqarrab Khan, the Mughal envoy, then at Cambay, that he would be most welcome at Goa, he now countermanded the invitation, and at the same time issued orders to all Captains in the 'Province of the North'[11] placing the ports of Gujarat out of bounds for all merchant vessels. Mendoça, however, soon realised that his action in breaking off friendly relations had been too hasty, and he decided, in June 1609, to send Fr. Pinheiro, who was then at Goa, to Muqarrab Khan, who was now governor of both Surat and Cambay, to negotiate a peace. The intrepid Jesuit left after the monsoon had started so that his ship was twice driven by the storms to the coast and he was forced to complete most of his journey by land. On meeting his old friend Muqarrab Khan at Surat, a settlement was soon reached. Guerreiro's narrative of the Jesuit mission ends in 1609 with the restoration of good-will between the Mughal and the Portuguese.[12]

Reprisals by De Mendoca, 1609.

About the end of 1610, Jahangir again commissioned his trusted noble, Muqarrab Khan, to proceed as ambassador to the Portuguese viceroy, along with the indefatigable Father Pinheiro, who appears to have now been back at Agra. They reached Goa on February 5, 1611, and thus fulfilled the mission which the Emperor had decided upon at Lahore as early as 1607. Having completed his work, Muqarrab Khan returned to Cambay the same year, and we find him at Agra in April, 1612, bringing with him all the 'gallant and rare things' purchased at Goa, in-

Muqarrab Khan at Goa, 1610-11

10 Payne, op. cit., 80-82.

11 This was the designation given by the Portuguese to the jurisdictions of Bassein, Daman and Div which were to the north of Goa.

12 By this time, Ruy Lorenço de Tavova, the new viceroy, had arrived at Goa and had taken over charge from Mendoça, on September 5, 1609. On being informed of the restoration of friendly relations with the Mughal Emperor, he wrote to Muqarrab Khan that he would now be welcomed in Goa. But, as the latter had been summoned to the Imperial court, he was unable to go. His place as ambassador was, therefore, taken by Fr. Pinheiro, 'who shared his office.' The Father once again left Cambay by land and arrived at Goa on St. Catherine's day (November 25), where he delivered to the viceroy a letter from the Emperor along with presents. Guns were fired and public demonstrations took place to celebrate the event (Payne, op. cit., 86-87).

cluding a turkey-cock which Jahangir describes at length in his autobiography, and which was evidently introduced for the first time in India.[13] But perhaps the most interesting incident connected with Muqarrab Khan's stay in Goa, as gathered from the Jesuit records, is that he was baptised there by Father Pimento, the Provincial of the Jesuits.[14] He was regarded, however, as an imperfect Christian.[15] After his return to Gujarat, he continued to keep up friendly relations with the Portuguese, and thus became the *bête noire* of the English merchants at Surat at a critical period in the first years of their connection with this city.[16]

Baptism of Jahangir's nephews, 1610

An incident of unusual interest in the history of the Mission took place at Agra in 1610. This was the public baptism, at the Emperor's initiative, of three imperial princes, the sons of Jahangir's deceased brother Daniyal. The boys were still of tender age, the eldest of them being only ten years old, and various motives have been alleged to explain Jahangir's attitude.[17] Towards midnight on July 18, 1610, Fr. Xavier, as also Fr. Pinheiro, received a summons to wait on the Emperor. On arrival, Jahangir called up his nephews and asked the Fathers to take them over and to instruct them with a view to their becoming Christians. The charge was accepted with gratitude and the boys were placed under Fr. Corsi[18] for instruction. Some weeks later, Jahangir urged that they should be baptised. The ceremony was performed publicly on September 5, with great eclat. The Princes, clothed in Portuguese costume, and wearing crosses of gold round their necks, proceeded on elephants from the palace to the Jesuits' church through

13 W. Foster, *Early Travels*, 93 ; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, R and B, I, 215-16.

14 Nicholas Withington refers to the conversion in his long letter from Ahmadabad (November 9, 1613) as follows : 'After this Mocrobcann proceeded on his journey to Goa, where (as the Portugals say and swear) he, according to his desire, was Christened, saying he felt his conscience very light and jocund after his baptism.' The historian Boccaro also accepts the story of the baptism (*Decada* XIII, Pt. i, Ch. 81) The incident cannot, therefore, be dismissed as a myth. (W. Foster, *Letters Received*, III, 298).

15 We are told that when, a few years later, he asked for two Christian women to be sent to his household, the request was not complied with (Maclagan, op. cit., 78).

16 Muqarrab Khan became later viceroy of Gujarat, and in 1618, during Jahangir's visit to Ahmadabad, he was transferred to Bihar where he invited the Jesuits from Hughli to found a mission at Patna and built for them a church and a house, probably to attract Portuguese trade.

17 Some said that Jahangir's object was to obtain Portuguese wives for the Princes and through them to introduce Portuguese ladies of good position into the royal zanana. Others alleged that Jahangir, at Prince Khurram's suggestion, was actuated by a desire to preclude the Princes from all possibility of succession to the throne. (W. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 116).

18 Fr. Corsi was a man of short stature, and Fr. Xavier says that, before Jahangir came to know him well, 'he had avoided asking him questions under the impression that he might be as short in wit as in stature.' We have in two extant Mughal miniatures of Jahangir's reign a portrait of a European Padre standing among the courtiers in a black dress and cap, and he may possibly be identified with Fr. Corsi. If so, he was a small, thin, clean-shaven man with keen features. (Maclagan, op. cit. 76). One of these miniatures has been reproduced in this chapter.

streets packed with spectators. Some sixty Christians in the city—Poles, Venetians and Armenians—mounted on horseback, accompanied the cortège, and the irrepressible Captain Hawkins overcame his prejudices against the Fathers so far as to head the procession, 'with St. George's colours carried before him to the honour of the English nation.'

Reverting to events in Gujarat, we find that two imperial farmans, both of them connected with Ahmadabad, were issued by Jahangir at this period, evidently as the result of the Jesuit mission's activities, and these are still preserved in the archives of the Catholic mission at Agra. The earlier of the two documents is dated September, 1612 and gives formal permission to the Jesuit fathers to build a church for their use at Ahmadabad. A reference in the later document suggests that this church may have been located near their residence in the Jhaverivada, which is a very important locality in the capital of Gujarat. The translation of Jahangir's farman is given below:

Farman for a church at Ahmadabad, 1612

'The noble governors and mutasaddis of the affairs of the province of Gujarat should know that this dignified imperial farman has received the honour of being issued to the effect that European Padres at Ahmadabad may erect an Igriz,[19] which means their place of worship, so that they may perform worship there according to their own custom and manner. It is necessary that when they (the officers) are informed about the contents of this world-obeyed and exalted-as-heaven Jahangiri order, they should not interfere with them (the padres) and should allow them to build a church for worship. They must not disobey this command and must consider it obligatory. Written on the 20th of the Ilahi month of Mehr in the 7th year of the accession (A.D. Oct., 1612).'[20]

We learn from other Jesuit records that in 1612 the Fathers received an invitation from one 'Abdalcan,' probably Abdulla Khan Firuz Jang, then viceroy of Gujarat, to come and settle at Ahmadabad. The Goa authorities, thereupon, sent Father Antony de Andrade, who became at a later date Superior of the Mission to the Mughal.[21] The presence of a Jesuit Father at Ahmadabad thus coincides with Jahangir's farman mentioned above granting the priests permission for building a church in this city, and we may also presume the existence of a colony of Christian converts there at this date. Nicholas Withington, a factor of the East India Company, who arrived at Ahmadabad in December 1613, found a French Jesuit (probably Jean de Seine) in residence there, and he makes the following interesting remarks in his Journal:

Christian colony at Ahmadabad

'Here in Amadavar is a Jesuit remaining to convert the heathens to Christianity; though he hath little profit thereby hitherto; yet

19 *Igreja* is Portuguese for a church.
20 Fr. Felix's Paper in *Journal Panjab Hist. Society*, Vol. V (1916) pp. 17-18, and Plate II, Fig. 4a.
21 ibid, 66.

still resteth in his vocation. He told us they were a people absolutely predestined for hell. He, being a Frenchman, was very open to our Agent in all matters ; and likewise made known unto him his own poor estate, protesting he had nothing to eat, by reason of the imbarquement of the Portugals and their goods;[22] and in fine entreated our Agent to lend him some money or give him some for God's sake. Our Agent, seeing the poverty of the poor man, gave him ten Rupias, viz., 25 s. sterling ; for the which afterwards he wrote to him a thankful letter, but withal desired him to burn it."[23]

It is probable that the Jesuit mission at Ahmadabad, and in Gujarat generally, did not flourish long, and that the Fathers left the province by 1617. One William Leske, who was chaplain to the English factory at Surat, in a letter to the Company written in or about August 1617 on his arrival at Plymouth, states that 'the Jesuits also, after long continuance, despairing of any success with the Moors, had forsaken and left the country.'[24]

The Jesuits fall from grace, 1614-15

The capture, at the end of 1613, of a large Mughal merchant ship, called the *Rahimi*, by the Portuguese at sea led to a serious rupture between the Mughal power and the authorities at Goa, which reacted disastrously on the fortunes of the Jesuit Mission. Several letters[25] sent in 1615 to Europe by Father Xavier's colleagues give us some special information about their humiliating position, involving the departure from India of the two leading members of the mission after a stay of twenty years. When the outburst of repression took place in July, 1614, Father Pinheiro was at Goa, while Father Xavier was ordered to proceed from Agra to Goa, 'like a banished man,' to use his influence to secure peace, and Father Corsi, who was with Jahangir at Ajmer, had to live there 'in a little house of straw.' At Agra, where Father de Castro was left alone, the entrance to the church was walled up by the officials, who came 'with arms and lathis'; and, as his allowance had been stopped, the Father had to sell some of the holy vessels, as also gold and silver candlesticks and other furniture, in order to maintain himself and his congregation. At Lahore, the church and the house of the Jesuits were forcibly closed, and Father Antony Machado, who was in residence, migrated with the converts to Agra, where his arrival brought great comfort to Father de Castro. On the whole, it was a sad fall from the position of honour and respect which the missionaries had so

22 This refers to the repressive measures taken by the Mughal Emperor on the outbreak of hostilities with the Portuguese on the Gujarat coast during 1613-15. All Jesuit churches in the Empire were ordered to be closed and the allowances given to the Fathers were stopped.

23 W. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 207-08. Father Jean de Seine was a native of Nancy or Verdun. The English factor Kerridge mentions him in September, 1615 as having gone to court with Muqarrab Khan (ibid., 207).

24 Foster, *Letters Received*, V (1617), 36-40, 175n. 186, 187n.

25 Two of these letters are by Father Corsi, one by Father Machado and two by Father de Castro. Three of these letters in original, and all in translation, are to be found in the British Museum (Maclagan, op. cit. 82).

long enjoyed. At Ahmadabad, we have seen the resident Padre being reduced to absolute poverty and entreating the English agent in that city for relief. In the end, however, as Sir Edward Maclagan points out, 'In none of the mission stations was any serious violence used, and the sufferings of the Christians were for the most part sufferings in reputation and in means of subsistence. When the trouble was over, the Fathers were released from attachment, the allowances were revived, and things proceeded as before'.[26]

Jesuits' house restored in Ahmadabad; 1615

The second farman found at Agra and also relating to Ahmadabad is dated three years later. As stated above, serious hostilities had broken out on the Gujarat coast between the Portuguese and the Mughal power, which lasted from the autumn of 1613 to June 1615, when a treaty of peace was signed by them. During these troubles the Jesuits at Ahmadabad had evidently been deprived of their house to make room for the English merchants who had established their factory in this city in 1614. This farman was granted in September 1615, after friendly relations had been established again between the two powers, and it orders the officials at Ahmadabad to restore to the Portuguese their house situated in the Jawaharvada locality and to accommodate the English elsewhere. An abstract of this very interesting document is given below. It is probably the last achievement of the Third Jesuit Mission in Gujarat during this reign.

'(Tughra) Farman of Abul Muzaffar Nur-ud-din Muhammad Jahangir Badshah Ghazi.

'The mutasaddis of the affairs of the province of Ahmadabad should know that it has been brought to our notice that Englishmen are staying in the house of the Padris in the mahalla of Jawaharvada without their consent. And since all forms of trespass (*Khana-i-nazul*)[27] have been forbidden throughout our protected territories, this world-obeyed, exalted, Jahangiri order has received the honour of being issued to the effect that, after accommodating them (the Englishmen) in another place, and getting the house of the Padris vacated, it should be left in their possession. Written on the 19th of the Ilahi month of Mehr in the year ten (*i.e.*, H. 1024, A.D. Oct., 1615)'.[28]

The passing of Xavier and Pinheiro

The two leading members of the Third Jesuit Mission—Fathers Xavier and Pinheiro—now leave the stage of Indian history on which they had played so active a part for full twenty years. Some remarks on their later career and death at Goa will not, therefore, be out of place. Fr. Pinheiro, who had been to a large extent engaged in political work in Gujarat, ultimately retired to Goa in 1615 'broken down with

[26] Maclagan, op. cit., 82-84; Foster, *Early Travels*, 208.

[27] *Khana-i-nazul* means house entered without permission of the owner.

[28] For transcript of this Farman see *Journal Punj. Hist. Soc.* Vol. V (1916), p. 18. The translation given above is an abridgement of that given by Father Felix on p. 19. For a facsimile of the Farman see Plate III, Fig. 5a.

age.' He was anxious to rejoin the mission, but four years later (1619) his health collapsed, and, as the Provincial of his Order reported, 'he departed hence to a better mission.' For some reason not known to us, he was nicknamed 'The Mogul' by his Jesuit friends. He early acquired mastery over Persian and this probably explains his great diplomatic success. As for Father Jerome Xavier, though at this period not more than sixty-five years of age, he was already feeling old, and was a sick man when he finally left Surat at the end of 1614 for Portuguese India. At Goa he was placed in charge of the Jesuit College of St. Paul, but he found the duties of his post beyond his strength. He longed to return to his work in India, but this was not to be, and his end three years later was both sudden and tragic. A conflagration broke out in the New College on June 17, 1617, and Fr. Xavier fell a victim to it, 'being burnt and soffocated with the smoke of the fire which caught hold of his bed.' At the time of his death he was Archbishop-elect of Cranganore.[29] There is little doubt that his character and personality were largely responsible for the success of the Third Mission at the courts of Akbar and Jahangir and that he guided its destinies with supreme skill and judgment.[30]

Relations between Sir T. Roe and Father Corsi

With the departure of Fathers Xavier and Pinheiro from the court in 1614-15, the duty of leading the Jesuit mission, as also of functioning as the agent of the Portuguese viceroy, devolved upon the Italian Father, Francis Corsi, who had been resident for some fifteen years in India. From 1615 to 1618 we find him in attendance at Jahangir's court—at Ajmer, at Mandu and at Ahmadabad—and during these years he came into close contact and diplomatic rivalry with Sir Thomas Roe. The Ambassador was foiled by his opponent in his attempt to secure a formal alliance between the English King and the Mughal Emperor, and he realised that the chief political personalities at the court, *viz.*, Prince Khurram, Asaf Khan, the powerful Vazir, and Muqarrab Khan, were in opposition to him, and subject to the inspiration of the Jesuits. At one stage, when Roe had hopes of a speedy decision to some request, he found objections raised at the last moment—'a Jesuitical bone', as he says, 'cast in over night.' On the whole, however, in spite of the fact that they supported opposing in-

29 Cranganore is on the Malabar coast, north of Cochin.

30 From his first arrival at Lahore in 1595, Xavier too realised fully the importance of mastering Persian, and by 1600 he had attained such proficiency in the language that 'the Persians themselves took pleasure in hearing him talk and admired the propriety of his vocabulary and the choiceness of his diction.' During the years that followed, he devoted himself to the task of translating a number of Christian theological works into Persian with the help of the ablest scholars available. A collection of his works was long kept in the Jesuits' library at Agra and in the Secretariat at Goa (Maclagan, op. cit., 197-99. See also his Chapter XIV entitled *Persian Works of Fr. Jerome Xavier* 203-17).

terests in religion and politics, they maintained mutually friendly relations, which was creditable to them both.[31]

Later history of the Jesuit mission

With the close of Jahangir's reign, the palmy days of royal patronage and friendship for the Catholic Fathers at the Mughal court came to an end after nearly half a century. The attitude of Shah Jahan, and still more of Aurangzeb, to the Jesuit Mission was that of all orthodox Muslim rulers towards alien religions. The Christians were barely tolerated, and at times persecuted, especially for political reasons. The Mission, however, continued to function in several towns of Northern India till nearly the middle of the 18th century. But, while Jerome Xavier and Corsi aspired after the conversion of Emperors and nobles, the later Fathers' chief concern was to minister to the needs, both temporal and spiritual, of the humbler converts. Unlike Jesuit missions in other countries, that to the Mughal became increasingly poor in course of time, especially during the period of the decline of the Portuguese power in India, when grants towards conversions ceased to be received from Goa. In 1759, a decree issued by the King of Portugal banished all Jesuits from the Portuguese dominions. With this edict, the Provincial centre of the Society at Goa disappeared, and, as a result, the 'Mogor Mission' as a Jesuit enterprise came to an end. As a modern writer has pithily observed, 'a mission founded by a heathen Emperor (Akbar) was thus exterminated by a Christian King.'[32]

[31] Father Corsi early suggested to Sir Thomas Roe that they should show tolerance to each other's faith and not expose their differences in the face of non-Christians. As Terry, Roe's chaplain, says, 'He (Fr. Corsi) desired that there might be a fair correspondence betwixt them, but no disputes. And further his desire was that those wide differences 'twixt the Church of Rome and us might not be made there to appear, that Christ might not seem by those differences to be divided among men professing Christianity there ; telling my Lord Ambassador further that he should be ready to do for him all good offices of love and service there; and so he was.' Roe accepted this attitude of mutual tolerance and we hear of no such squabbles at the court as formerly when Mildenhall or Hawkins were resident there (E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 84-86).

[32] E. Maclagan, op. cit., 136.

PART III

ECONOMIC SIDELIGHTS ON GUJARAT IN THE 17TH CENTURY

c. 1605-58

CHAPTER XXVI

THE INDUSTRIAL WEALTH OF GUJARAT:

SILK AND COTTON HANDICRAFTS

IT is a matter for satisfaction that considerable information is available to us, though less from Indian than from foreign sources, about the industrial wealth of Gujarat, and the profitable employment of its people, especially during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The Persian historians, who record with almost meticulous exactness the political and military events of the reigns of successive Mughal rulers, have little to say about the life of the people or about the social and economic conditions of their times. The European travellers of this century, however, when they are not relating court gossip or contemporary events, give considerable importance to the manners and customs of the people and to their commercial and industrial activities. The letters of the East India Company's factors in Western India, being primarily devoted to their own mercantile interests, are also of great value for our knowledge of the trade and manufactures of the province. All these sources, if patiently investigated and judiciously interpreted and correlated, furnish a not inconsiderable mass of trustworthy information for the purpose of a study of the economic weath and prosperity of this province during the period under survey.

Sources of our information

The information that we are enabled to gather from a perusal of all the available sources, is sufficient to justify the conclusion that the people of Gujarat must have enjoyed, on the whole, a satisfactory degree of material prosperity during the first half of the seventeenth century. We may even go further and say that, at no period immediately preceding or succeeding this century, could the lot of the people have been more prosperous. The political anarchy which overtook Gujarat after the death of Sultan Bahadur in 1537, extended, with hardly an interruption, till the final defeat and death of the last Sultan Muzaffar III in 1592, and it was not till the commencement of the seventeenth century that the Mughal sway in Gujarat may be said to have been placed on a stable basis. From this time, the province enjoyed nearly a century of tranquil prosperity, disturbed occasionally only by a severe famine or the incursions of Shivaji, until the weakening

The 17th century an era of prosperity

of imperial authority after the death of Aurangzeb made the way clear for the anarchy that accompanied the gradual establishment of Maratha rule in Gujarat. The two great sources that contributed to the wealth and prosperity of the province during the period under review were foreign commerce and domestic manufactures, and a tremendous fillip was given to both these factors by the arrival of the English and the Dutch merchants at Surat. The foreign demand for many of the raw materials of the country was no doubt great ; but far greater was the demand for the manufactured commodities of the province which were eagerly purchased for the consumption of the people of England and of Europe, as also for being exported to the Middle East and the Eastern Archipelago.[1] The regular and profitable employment which the production of these manufactures must have given to the people of Gujarat, and particularly to the citizens of Ahmadabad, Baroda, Broach, Cambay, Surat and Navsari, may be readily imagined. The great famine of Gujarat during 1630-2 came no doubt to interrupt grievously both the agricultural and manufacturing prosperity of the country. But there is reason to believe that, in spite of the fact that millions perished in the absence of an organised and scientific system of famine-relief, those who survived, at least in the towns, did not take long to recover from the effects of the calamity.

(i) *Silk manufactures in Gujarat*

Silk industry localised in Gujarat

The extent to which the manufacture of silk goods of the most beautiful, expensive and variegated type had become at this period localised in Gujarat, and especially in the two principal cities of Ahmadabad and Surat, is not generally known, though it is one of the most prominent facts in the economic history of the province. Sericulture, or the breeding of the silkworm on the mulberry-tree, has not indeed been practised in Gujarat at any time, as neither the soil nor the climate are favourable for the purpose. That industry was, however, very flourishing in Bengal at this period, and we learn that the 'village' of Kasimbazar was able to furnish no less than 22,000 bales of silk every year. Of this amount, the Dutch generally purchased from six to seven thousand bales for export to Holland and to Japan ; the merchants of Tartary and of the Mughal Empire bought a similar number of bales for export purposes ; and the balance, *viz.*, from eight to ten thousand bales, remained with the people of the country for the manufacture of silk fabrics, and practically the whole of this stock was forwarded to the

[1] The Venetian physician Niccolao Manucci, who stayed for nearly half a century in India during the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, points out that the bulk of the merchandise that was exported from the Mughal Empire was derived from four kinds of plants, *viz.*, the cotton shrub, the indigo plant, the poppy-plant, and the mulberry-tree on which silk-worms were fed. (*Storia do Mogor*, 1653-1708, by N. Manucci, trans. by Irvine, II, 418).

province of Gujarat, specially to Ahmadabad and Surat, for being woven into beautiful cloths.[2]

The manufacture of velvet, embroidered with gold or silver, in the royal factories (*karkhanas*) at Ahmadabad, deserves special mention, because beautiful pavilions made of this rich material were sent from this city to adorn the imperial court at Agra. We shall give three accounts, all based on the Persian historians, which help to illustrate this fact. In 1635, Sipahdar Khan, who had been newly appointed as viceroy of Gujarat, forwarded to the Emperor a magnificent present as *peshkash*, the details of which are thus given in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi:*

Velvet pavilions made at Ahmadabad

'On the day of the Navruz (New Year), Hijri 1044 (A.D. 1635), a velvet pavilion, woven with gold, prepared at the royal factory in Ahmadabad, on which the expert artisans of Gujarat had exhibited all their diversified skill, which had pillars of gold and silver, and which had cost one lakh of rupees, was erected in front of the royal palace. On the same Navruz day, the Emperor sat on the *Takht-i-Taus* ('the Peacock Throne') made at a cost of one crore of rupees.'[3]

In 1638, the Emperor Shah Jahan, after he had reigned for eleven years at Agra, the city which had also been the capital of Jahangir and Akbar, decided to remove the seat of his government to Delhi. A site was chosen south of Salimgarh and the foundation of the citadel of Shahjahanabad was laid in this year. Ten years later, in 1648, the Delhi Fort and its palaces were completed, and Makramat Khan, the 'Superintendent of Works', invited the Emperor to inspect them. The account of the inauguration ceremony is of interest because it contains a special reference to the beautiful velvet canopies made at Ahmadabad. It is based on the history of this reign by Mūhammad Salih Kambhu:

Velvet canopy from Gujarat at Shahjahanabad 1648

'Shah Jahan entered the Fort, through the gate facing the river, and held his first court in the Diwan-i-Am. He arrived with a gorgeous retinue, Prince Dara Shukoh scattering gold and silver over his father's head till he reached the entrance. The palace buildings had already been decorated, and the courtyards covered with richly coloured carpets and hangings. The roof, walls, and colonnades (*aiwans*) of the Diwan-i-Am were hung with velvet and silk from China and Khatu, while a gorgeous canopy (*aspak dal badal*), specially prepared for the occasion in the royal factory at Ahmadabad, measuring 70 *gaz* by 45 *gaz*, and costing a lac of rupees, was raised by 3,000 active farrashes.'[4]

2 Tavernier's *Travels in India*, trans. by V. Ball, II, 2-3.

3 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I*, 209 ; *Badshahnama*, Pers. text, I, 78, 85-6.

4 *Delhi Fort, a Guide to the Buildings and Gardens*, by G. Sanderson (Arch. Survey of India), 1, 2. The original passage will be found in *Amal-i-Salih* (Bib. Ind.), Pt. III, 56-7.

One more example will suffice. In the Hijri year 1065 (A.D. 1654-5), when Prince Murad Bakhsh, the fourth son of Shah Jahan, was subahdar of Gujarat, a pavilion of embroidered velvet, interwoven with brocade, 43 *gaz* in length and 32 *gaz* wide, which had been prepared in the factory at Ahmadabad at a cost of 50,000 rupees, was erected at the court at Delhi on the occasion of the Emperor's birthday.[5]

Prince Murad sends a velvet pavilion

Turning now to other varieties of silk fabrics manufactured in Gujarat, we may select for special mention carpets, satins and taffetas. Tavernier in particular is fuller in the information he gives than perhaps any other writer in this respect:

Silk carpets and satins

'All these silks (from Kasimbazar) are brought to the kingdom of Gujarat, and the greater part come to Ahmadabad and Surat, where they are woven into fabrics. Firstly, carpets of silk and gold, others of silk, gold and silver, and others altogether of silk, are made in Surat. In the second place, satins with bands of gold and silver, and others with bands of different colours, and others all uniform are made there, and it is the same with the taffetas. Thirdly, *patoles*, which are stuffs of silk, very soft, decorated all over with flowers of different colours, are manufactured at Ahmadabad.'[6]

Tavernier, as a connoisseur and experienced merchant, offers some practical advice to the buyer for guarding against deception, and for testing the excellence of the stuffs, in an interesting chapter entitled, 'Concerning the frauds which can be practised in manufactures, whether by the roguery of the workers or the knavery of the brokers and buyers.' Not only must the length and breadth of silk goods be carefully measured, but the quality should be ascertained by noticing the weight, the uniformity of the texture, and the possible admixture of cotton in the web. He adds:

On the detection of frauds in silk stuffs

'The Indians, not knowing the art of gilding silver, put into their striped stuffs threads of pure gold; on this account it is necessary to count the number of threads to see if the stuff contains the requisite quantity, and the same should be done in the case of stuffs striped with silver. As for taffetas, it is only necessary to see whether they have a uniform fineness, and to unfold some of them to see if they contain any foreign substance to increase the weight. It is for the eye of the broker to observe the size, beauty and fineness of the work in the carpets worked with gold and silver, and he ought to judge if it is good and rich.'[7]

5 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Litho. Edn. 85.

6 Tavernier's *Travels in India*, II, 3.

7 ibid, 26-27.

The fact is that from the dawn of the sixteenth century right up to the end of the seventeenth, we have a long chain of evidence to attest the manufacture of all varieties of silk cloths in Gujarat.

Mandelslo's account, 1638

As early as 1515, during the reign of the Sultan Muzaffar II, the Portuguese visitor Duarte Barbosa refers to the weaving of silk cloth and of coloured velvets in the city of Cambay[8]. The German traveller Mandelslo, who was at Ahmadabad more than a century later, in 1638, writes: 'There is not in a manner any nation, nor any merchandise in all Asia, which may not be had at Ahmadabad.' Referring to the abundance of silk goods produced there, he says that the artisans ordinarily made use of the silk of China, which was very fine, mingling it with that of Bengal, which was not quite so fine, but much better than that of Persia, and much cheaper. He also mentions the great quantities of gold and silver brocades made in this city, besides satins and velvets of various colours, and carpets on ground of gold, silk or yarn.[9]

Thevenot and Manucci

Mandelslo's account refers to the Gujarat of Shah Jahan's reign. We shall conclude with the statements of two more travellers whose sojourn in India corresponds with the long reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb. In 1666, M. de Thevenot visited several cities in Gujarat, and he has given a very exact account of all that he saw. He informs us that, among the commodities most traded in at Ahmadabad, were satins, velvets, taffetas and tapestries with gold, silk and woollen grounds.[10] The Venetian physician Manucci's Memoirs, known under the name of *Storia do Mogor*, cover the period from 1653 to 1708. In a chapter where he enumerates the provinces of the Mughal Empire, with brief comments on each, we find the following reference under 'Gujarat or Ahmadabad': 'In this province there is made a prodigious quantity of gold and silver cloth and of flowered silks. These goods are in demand in all the courts throughout the Empire. They also make much gold and silver work, and a quantity of jewellery set with stones'.[11] Such then is the overwhelming mass of testimony about the volume and variety of silk manufactures in Gujarat. It is sad to reflect that these beautiful handicrafts of Gujarat, which were a source of great wealth to its people, and which less than three centuries ago supplied the demand, not only of 'all the courts throughout the Empire', but also of the countries beyond the Indian seas, have at this day either disappeared or are languishing in obscurity.

8 *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Ed. by M. L. Dames, I, 141.

9 Mandelslo's *Travels in India*, trns. by J. Davies, 1662, p. 31.

10 *The Travels of M. de Thevenot*, Eng. trans., London, 1687, Part III, 12.

11 *Storia do Mogor*, by Niccolao Manucci, trans. by W. Irvine, Vol. II, 425.

(ii) *Cotton manufactures : effects of European demand*

The province of Gujarat was at this period hardly less famous for its cotton textiles ('calicoes' as they were styled in Europe) than it was for its silk and velvet goods, the ordinary cotton fabrics being known in the country as *baftas*.[12] They were obtained bleached, unbleached or dyed in various colours, and were produced with special excellence at Broach, Navsari and Baroda. Tavernier mentions the fact that the river Narbada at Broach was widely renowned for centuries as possessing a peculiar property for bleaching calicoes which were brought here for this purpose from all parts of the Mughal Empire. Elsewhere, however, he tells us that white 'baftas' were brought to Broach and Navsari from the provinces of Agra, Lahore and Bengal to be bleached by being steeped in lemon-juice, which was considered excellent for this purpose, large quantities of lemons being available in the neighbourhood of these two cities.[13] A letter written by the President of the Factory at Surat to the Company at the end of 1639 says that, for the bleaching process, 'that town (Broach) yet retains its wonted perfection and has the preference before all other places, although the ancient making of calicoes be somewhat adulterated.'[14]

Bleaching of Baftas at Broach

Besides the white variety, baftas could also be obtained coloured in red, blue or black. Here again, the cities of Ahmadabad and Agra became the centres to which calicoes from all parts of India were taken to be dyed by means of the indigo which was manufactured at Sarkhej and Biana respectively. We learn from the Factory Records that in 1647, in order to be free from their dependence on the Sarkhej dyers for the colouring of their cloth, which was often badly done, the English merchants at Ahmadabad set up a dyeing house in that city in close proximity to the English factory, and provided it with 36 vats which were considered a sufficient number for their needs. 'Heartily glad we are', they write, 'that we shall have no further occasion of trouble to the Sarkhej dyers or to be troubled with them, whose former ill-usage first put us upon this more provident course, to their great hindrance.'[15]

Dyeing of calicoes at Ahmadabad

Tavernier, among other writers, bears eloquent testimony to the surprising beauty and texture of the muslins that the handloom weavers in India could produce, though it is not stated whether his account refers to Gujarat or to some other province:

Beauty and fineness of Indian muslins

'In my time', he says, 'I have seen two pieces of them (baftas) sold, for each of which 1000 mahmudis (£37) were paid. The English

12 Bafta is derived from the Persian *baftān*, to weave. The word is still in use in the Gujarati language, though it has been corrupted into *basta*, to mean any woven cloth.

13 Tavernier's *Travels in India*, I, 66 and II, 6.

14 *English-Factories*, 1637-41, p. 196.

15 ibid, 1646-50, pp. 59, 127.

bought one and the Dutch the other, and they were each of 28 cubits (42 ft.). Muhammad Ali Beg, when returning to Persia from his embassy to India, presented Shah Safi II with a cocoanut, of the size of an ostrich egg, enriched with precious stones ; and when it was opened, a turban was drawn from it 60 cubits in length, and of a muslin so fine that you could scarcely know what it was that you had in your hand. On returning from one of my voyages, I had the curiosity to take with me an ounce of thread, of which a livre's weight cost 600 mahmudis (£22–10s), and the late Queen-Dowager (of France), with many of the ladies of the court, was surprised at seeing a thread so delicate which almost escaped the view.[16]

Value of the export trade in cottons

Apart from the extensive domestic demand, the Gujarat calico-makers found their custom considerably on the increase after the settlement of the English and Dutch Companies at Surat in the early years of Jahangir's reign. As for the English, their export from Surat between 1612 and 1620 consisted mainly of indigo, but from the third decade of the century their demand for the 'baftas' and 'dhotis' developed with great rapidity, and in 1625 we find mention of a considerable cargo of calicoes consisting of 200,000 pieces. From this time onward, calicoes take their place by the side of indigo as the two principal commodities of the East India Company's export trade from India. It cannot be denied that this increased demand for the products of the weavers' handloom, and the wider choice of markets available to them, must have helped to improve their material condition to an appreciable extent. The gain from the export trade to Europe in calicoes has, at a very rough estimate, been placed by Moreland at about three lakhs of rupees per year, an amount which at the then purchasing power of the rupee was a substantial one. This figure is exclusive of the disbursements made by the foreigners for bleaching or dyeing purposes and also for packing and carriage to the seacoast. As in the case of the indigo exports, 'the price paid was distributed among a particular class of artisans in a few localities, and the benefit derived by them from the new trade must have been substantial.'[17] From 1630 to 1637, however, the terrible calamity of the *Satyasio Kāl*, which devastated Gujarat, put an end to all exports from this province, and the great mortality that followed reduced not only the total artisan population but also the level of skill and efficiency. When we add to this the discovery made by the English and Dutch merchants that the calicoes manufactured at Madras and on the East Coast were better suited to the European markets than those of Gujarat, we may conclude that the prosperity enjoyed by the weavers in Gujarat as the result of the calico export trade could not have extended much beyond the close of the reign of Shah Jahan.

[16] Tavernier's *Travels to India*, Ed. by Ball, II, 7-8.

[17] Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 133-34.

The weaving industry of Gujarat in the seventeenth century was organised on more or less the same lines as the handloom cotton industry that survives in so many parts of India at the present day. The merchant was in part the capitalist, and he made advances to the weavers to enable them to buy their materials and support themselves while at work. The English and the Dutch had perforce to adapt their methods to this firmly established system, and to employ brokers as intermediaries to place their orders and to estimate the credit of the artisans. Another point to be noticed in the organisation of the industry was that it turned out goods of a size and pattern that satisfied the long-standing Indian and Asiatic demand ; so that when the European merchants entered the market they found some difficulty in securing articles suited to the divergent taste of Western Europe. Moreover, they had also to put up with lack of uniformity in the consignments, a fact to which the English Company at home took exception, pointing out that they were 'like a pedlar's pack, not fit for a merchant's foreign export, but for a town retail trade.' In spite of these drawbacks, the cotton piece-goods of Gujarat and other parts soon established themselves in popular favour in England, displacing to a large extent the more expensive linens from Germany and Holland. The establishment of direct trade with India thus revolutionised the continental trade of England. In 1625, the Governor of the Company declared that 'whereas formerly England paid to the foreigner for hollands, lawns and cambrics £500,000 per annum, now half of this outlay was saved by the importation of calicoes.'[18] Any surplus that remained on the Company's hands in London after satisfying the English demand found a ready and profitable sale in the markets of Europe.

Organisation of the weaving industry

An episode connected with the operations of the English factory at Broach deserves to be mentioned. In 1630, the weavers at this place, becoming discontented at some legitimate activity of the English agent in this city, 'grew into a mutiny,' and combined to boycott the English factory by declining to supply it with baftas. Their grievance was due to the purchase of cotton yarn by the Company for export to England, which naturally increased the price of yarn and enhanced the weavers' costs of production. As the baftas made at Broach were of excellent quality, and such as could not be had anywhere else, the English agent in charge of the factory had to give them in writing an undertaking that he would not buy any more yarn in that city.[19]

Grievance of the Broach weavers, 1630

18 *English Factories*, 1624-29, XXXVI

19 ibid, 1630-33, p. 22. Cotton yarn (spun cotton) was shipped from India in large quantities to Europe both by the English and the Dutch Companies. But only the inferior quality was in demand, being used for making candle-wicks and stockings and for intermixture with the web of silken stuffs. 'As for the finest qualities (of spun cotton),' says Tavernier, 'they are of no use in Europe'. (Tavernier's *Travels in India*, II, 8).

CHAPTER XXVII

INDIGO AND OTHER MAJOR INDUSTRIES

(i) *Indigo manufacture at Sarkhej*

THE famous village of Sarkhej near Ahmadabad, celebrated during the preceding two centuries as the sanctuary of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, and as the final resting place of several of the Sultans of Gujarat, acquires, strangely enough, an added significance in the seventeenth century as the principal centre in the province for the manufacture of indigo. In fact, Biānā near Agra was the only other centre in the Mughal empire that could at all compete with Sarkhej for the excellence of the commodity manufactured there. The result was a large export trade which must have been productive of much prosperity to those engaged in the industry. The East India Company's merchants at one time attempted to manufacture indigo themselves in their factory at Ahmadabad, but had to abandon the attempt, as the cost of production was found to be higher than the price at which they could purchase it. The fact that both the English and Dutch factors were eagerly competing with each other for this commodity led the native manufacturers of the produce at Sarkhej to make the fullest use of their monopoly and to adulterate it, or, as the factors write, to 'basely sophisticate' it, by the admixture of oil and sand. The English merchants brought this fact in 1640 to the notice of Azam Khan, the famous viceroy of Gujarat from 1636 to 1642. Of the unbending severity and stern repression that characterised the rule of this viceroy we have ample evidence in the pages of the German traveller Mandelslo. Nor was the subahdar behind his reputation on the present occasion. Here is the description given us by the factors of what he did: 'He apprehended the abuse so truly that he caused more than 100 of these indico makers to be convented; upon whom, after he had discharged a whole volley of revilings for their couzenage, he threatened no less than death to him that should hereafter dare to mix sand or oyle or any other substance than what nature gives to indico.'[1]

Sarkhej a great centre for indigo

[1] *English Factories in India*, 1637-41, p. 274.

Demand for Indigo in Europe

Organic indigo produced in India was at this time in great demand in all the countries of Western Europe for supplying the blue dye required by the staple woollen industry. It was thus the commodity chiefly sought by the English and the Dutch merchants on their first arrival at Surat, and for many years it held the first place in their exports to Europe. The article produced at Sarkhej was made up in the form of cakes, and is described as 'flat' by the English merchants, to distinguish it from the variety produced at Biānā (50 miles south-west of Agra), which was much purer, and which was designated as 'round' from the fact that it was made up in balls. In spite of the inferior quality of the Ahmadabad product, due to the admixture of sand, the two kinds of indigo-dyes stood on a footing of comparative equality in price, as the northern variety, owing to its very great distance from the sea coast, cost more to put on the market. W. H. Moreland, who attempts an estimate of the benefit derived by the producers of indigo in India from the large consumption of the article in Europe, arrives at the conclusion that the Dutch and the English purchases must have increased the income of the indigo producers by about three lakhs of rupees, which, though 'a trifle when spread over the whole country, was a very substantial sum for the limited areas in which it was expended'.[2] Moreover, this increase was equivalent in purchasing power to many times the amount mentioned above.

Mughal attempts at a monopoly, 1633

The great and continuous demand on the part of both the English and the Dutch Companies at Surat for the Biānā and Sarkhej indigo for export to Europe and to Persia led in 1633 to an attempt on the part of the Mughal Emperor to secure a profit by making the trade in this commodity a royal monopoly. By an edict published in this year, the sole privilege of purchasing indigo throughout the empire was farmed out for three years to a Hindu merchant who received an initial loan of five lakhs of rupees from the state treasury to start his operations. The contract was that at the end of that period he was to pay to the King a sum of eleven lakhs, *i.e.*, five lakhs in repayment of the loan, and two lakhs per year out of his profits. If, however, the indigo remained on his hands in consequence of the refusal of the merchants to purchase through him, he was to be excused all payment except that of the loan.[3] The European merchants at Surat being, however, the principal purchasers of the indigo in India, had it in their power to defeat this attempt at a monopoly. They could refuse to buy the commodity at a very high price,[4] and the cessation of their joint demand would in turn raise a clamour from the cultivators of the indigo plant against the govern-

2 Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 118.

3 *English Factories*, 1630-33, p. 325.

4 The Hindu monopolist proceeded to buy at Sarkhej at Rs. 18 and to sell at Rs. 27 the local maund (33 lbs.)

ment. The heads of the English and Dutch factories at Surat accordingly entered into a solemn agreement whereby both parties pledged themselves not to purchase any indigo for a year except at the prices agreed upon. They also arranged not to accept any shipment of indigo from Indian merchants for export to Persia in Dutch or English vessels. It appears, however, that the Dutch at Agra had actually purchased a large stock of this article from the monopolist at a high price before news of this understanding reached them. Finally, in April, 1635, news arrived at Surat that the indigo monopoly had been dissolved, evidently because of the failure of the attempt. This was due partly to the agreement mentioned above, and also to the fact that the governor of Surat, finding that the revenues of the port were on the decline by the reduction in the value of the exports, had petitioned the Emperor to restore the free sale and purchase of the commodity.[5]

Decline in the exports, c.1650

After having played a very prominent part in the sea-borne trade between India and Europe for nearly fifty years, we find a striking decline in the export of indigo after 1650, a circumstance which was accompanied by a sharp fall in its price. Europe now turned to the West Indies for its supply of this necessary commodity. The English merchants at Surat received orders to reduce their shipments, and the trade in indigo languished during the second half of the seventeenth century.[6]

Tavernier on the mode of manufacture

Tavernier has given us a very detailed and interesting account of the processes adopted in Gujarat and elsewhere in India for the production of indigo. He says that the plant from which it was made was sown every year after the rains, and it was cut three times in the year, the first cutting taking place when it was two or three feet high. The colour of the dye made from the first crop was of a violet blue, and it wás more brilliant than that of the dye made from the second crop, and so on. This difference naturally affected the price. After the plant had been cut, it was thrown into huge vats faced with chunam or lime, which, especially when made from shells, gave them a marble-like surface. These vats were generally 'from 80 to 100 paces in circuit', and after they had been half filled with water, the cut plant minus the stem was thrown in. It was then mixed and stirred up with the water until the leaf had been reduced to slime or greasy earth. The vats were then allowed to rest for some days, and when it was seen that all the slime had sunk to the bottom, thus leaving the water above clear, the holes made all round the tank were opened to allow it to escape. The next step after the water had been drawn off was to fill up baskets with the slime, and the man in charge of each basket carried it to a plain where, taking the paste in his fingers, which were steeped in oil, he moulded it into small

[5] *English Factories*, 1634-36, Intrn. p. XI.

[6] ibid., 1655-60, pp. 336, 322.

pieces which were then exposed to the sun to dry. These pieces were shaped in two different ways by the indigo-makers. Those of Agra and Biānā made them of the size and shape of a hen's egg cut in two, that is, flat below and pointed above ('round' indigo). The producers of Ahmadabad and Sarkhej flattened the paste and made it 'into the shape of a small cake.'

Tavernier next refers to the common practice among the peasants who made the indigo, of adulterating it in order to increase its weight.

Adulteration with sand and sifting of impurity

Thus, after removing the paste from the baskets with their hands dipped in oil, they placed it in the sand which was allowed to be mixed up with the indigo. The Mughal provincial governors did all they could to stop this fraud, though not always with success. The merchants who purchased the indigo, therefore, took precautions to ascertain whether there was any admixture of sand by burning some of the pieces. When so tested, the indigo became a cinder and the sand remained entire. The English and Dutch merchants had also thus to 'sift' the indigo in order to remove any impurity, and thereby to avoid paying customs duty on useless weight. The men who were employed for this purpose had to observe great precaution to prevent themselves from inhaling the 'poison dust.' The nose and the mouth were carefully closed, and a cloth was tied up in front of the face, leaving only two small holes for the eyes to follow the operations. Moreover, both those who sifted the indigo, and the servants of the Company who watched them in the work, had to drink milk every hour, as a preservative against the 'subtlety' of indigo. 'All these precautions', adds our authority, 'do not prevent those who are occupied for eight or ten days sifting indigo from having all that they expectorate coloured blue for some time. I have, indeed, on more than one occasion, observed that if an egg is placed in the morning near one of these sifters, in the evening, when one breaks it, it is altogether blue inside, so penetrating is the dust of indigo.'[7]

(ii) *Saltpetre and its export to Europe*

Among the minerals purchased by the English in Gujarat we have frequent references to saltpetre which being an important ingredient

Great demand for saltpetre in Europe

in gunpowder was particularly in demand in England to carry on the war against the Dutch.[8] The increased use of artillery in European warfare had brought about a shortage of this essential commodity, and during the first two decades of the seventeenth century the Dutch and the Portuguese officials were also busy making purchases of saltpetre on the East coast. In 1626 we find the English at Surat taking up the export of this commodity, the principal site of supply being Malpur, now a small

7 Tavernier's *Travels in India*, II, 9-12.

8 *English Factories.*, 1651-54, p. 196.

town in the Sabar Kantha distirct. In its natural state, saltpetre is bulky and needs to be refined by the removal of impurities. This was done by the English in their factory at Ahmadabad by the local method of evaporation, at first in the earthen vessels commonly used for this purpose, and later in large copper cauldrons imported from Europe. Upto about 1650 the total export of saltpetre by the English and the Dutch was confined to supplies obtained in Gujarat, and the volume of the trade was comparatively small, the combined purchases of the two nations ranging between 200 and 300 tons per year.[9] It was only later on that the establishment of English and Dutch factories at Patna led to a remarkable expansion of the trade owing to the discovery of practically inexhaustible resources in Bihar.

Royal embargo on export of saltpetre

The references made in the English Records to the purchase and refining of saltpetre at Ahmadabad and Surat in the early half of this century are of interest particularly because of the opposition of the Mughal sovereign and his viceroys to its export from India, on the ground that it was politically inexpedient as the article was likely to be used against their co-religionists in Europe and North Africa. It is particularly interesting to note that Prince Aurangzeb, when he was viceroy of Gujarat in 1645, laid a special embargo against the sale of this commodity to the factors as merchandise. The reason for this opposition was attributed to the Prince's religious zeal. A factor writes in 1646: 'We find an unexpected impediment in the saltpetre provided raw, to be refined in Ahmadabad. . . . The Prince (very superstitious), possessed by some of his churchmen that it is not lawful for him to suffer us to export that specie, which peradventure may be employed against Moors, he hath strictly inhibited its delivery unto us.'[10] That this prohibition against the export of saltpetre was extended by the Emperor himself for many years after Prince Aurangzeb had severed his connection with Gujarat, leads us to the conclusion that the Prince's zeal was not the sole cause of the embargo, but that the Mughal court was shrewd enough to appreciate the unwisdom of permitting so important an ingredient in the munitions of war to leave its dominions, and thus averted the possibility of its ever being utilised against itself. A Surat factor, writing in 1653, says : 'The governor of Ahmadabad, pretending orders from the King to that effect, refuses to allow any saltpetre to be exported thence, and has further stopped all coming through from Agra.'[11] Again, a letter from Surat of 1654 says : 'As regards the saltpetre detained at Ahmadabad, they took the opportunity of Shaistah Khan's approaching departure to negotiate its release ; and on their abating over 100*l*. in the price of the tapestry received by the

9 *English Factories in India*, 1646-50, Intr.

10 ibid., 1646-50, p. 34.

11 ibid., 1651-54, p. 215.

Smyrna Merchant, he allowed them to bring it to Surat just before the rains.' The purchase of the further quantity required by the Company was deferred until the arrival of the Khan's successor, Murad Bakhsh, the fourth son of the king. He gave them leave to buy what they would, and thereupon they contracted for a quantity. However, when part had been received and was being refined, 'an order came from the King's diwan prohibiting them from buying or transporting any saltpetre from thence.'[12] In fact, any quantity of this valuable commodity which the English merchants were enabled to send home was obtained either by the connivance of provincial magnates or by purchases in the Deccan and in other parts outside the Mughal's jurisdiction.

Saltpetre a royal monopoly

Not infrequently do we find the sale of saltpetre made a royal monopoly, so that it became more than ever difficult for the English merchants to procure their supplies. This contingency arose in 1655 when, by orders of the Emperor Shah Jahan, a stock of 10,000 'double maunds' of refined saltpetre was 'engrossed' by the officials and stored up at Ahmadabad. So long as this remained unsold, it was impossible for the English to buy the article from private individuals. Two years later, in 1657, Prince Murad Bakhsh, then viceroy at Ahmadabad, seized by force all saltpetre provided by private persons in that city, evidently with the object of monopolising its sale.[13]

(iii) *Ship-building by the East India Company*

Foreign competition in the carrying trade

The advent on the Gujarat coast of Dutch and English vessels introduced an element of competition both in the coastal trade and in the foreign trade of India with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. This operated as a set-back to the old and thriving ship-building industry of the province until the European Companies took up the construction of their smaller craft in the harbours on the Western coast. On the other hand, Indian merchants benefited by the new service which they found to be both cheaper and safer. The efforts of the Dutch to outbid the English helped to maintain freight-charges at a low level, and cargo-space was generally available in excess of the demand. The superior size and build of the vessels from Europe enabled them to stand bad weather better, and, moreover, the Portuguese rsepected their freedom to a greater extent than they were prepared to do in the case of Indian junks. Another important consideration, which must have weighed with the Indian merchants at Surat, Ahmadabad and Cambay, in the preference which they showed for European ships, was the fact that these were generally well equipped with guns, and thus better prepared

12 *English Factories.*, 1655-1660, pp. 15, 121.

13 ibid., 1651-5 pp. 299-300.4,

to face piracy in the Indian Seas than was the case with the Indian vessels.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the English Company at Surat had successfully adopted the practice of getting the small vessels required for its needs constructed in India itself. This may be regarded as the beginning of the Company's Mercantile Marine. After 1635, and as the result of the Concordat of that year with the Portuguese authorities, the Surat Council was able to utilise the larger shipbuilding yards at Bassein, Daman and Dahanu, which were under Portuguese jurisdiction, in place of the yards at Navsari and Gandevi in the Mughal's territories, for the use of which permission had with difficulty to be secured from the governors of Surat.[14] In 1640 they had quite a small fleet of country-built ships and frigates, the latter being manned by small guns. With the help of these boats they conducted their coastal trade and collected goods at the various small seaports of Gujarat which were later transported to England in the larger vessels that came out yearly to Surat from Europe. It was thus no longer necessary to detain these large ships in the Indian seas for the coastal trade before being despatched homewards, and this was a distinct gain to the Company. Moreover, much of the money spent by the Surat factory in the purchase or construction of country craft was recovered by the freight earned in carrying Indian goods and passengers along the coast or to the Persian Gulf and the Arabian ports.

Rise of the E. I. Company's marine

The Gujarat littoral was, however, not very safe at this period for small shipping owing to the terror of those 'thievish villains', the Malabar pirates. In 1640, these buccaneers had no less than thirty frigates, armed with guns, prowling between Bassein and Cambay. We may also refer to the fate of a small English vessel, called the *Hope*, which was, soon after leaving Suwali, captured by these pirates after a fight which lasted six hours, in which the English crew on it were either killed or taken prisoners.[15] Indian seamen, familiarly known as lāskars, were employed by the English Factory at Surat to man the boats which were either built or purchased in the country. Their pay is mentioned as 15 mahmudis or about 6 rupees per month. But we are told that they did not give half as good work as the English tars did, nor were they very helpful in resisting an enemy at sea when attacked. The Surat Council, therefore, asked the Company to supply them with men from home who should be seasoned sailors, 'not raw junkers, landmen, and the like, who died rapidly.'[16]

The terror of the Malabar pirates

14 *English Factories*, 1634-36, pp. 136, 138.

15 ibid., 1637-41, pp. 289, 243.

16 ibid., p. 280.

(iv) *Some details on Tariffs and Currency*

Customs duties at Surat

The customs duties at Surat and Cambay, which were so profitable a source of revenue to the Mughal rulers, and which were generally farmed out to the governors of these cities, were on the whole moderate. The rate at Surat about the time the English first settled at the port was 2½ per cent. on goods *ad valorem*, and though it was somewhat increased in later years, it stood at less than 5 per cent. at the close of Shah Jahan's reign. The farmers of the customs adopted, however, methods by which they could secure more gains without formally charging higher rates than those fixed by the Emperor. Among these we may mention the practice of delay in clearing goods, which was so common and so vexatious that the English merchants repeatedly refer to it in their letters. The object of such delays was to extort bribes from the merchants and to make them comply with the officials' demands. Another practice was that of over-valuation of goods, the appraisers valuing articles sometimes at double the cost in order to secure a higher duty. The result of these irregular and vexatious methods was to make the burden of the customs duties heavier than the official schedule of rates intended it to be.

Rival claims for customs duties

The Surat Factory Diaries record an unusual type of dispute about Customs that took place at the end of 1627 between the governor of Surat and another official whom the records describe as 'the governor of Olpad.'[17] It appears that, at this period, the Emperor had granted the pargana of Olpad to a great noble named Khwaja Abul Hasan, who held the high office of the Diwan of the Empire. His agent (the 'governor' of Olpad) claimed that, as the port of Suwali was situated within the limits of his master's jagir, and as all goods coming from or going to England were laden or discharged there, he had the right to receive the duties paid on these goods. The Surat governor asserted that the duties should continue to be paid by prescriptive right to him. As neither official would waive his claim, Mir Musa, then governor of Cambay, came down personally to mediate between them and suggested that, while the officials on both sides should keep the accounts, the money due for the customs should be retained by the English until the matter had been referred to the royal court and its decision obtained. The imperial orders ultimately laid down that the governor of Surat should receive the customs of all goods to and from Europe and 'the southwards'; the governor of Olpad, on the other hand, was to have the customs of goods to and from Persia, as also the dues on all such goods as were sold on the 'Marina', *i.e.*, the waterside at Suwali, by the Bania merchants who pitched their booths there during the fair season.[18]

17 Olpad is now a taluka of the Surat District with one town of the same name, and 118 villages.

18 *English Factories*, 1624-29, pp. 201-02.

It is of interest to note that, though nearly fifty years had passed since the subjugation of Gujarat by Akbar, the people of the province continued to make all transactions in terms of the old coinage of the Sultans (the mahmudis) in preference to the rupees of their Mughal rulers. Thus we find the English agent at Broach writing to the Surat factory, 'Rupees will not pass here except at a loss; there is not a weaver that will take any; mahmudis are still current with them.'[19] The mahmudi was roughly equivalent to seven annas, and the current rate of exchange between the two types of coinage was about 42 rupees for a hundred mahmudis. The fluctuations in the exchange-rate depended on the demand and the supply.[20] Thus, during the great famine of 1630-31, the premium on the rupee soared to excessive heights, for the Banjaras or pack-carriers from the north, who brought corn and provisions from other parts to Gujarat, sold these goods at Surat for mahmudis and were anxious to change them into rupees at any rate.[21]

Currency of mahmudis in Gujarat

19 *English Factories.*, 1622-23, p. 124.

20 ibid., 1634-36, p. 225.

21 The coinage of mahmudis at the mint at Surat continued for some time after Akbar introduced the Mughal rupee at Ahmadabad in 1572-73. The coin was also minted by the Raja of Mulher in the territory of Baglan, to the south of the Tapti, till 1636.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE GREAT FAMINE OF 1630-32 AND ITS ECONOMIC EFFECTS

A STUDY of the Mughal period of Gujarat history, based particularly on the materials available in the voluminous records of the English factory at Surat, leaves little doubt about the general well-being, if not high prosperity, of the population in the towns and villages of the province, both among the Hindus and the Muslims, during practically the whole of the 17th century. Manufacturing industry, as also trade and commerce, flourished equally with agriculture, as may have been gathered from the industrial and commercial activities described in the last two chapters. Besides, we have frequent examples of large fortunes amassed by individual merchants of both communities, especially at Surat and Ahmadabad, resulting from the freedom with which they carried on extensive mercantile transactions by land and sea. The accounts of social life and conditions in Gujarat left by several European travellers, who visited the province during the 17th century, also bear out the above conclusion and leave on our minds the impression of the comparative well-being of the people. Moreover, the 17th century was, on the whole, a period of profound peace—The Mughal's Peace (*Pax Mongolensis*) as we may well call it—undisturbed by foreign invasions or domestic strife, which ensured to the cultivators in the field the enjoyment of the fruits of their labour, and to the craftsmen the regular production of commodities for sale in home or foreign markets. In this respect, the century that followed presents a great contrast, as the recurring internal civil strife and foreign invasion led to frequent destruction of crops and dislocation of industry.

General well-being of the population

It cannot, however, be denied that, in the 17th as in later centuries, the dark spectre of famine and pestilence at times stalked the land, owing to the vagaries of the periodic rains, and led to great distress and suffering because of the lack of quick methods for the transportation of food grains from one province to another and of organized medical relief. But, except for some fifteen years during the latter half of Aurangzeb's reign, between 1681 and 1696, when drought, famine and pestilence afflicted the land in quick succession, the available information shows that these calamities occurred at fairly long and infrequent intervals. We must

Famines as disturbing factors

mention, however, one dire visitation that took place in Shah Jahan's reign, which appears to be unparalleled in Gujarat history for the intensity of the distress and starvation which it occasioned, as also for the pestilence and heavy mortality that followed. There is hardly any famine in India during this century about which we have such detailed information, especially from foreign sources, as we have in connection with the great calamity of 1630-2, nor any which left so indelible an impression on the minds of the people.

The thirty years of the reign of the Emperor Shah Jahan were, on the whole, a period of peaceful progress for the province of Gujarat unbroken by any serious domestic disturbances.

Full accounts available about the famine

The great famine of 1630-32, which afflicted this province along with many other parts, was, however, a time of terrible suffering for the people, and its economic effects were felt for nearly a decade. The details of this disastrous episode, long remembered as the *Satyasio Kal,*[1] are available to us in a fuller degree than in the case of any other Indian famine of the Mughal period. Besides the short but very graphic reference by the author of the *Badshahnama*, we have ample details in the records of the English and Dutch factories at Surat, and also in the Journal of Peter Mundy, all of which are first-hand contemporary authorities. The years 1628 and 1629 had been a period of great scarcity over the central parts of India, and when in 1630 the rains failed for the third time, the country was plunged into a cataclysmic famine, and from 'Gujarat to the Golkonda coast the land became one vast charnel-house.' The next year the rains came, but in such torrents as to destroy all the crops, and to accentuate thereby the prevailing distress. Students of Mughal history are familiar with the description of the calamity given by the historian Abdul Hamid in his work mentioned above. It will, however, bear repetition:

> 'Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy; rank was to be sold for an insignificant meal, but none cared for it. The hand which was ever held out in charity to others had now to beg for food x x x For a long time, dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh and pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. When this was discovered the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution, at last, reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The number of the dying caused obstructions on the roads, and those who escaped death wandered away to the towns and villages of neighbouring countries. In lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty no trace of abundance was to be seen.'[2]

[1] *i.e.*, the calamity of the Vikram Era (Samvat) 1687, or Nov. 1630—Oct. 1631.

[2] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, VII, 24; P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, 429.

More detailed, if less rhetorical, accounts from independent and contemporary sources, are now available to the student for the history of this well-known famine. The earliest reference we have is perhaps the letter of Thomas Rastell, President of the English factory at Surat, who, writing home to the Company on 31 December, 1630, mentions 'the universal dearth over all this continent, of whose like in these parts no former age hath record; the country being wholly dismantled by drought.' He goes on to add that no grain was to be had for man or beast even for payment of seven times the former prices,[3] and that the poor artisans of the province, the weavers, washers, dyers, etc., had abandoned their homes in large numbers, and, owing to the absence of all relief, had perished in the fields for want of food.[4]

Rastell's letter of 1630

In spite of ample stores of provisions and great monetary resources, even the small colony of English merchants at Surat felt the pinch of scarcity, and found themselves without the requisite quantity of grain to supply their household. They wrote, accordingly, in November 1630, to the commanders of the vessels lying off Suwali about their inability to provision them as usual with either bread or rice, and suggested that 'the captains should put their men on a shorter ration of biscuit while enlarging that of flesh.' Arrangements were also made to obtain grain and dates from the Persian Gulf and food supplies even from Bantam and other distant places.[5]

Shortage of grain in the English factory

The records of the English Factory at Surat for the year 1631 contain further references to the dire calamity that had overwhelmed the province. One James Bickford, a member of the President's Council, writing to the Secretary to the Company, on January 8, 1631, after stating that Rastell on his arrival found everything in good order, adds : 'only a most miserable mortality among the natives of the country, who for want of food (like Jacob's sons) with their whole families daily travel in foreign parts to seek bread. And for want of sustenance the poor people lie as a woeful spectacle to behold in our streets and highways, as we pass along, dying and dead in great numbers.'[6] The effects of the calamity on the Company's commercial transactions were extremely serious. Rastell and his Council, writing from Surat on April 22, 1631, to the Council at Bantam, state that the dearth of carts, owing to the mortality caused by the famine, was so great that they could

References in the factory Records for 1631

3 According to Moreland's researches, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the normal price for wheat in Gujarat was about 80 or 85 lbs. the rupee. This means that, when Rastell wrote in 1630, the price had risen to 12 lbs. per rupee or less. In Sept. 1631 it stood as high as 6 lbs. per rupee. (*From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 171-72).

4 W. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1630-33, p. 122

5 ibid., p. 97, 145, 178.

6 ibid., p. 135

transport the investments made at Ahmadabad and Cambay to Surat with the greatest difficulty and at five times the rates of former years. They further state that very small quantities of the cotton goods required for export were expected to be available for the next year: 'These parts of Gujarat above all others being bereft of the greater part of weavers, washers and dyers, who (such as are escaped the direful stroke of famine) are disperst into foreign parts of greater plenty, leaving few or none of their faculty to put either themselves or us into action; and God knows how many years must pass ere the ordinary traffic of these parts be resettled again into its wonted frame and condition.[7]

A garden turned into a wilderness

The E. I. Company's fleet sailing to the East, which left the Downs on February 2, 1631, arrived at Swally Bar, the harbour of Surat, on October 14 of that year. In a despatch sent to the Company by its commanders, dated December 9, 1631, we again find some valuable reference to the famine raging in Gujarat. After stating that the President, Mr. Rastell, was in health when they arrived (though he died on November 7), they continue:

> 'All the merchants in this factory either dead or sick, those living hardly able to help one another; the town itself and all the country adjoining in a manner unpeopled. So that the times here are so miserable that never in the memory of man any the like famine and mortality happened. This that was in a manner the garden of the world is now turned into a wilderness, having few or no men left to manure their ground, nor to labour in any profession.'[8]

Peter Mundy's Journal

A great deal of authoritative and first hand information about this terrible famine in Gujarat is to be gathered from the Journal of Peter Mundy, a factor in the service of the East India Company during 1628-1633, whose Diary has been published by the Hakluyt Society under the editorship of Sir Richard Temple. Mundy left Surat for Agra in November, 1630, and his route on the outward journey was along the valley of the Tapti by way of Nandurbar and Burhanpur.[9] From the records of his personal observations we are able to trace the extent of the havoc wrought by the famine, for the whole region from Surat to the gates of Burhanpur, a distance of 170 *kos*, was converted into a vast burial ground. Within five days' journey from Surat, at a place called Dhaita,

7 *English Factories*, 1630-33,

8 ibid., p. 146 p. 178. The despatch goes on to say: 'Places here that have yielded 15 bales cloth made there in a day hardly yield now three in a month. Amadavaz, that likewise yielded 3,000 bales indico yearly or more, now hardly yields 300, yet a plentiful year for its growth, but few men living to gather it, but lies rotting on the ground. Agra hath not been toucht with this famine nor mortality, but continues in its former estate.'

9 Under the Mughal rule, both Burhanpur and Nandurbar were located in the province of Khandesh, of which the former was the capital town. Nandurbar is now the headquarters of the taluka of the same name in the West Khandesh district of Bombay State. Till 1536 it was under the rule of the Gujarat Sultans.

Mundy saw people selling their children for 12s. 6d. a piece, and willing to give them away to any one who would take them. He tells us that from the time he started to his arrival at Nandurbar,

'All the high way was (in a manner) strowed with dead people. Our noses never free from the stink of them, especially about towns; for they drag them out by the heels stark naked, of all ages and sexes, till they are out of the gates, and there they are left, so that the way is half barred up. Thus it was for the most parth hitherto.'[10]

Mundy at Nandurbar

At Nandurbar, the traveller found much difficulty in securing a suitable open space for pitching his camp owing to the number of dead bodies that lay scattered in and about the town, and he was constrained to take refuge in the open spaces between the tombs in the cemetery. But, even so, the short halt for a day was far from being pleasant or comfortable. On 19 November, 1630 he writes:

'All this day our noses were infested and our bodies almost infected with a most noisome smell, which after search we found to come from a great pit, wherein were thrown 30 or 40 persons, men, women and children, old and young, confusedly tumbled in together without order or covering, a miserable and most indecent spectacle. No less lamentable was it to see the poor people scraping on the dunghills for food, x x x and that with great greediness and strife among themselves; generally looking like anatomies, with life, but scarce strength enough to remove themselves from under men's feet ; many of them expiring, others new dead.'[11]

Engrossing of food

We gather from the same authority that, in some places at least, the mortality due to the famine was the result of want of means to buy food rather than to an absolute dearth of food-grains. Thus, at a place called Nave, Mundy saw, in the midst of the bazar, people just dead and others breathing their last, 'with the food almost at their mouths', as they had no money to buy the same, whilst the owners had not the charity to offer it free, 'the rich and strong engrossing and taking perforce all to themselves.'

The floods of 1631: effects at Surat

Mens's hopes revived with the advent of the monsoon season of 1631, but they were before long dashed to the ground. The longed-for rains no doubt came, but in such torrents that the crops were swept away, and the scarcity of grain became greater than ever. A Dutch factor from Batavia in Java, who arrived at Surat at the end of the rains, in a letter, dated December 21, 1631, to a member of the Dutch Council at Batavia says: 'The fair fields hereabout are all drowned with great floods and the fruits of the earth clean washed away with these waters. The waters were so high in the city, by reason of the floods, that we could pass from

10 *The Travels of Peter Mundy* (1608-1667), II, 44 (Haklyut Society's Publications).

11 ibid., 43-44.

one house to the other 'but by boats, which was never known in the memory of any living man.'[12] The same writer enables us to obtain some idea of the frightful conditions prevailing in Surat itself at the height of the distress. In the letter quoted above he informs his correspondent:

'And going ashore to a village called Swalley, we saw there many people that perished of hunger; and whereas, heretofore, there were in that town 260 families, there was not remaining alive about ten or eleven families. And as we travelled from thence to the city of Surat, many dead bodies lay upon the highway ; and where they died they must consume of themelves, [there] being nobody that would bury them. And when we came into the city of Surat we hardly could see any living persons, where heretofore was thousands; and there is so great a stench of dead persons that the sound people that came into the town were with the smell infected; and at the corners of the streets the dead lay twenty together, one upon the other, nobody burying them. The mortality in this town is and hath been so great that there have died above 30,000 people.'[13]

When Peter Mundy returned from Agra to Surat in May, 1633, by way of Ajmer and Western Rajputana, the effects of the disaster were still in evidence. Halting at the sacred town of Siddhpur on the Saraswati, in Northern Gujarat, he visited the ancient ruins of the magnificent temple of Rudramala with its beautiful carved images mutilated by the early Afghan conquerors of Gujarat. But the contemplation of these exquisite ruins was sadly marred by the fact that the bodies of those who had perished in the recent famine had been dumped within the sacred enclosure, and their bleached skulls and bones were still to be seen. At Mehsana, the traveller noticed heaps of dead men's bones scattered here and there, 'the sad trophies of the late mortal famine not yet extinguished.' Even Ahmadabad, which is described as 'the Metropolitan of Guzeratt', with its bazars and large streets, was 'half ruinated and dispeopled by the last famine.'[14]

North Gujarat in 1633

The summary reference made by the Persian historian, and the more circumstantial narrative of the English merchant Peter Mundy, find unexpected confirmation in the description of the famine given by a Dutch merchant, Van Twist, in his short account of Gujarat, first printed at Batavia in 1638. The writer had been a senior member of the Dutch factories at Ahmadabad, Cambay, Broach and Baroda, and knew the country well. The worst horrors of the famine—voluntary enslavement, suicide, even cannibalism—are described by him in a dry and business-like style which carries conviction with it. Van Twist's narrative, with its sickening details, is reproduced here:

Dutch account by Van Twist

12 *English Factories*, 1630-33, p. 181
13 ibid., 1630-33, pp. 180-81.
14 *Travels of Peter Mundy*, II, 262, 265-66.

'Men deserted their wives and children. Women sold themselves as slaves; mothers sold their children; children, deserted by their parents, sold themselves. Some families took poison, and so died together ; others threw themselves into the rivers . . . Some ate carrion flesh. Others cut up the corpses of men, and drew out the entrails to fill their own bellies ; yea, men lying in the street, not yet dead, were cut up by others, and men fed on living men, so that even in the streets, and still more on road-journeys, men ran great danger of being murdered and eaten.'

'It would be tedious to describe everything in detail . . . Some of our Dutchmen, coming from Ahmadabad, found some people sitting at a little fire where hands and feet were cooking, a terrible thing to see. Even worse was it in the village of Susuntra (? Sojitra) where human flesh was sold in open market. This terrible divine punishment fell chiefly on the poor, who had nothing in store.'

The narrative then proceeds to give the conditions of the following year, 1631, when the floods came and destroyed all the crops:

'The Almighty sent locusts, rats, mice, and other vermin, which wrought great damage to the young crops, then continuous heavy rain, when the crops were ripening, caused much grain to perish in the field ; flooded rivers caused even greater loss in towns, villages and country ; and prices rose higher than ever. Thus famine lasted throughout the year, and pestilence and fever followed, so that scarcely a healthy man could be found. The dead lay scattered in the streets. Corpses lay for days in the houses because men could not be paid to carry them out. Wood could not be had for the pyres, and unburnt corpses were buried or thrown into the river.'[15]

Estimate of total mortality

It is difficult to estimate, though easy to imagine, the total mortality resulting from this prolonged famine in Gujarat. Apart from deaths due to actual starvation, the pestilence that followed in the wake of the famine must have taken a tremendous toll of life. The Portuguese viceroy at Goa wrote to his royal master at Lisbon, in October, 1631, that the mortality in Gujarat during the preceding ten months had reached thirty lakhs. Mundy writes in 1633 that 'the famine swept away more than a million of the common or poorer sort, after which the mortality succeeding did as much more among rich and poor.' Though these numbers are only rough estimates, there can be absolutely no doubt that the loss of life was incalculable and that this terrible calamity decimated the population of Gujarat and rendered for a time its towns and villages desolate.

Casualties among the English

The information at our disposal about the loss of life in the very small English and Dutch colonies at Surat from sickness and pestilence enables us to realise the magnitude of the losses that the province as a whole must have suffered from epidemical diseases resulting from the famine. President Rastell himself fell ill and died in November, 1631. When the

15 Translated by Moreland in his work *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 212-13.

Dutch factor, mentioned above, entered Surat twenty days later, he found that 'the English house and ours is as if one came in the hospital of Batavia.' Peter Mundy, returning from Agra to Surat in May, 1633, says that of the twenty-one superior officers, including the President, whom he had left behind him at the end of 1630, fourteen were dead, and three more succumbed to the illness soon after his arrival, 'besides the inferior sort according to this proportion.' There were times when the sickness among the English factors was so general that there was scarcely a man in the factory 'well enough to set his hand to paper.'[16] These depressing conditions must have cast a gloom on the foreign merchants from Europe, particularly the death of Rastell, who had held his office twice, first from 1621 to 1625 and again for some fourteen months from 1630 to his death.

Lapse into cannibalism

Perhaps the most revolting aspect of the 'Satyasio Kal', referred to by all our authorities, is that the extremity of misery and starvation resulted in the perversion of the most fundamental instincts of civilised humanity and led to not infrequent acts of cannibalism. The gruesome details of this given by Van Twist have already been mentioned. 'Destitution', says the historian Abdul Hamid, 'at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other.' Peter Mundy, taking care to tell us that he was not an eye-witness, records :

> 'Women were seen to roast their children; men travelling in the way were laid hold of to be eaten, and having cut away much of his flesh he was glad if he could get away and save his life; others killed outright and devoured. A man or woman no sooner dead but they were cut to pieces to be eaten. This much by common report (because I was not present).'[17]

Highway murders and robbery

There is no reason why we should dismiss lightly as incredible these statements made by three quite independent writers. It is possible also that the bodies of human beings just dead, particularly little children, were cooked and devoured to satisfy the gnawing pangs of unbearable hunger. Human nature has only too often shown a tendency to lapse into barbarism and to revert to primitive impulses in the presence of tremendous natural cataclysms. The complete absence of all security of life and propery that accompanied the famine, and lasted for nearly four years, may also readily be understood. The highways of Gujarat were infested by desperate gangs of men who were absolutely reckless of their own lives provided they could secure the means to feed themselves and to hold off starvation. Even as early as the end of 1630, Thomas Rastell, the English President, writes home that these men 'will not dispense with the nakedest passenger, not so much as our poor

16 *Travels of Peter Mundy*, II, 275.
17 ibid., 276.

pattamars (runners) with letters, who, if not murdered on the way, do seldom escape unrifled.'[18]

It was not till the end of 1634 that the first signs of reviving prosperity were visible in the province. The seasonal rains of this year, well distributed through all the districts, brought plenty in their train, and the towns of Gujarat began once more to show signs of life and population by the return of those who had fled from their homes to distant parts. The revival of the prosperity of the rural areas, however, was a slower process, for all the cattle required by the cultivators had perished, and the tyranny and avarice of the Mughal officials, which knew of no intermission even for a year, gave the poor ryots little scope to lift up their heads and to profit by the renewed bounty provided by the soil.[19]

Return of plenty in 1634

The economic effects of the famine on the great cotton handicrafts of Gujarat deserve special notice, for it took nearly a decade before this industry recovered from the immense setback which it received in the fatal years 1630-31. The mortality among the weavers at Broach was so heavy that, whereas they used to supply the English factory at Surat with 30 to 50 scores of pieces of cloth per day, they could in 1634 supply no more than 20 or 30 pieces. Another result of the calamity was the decline in the level of skill and technical knowledge owing to the death of expert weavers, so that the cotton manufactures of Gujarat, and especially of Broach, suffered in reputation in the markets of Europe owing to their inferior quality. For some years the cultivation of the cotton plant was abandoned for want of a demand, as the weavers, washers, dyers, etc., were either dead or had fled to distant places. At the same time, the high prices commanded by food grains made it profitable for the peasants to devote their lands to these crops rather than to cotton. When normal times returned, cotton was both scarce and dear, and the calico manufacture of Gujarat remained for long in a very depressed condition. A similar state of things prevailed in the indigo trade also. Thus Ahmadabad, which yielded 3,000 or more bales of indigo per year, was hardly able to supply 300. This was due, not to the want of a plentiful growth, but to the fact that there were few men living to gather the crop which was in consequence lying rotting on the ground. By 1640, the grievous effects of the famine appear to have finally disappeared, and the English President Fremlen was able to write home : 'This country is restored to its pristine plenty and beauty. Merchandises

Effects on the cotton and indigo industries

18 *English Factories*, 1630-33, p. 129. There was severe famine on the East Coast also in 1633. A Surat letter of Jan. 23, 1633 says : 'Masalipatam and Armagon was sorely oppressed with famine, the living eating of the dead, and men durst scarcely travel in the country for fear they should be killed and eaten.' (ibid., 268)

19 *English Factories*, 1634-36, p. 65.

of all sorts, which owe their being to this soil, abound in quantity and decline annually in value.'[20]

The author of the *Badshahnama* has supplied us with some details of the Mughal system of public famine relief which compares not very unfavourably with the more elaborate codes of modern times. We are told that the Emperor Shah Jahan, 'in his gracious kindness and bounty,' directed the officials at Ahmadabad, Burhanpur and Surat to start soup-kitchnes, or 'langarkhanas', for supplying free soup and bread to the poor and the destitute. Moreover, orders were issued that, so long as the imperial headquarters were stationed at Burhanpur, 5,000 rupees were to be distributed among the poor on every Monday, that being the day of the week on which the Emperor had ascended the throne. In this manner one lakh of rupees were distributed in the course of twenty successive Mondays. As the city of Ahmadabad was more severely in the grip of famine than perhaps any other place, His Majesty ordered his viceroy to spend 50,000 rupees in buying food-grains from the merchants. Under the imperial sanction, taxes amounting to nearly seventy lakhs of rupees were remitted by the revenue officers, out of the total revenue from the crown lands of the province which was estimated at eighty crores of *dams*, or two crores of rupees. If such remissions, says the historian, were made from the exchequer, it may be realised how large was the relief secured from the reductions made by the nobles on their estates which they held as jagirs and mansabs.[21]

Relief measures of the Mughal Government

That the Mughal system of famine relief in the seventeenth century was far from being perfect was only to be expected. Thus, though the adjacent province of Malwa was but little affected by the drought, no organised effort seems to have been made by the authorities to supply the needs of Gujarat from the plentiful harvest of the neighbouring subah. At Sironj,[22] in Central India, Mundy saw a camp of Banjaras, a mile and a half in extent, with many thousands of oxen laden with provisions. Moreover, 'all the face of the earth, as far as the eye could reach, was covered with green corn. But of this abundance poor Gujarat, which needed it most, had no share', for it was all sent to Burhanpur to feed the imperial army which was stationed there for the war against the Deccan. Even at Nandurbar people were dying in the streets within

Criticism of the system

20 *English Factories*, 1637-41, p. 235.

21 Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, VII, 24-25. The translation of the relative passage being ambiguous, a more exact rendering, along with the original text, is given in Dr. P. Saran's *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, 432-33.

22 Sironj is the headquarters of a taluka of the same name in Tonk State (now merged) in Rajputana, which was attached to the Central India Agency. In the 17th century the town was famous for its manufacture of muslins, 'so fine that when it is on the person, you see all the skin as though it were uncovered.' It was intended only for the Great Mughal's seraglio, and for the principal courtiers.

reach of food, but there were no measures for providing their needs if they could not pay for their food.[23] More striking was the entire absence of concerted measures for the disposal of the dead, or for preventing the influx of the famished population of the villages into the towns, so that the fever, the disease and the pestilence that broke out carried off large masses of people. But it would hardly be fair to judge the Mughal system of famine relief administration during the early part of the seventeenth century by the standard of the elaborate and scientific famine codes which, after many mistakes and long experience, have been gradually evolved in India during the last seventy years. These codes have, moreover, been put into practice with the help of modern means of communication and transport that were completely unknown three centuries ago. Those who have personal experience of famine relief in our times realise how paltry and inadequate all human endeavour often appears to be in combating a severe and widespread natural calamity in India.[24]

Moreland's conclusions

W. H. Moreland, who approaches the study of the Gujarat famine of 1630-32 from the standpoint of the economic historian, comes to a similar conclusion on the subject of the famine relief administration of the Mughal government. He says :

'Public kitchens were opened, taxes were remitted, and money was allocated for gratuitous relief, but the facts on record show that the effect of these measures was trifling, and from the nature of the case they could not counteract the actual deficiency of food which was the dominant factor in the situation ; they might operate to improve the distribution of such stocks as were available, but they could not bring grain into the country, and though their inadequacy may be obvious, it is not easy to suggest what more could have been done.... There was surplus grain in the north, but the cost of carriage by land was exceedingly heavy, and it is hard to see how pack-animals could have moved through country without fodder or water in numbers adequate to the emergency. It would be unjust, therefore, to blame the Mughal administration for failure to avert a calamity which, in the circumstances of the time, must be regarded as inevitable.'[25]

23 *Travels of Peter Mundy*, II, 56.

24 How completely even the most elaborate modern codes may come to grief was witnessed in India in the disastrous famine in Eastern Bengal at the end of 1943 during the Second World War. It was caused not by any failure of crops but by mal-distribution and the criminal engrossing of food-supplies under the stress of war conditions and the perparations for the campaign in Burma. The total loss of human life was estimated officially at 7 lakhs and non-officially at 35 lakhs.

25 *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 213-14.

PART IV

EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS IN GUJARAT IN THE 17TH CENTURY

CHAPTER XXIX

THE ITALIAN P. DELLA VALLE IN GUJARAT, 1623

European travellers in Gujarat

IF Gujarat has been fortunate in its local historians, it has been not less so in the European travellers who visited it during the Muslim period. While the works of the former, written in Persian or Arabic, with a meticulous exactness which deserves comparison with modern methods, supply us with the broad basis of the political history of the province from the end of the 14th to the middle of the 18th century, the accounts left by foreign travellers, though they occur at long intervals, give us a valuable insight into the social life and religious institutions of the people, as also their manners and customs, and their economic condition. We have already reviewed in the first volume of this history the references to Gujarat in the works of the Italian traveller Ludovico di Varthema and the Portuguese official Duarte Barbosa during the 16th century. The century that followed has been rendered notable by the many European travellers who came to India attracted by the fame and splendour of the Mughal Emperors. While the travels of some among these are of all-India significance, there are others whose itinerary and observations were confined to narrower limits, and who may be, therefore, classified as provincial travellers. Among these, of special value to us, are the Italian Pietro Della Valle who visited Gujarat during Jahangir's reign ; the German Albert de Mandelslo who was in this province in the time of Shah Jahan ; and the Frenchman Jean de Thevenot who has left an excellent record of his journey through the cities of Gujarat in the early years of the reign of Aurangzeb. Besides the accounts given by these professed travellers, we have other valuable works of a similar character written by persons who served in Gujarat under the East India Company during the 17th century, such as Dr. John Fryer, the Surgeon to the Surat Factory, and the Rev. J. Ovington who was for some time Chaplain at Bombay and at Surat.

Della Valle in the Middle East

Pietro Della Valle was a member of one of the most ancient and illustrious families of Rome and was born in that capital in 1586. He received a good education, travelled over Italy, and saw some military service. In consequence of a disappointment in love, and on the advice of his friend, Signor Mario Schipano, a professor of medicine, he decided to

travel to the East, and embarked at Venice for Constantinople in 1614. After a tour in Egypt, Asia Minor and Palestine, he visited Damascus, Aleppo and Baghdad. At this last town he married one Sitti Maani, a young Assyrian Christian, eighteen years old. This event took place in 1616, and he proc eded with her to Persia, where he visited Hamadan and Isfahan, and paid a visit to the court of the King, Shah Abbas, in his camp which was then located on the Caspian Sea. He accompanied this King to Ardabil, where the army was assembled, and took part in a sanguinary battle with the Turks, in which connection he speaks of his wife as 'a warrior who fears neither to see blood nor to hear the sound of firing'. In 1621 he visited the ruins of Persepolis and the city of Shiraz. He then proceeded towards the coast of the Persian Gulf where, near the Gulf of Hormaz, his wife, Maani, died of fever at the end of 1622. He caused her body to be embalmed and placed in a coffin and carried it about with him in all his subsequent travels. In January, 1623, he embarked at Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) for India, being accompanied by a Georgian girl, Maria Tinatin di Ziba, whom his wife had taken under her protection.

His visit to India

Della Valle arrived at Surat on February 10, 1623, during Jahangir's reign, at the time when the Civil War was in progress between the Emperor and his son Shah Jahan, who had rebelled. From this base he visited Broach, Cambay and Ahmadabad, making a short stay at each place. On returning to Surat, he took ship for Goa, visiting the Portuguese settlements of Daman, Bassein and Chaul on his journey. From Goa he went to Ikkeri, Mangalore and Calicut, which last place was the limit of his travels in India. In 1624, he embarked at Goa for Muskat, thence travelled by land to Basra and Aleppo, and from that port sailed to Naples, and finally reached Rome on 28 March 1626. Here the remains of his wife, which he had conveyed with him through all these travels, were buried in the Church of Ara Coeli in the vault of the Della Valle family. He was well received by Pope Urban VIII and by his friends at Rome, and married the Georgian girl, Maria Tinatin, who had been the companian of his travels ever since his wife's death.[1] After his return to Rome, Della Valle appears to have led a retired life, being visited by friends who came to hear the history of his travels and to inspect the museum of curiosities that he had collected. He died in 1652 in his native city and was buried in the Church of Ara Coeli.

Della Valle's *Travels* in Turkey, Persia and India are composed

[1] She was the daughter of an officer in the Georgian army, who had been killed in battle, and she was carried with other captives to Isfahan, where Sitti Maani saw her and took her under her protection. By her marriage with Della Valle she became the mother of fourteen sons.

in the form of letters written in Italian and addressed to his friend, Signor Mario Schipano, who resided at Naples.[2] They bear evidence that the author was a person of wide knowledge and high attainments who had an advantage over some other travellers to the East in the fact that he wrote and spoke several oriental languages, such as Turkish, Persian and Arabic. His wanderings in India, described in eight letters, were confined to a comparatively restricted area on the Western coast, extending from Ahmadabad in the north to Calicut in the south. But this very limitation gave him scope for close observation and accurate description of life and manners in the larger towns of Gujarat, and in the Portuguese settlements on the coast, in the early part of the 17th century.[3] With this background about his life and activities, we shall now proceed to review, as briefly as possible, the more striking observations in his account of the Gujarat cities through which he passed.

Scope and value of his work

Della Valle took his passage from Persia to India on the *Whale*, one of two English ships sailing from Gombroon for Surat. After reaching the Gulf of Cambay, and in order to suit the currents and to avoid the shoals and quicksands, the ships fetched a large compass to the south as far as Daman or Bassein, tacking about later to the north.[4] On Feb. 10, 1623, they cast anchor near Swally bar, 'where is the port most frequented by the ships from Europe.' Thomas Rastell, the President of the English Factory, happened to be at the marine at the time, and he came over to the ships with two of his merchants. 'He spoke Italian very well', says our traveller, 'and made me many civil offers, showing himself in all things a person sufficiently accomplished, and of generous deportment, according as his gentile and graceful aspect bespoke him'. From the President, Della Valle learnt that one Signor Alberto di Scilling, 'a German gentleman', whom he had already met in Persia and who was a great friend, was then at Surat, having returned from a visit to the Mughal court. Rastell left the ship after a refection of hot wine, boiled with cloves, cinnamon, and other spices, 'which the English call *burnt wine*'. On the 13th, Della Valle landed on the shore, and it being the day for an attack of his ague, kept lying in a tent awaiting the arrival

Della Valle at Swally, Feb. 10, 1623

2 Besides various editions in Italian, Della Valle's *Travels* were translated into French, Dutch, German and English during the 17th century. The first English edition was published in London in 1664 in a folio volume, and was translated by one G. Havers. The text of the Hakluyt Society's publication (1892) is based on this translation.

3 *The Travels of P. Della Valle*, Ed. by E. Grey (Hakluyt Society), 1892, Vol. I, Intr., I-IX.

4 Della Valle says that, in his opinion, they drifted at sea as far south as Daman, near the land known to the English as St. John's (Sanjan), and noted in the sea-charts of the Portuguese as *Ilhas das vaccas*, or Islands of the Cows. The Editor of his *Travels* points out that the latter was the name given by the Portuguese to an archipelago of islands lying off the coast south of Bassein (*Travels of P. Della Valle*, op. cit., 17 and *n*).

of a coach from the village of 'Suhali' (Suwali), which was a mile off, to take him to Surat. Here, to his great surprise and joy, came up the same evening his German friend Signor Alberto on horseback, 'clothed and armed after the Indian manner', having shortly before returned to Surat after a flying visit to Broach, and the two friends had a pleasant time in recounting their adventures.

The coach having arrived, Della Valle, with his friend and the lady who was his ward, proceeded to Swally 'town' where they spent the night, and the next day made the journey to Surat. Here the Italian traveller was conducted by his German friend to the Dutch factory where he received a most cordial welcome from Pieter Van den Broecke, the Director of the Dutch East India Company, who, with the leading merchants of that nation, lived in a spacious building enclosed within walls, which Pietro calls a palace. Some of the Hollanders had their wives with them, and one of the latter, Donna Lucia, sent a coach to bring Signora Mariuccia (Maria Tinatin) to her residence. Della Valle himself wished for several reasons to stay away from both the English and the Dutch factories, and had already declined an invitation extended to him by President Rastell to lodge at the English house. He was, therefore, greatly embarrassed when his friend, who had undertaken to secure a house for his residence, conveyed him by a subterfuge to the factory of the Hollanders. His courteous excuses were turned down, and as the Dutch Director came out personally to press him to enter, there was no help but to accept the kind offer. The next morning, on Della Valle proceeding to the English factory to pay a visit to explain the apparent discourtesy of his action to President Rastell, he was told that the latter was 'not at home'. However, after a mollifying letter and many explanations, and a personal visit to the President from Van den Broecke, matters were brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and all were invited to supper at the English factory that night.

Arrival in Surat

Some interesting sidelights on the social aspect of the Dutch and Portuguese colonial systems is thrown by Della Valle's remark that special privileges were granted by the state to those Hollanders in the East who married and settled down in the Dutch colony of New Batavia, in Java, with their wives and families. For this reason, many of those who could not secure European partners, had taken Indian, Armenian and Syrian women for their wives, provided they were or could be made Christians. In the previous year, an armada from Portugal on its way to India was attacked by the Dutch, and some of the ships were sunk and the rest captured. Among other booty, were three maidens, poor orphans of good descent, such as were sent out from Portugal every year, at the King's charge and with a royal dowry, with a view to their getting married in India to help the peopling of the Portuguese colonies. These three maidens were taken by their captors to Surat, where, 'being all passably

Dutch marriages in India

handsome,' the most eminent among the Dutch merchants strove to marry them. Two of these girls, however, had subsequently left Surat either for the colony at Batavia or elsewhere, and the third, named Donna Lucia, 'fair enough, and wife to one of the wealthiest and eminent Hollanders', remained behind. It was this lady who, as mentioned above, looked after Della Valle's ward at Surat.[5]

Della Valle describes Surat as a city of 'handsome greatness', and says that he received the utmost kindness and civility from the Presidents of both the European factories during his stay which lasted for one month and ten days. His noble birth and his reputation for learning had no doubt much to do with this cordial reception. An observation which he makes about the equality enjoyed by all the Mughal's subjects in the town, and the liberty they had to pursue their normal avocations and to amass wealth, deserves to be quoted as a corrective to the idea that Hindus were generally oppressed under the Mughal system. His remarks, however, must have been based on what he saw during his brief stay and on the opinions of the European factors with whom he was brought into association. After stating that the 'Gentiles' (Hindus) at Surat were more numerous than the Muslims, he says :

Equality of all subjects under the Mughal

> 'However, they live all mixt together, and peaceably, because the Grand Moghul, to whom Guzarat is now subject (having sometimes had a distinct King), although he be a Mahometan (but not a pure one as they report), makes no difference in his Dominions between the one sort and the other ; and both in his court and in his armies, and even amongst men of the highest degree, they are of equal account and consideration. Yet the Mahometans, as the masters, especially those of the Mogholian race, which now is the Imperial in these parts, seem to have some little more of authority'[6]

What is perhaps the earliest description of the famous Gopi Talav at Surat, excepting the brief reference to it by Sir Thomas Roe, is to be found in the pages of Della Valle's *Travels*. He calls it 'a very large tank, or artificial pool, surrounded with stone work, and contrived with many sides and angles, at which there are stairs leading down to the surface of the water.' Its diameter is given as two good furlongs, and we are told that such reservoirs were commonly constructed in India by rulers or governors or other wealthy persons for the public benefit owing to the scarcity of running water and springs, and that many towns had no other supply than rain-water gathered in these great tanks. Della Valle adds that attached to the tank was a great canal, 'long, large and deep', embanked with stone, over which certain bridges were built, and it was connected a good way off with another smaller tank built with many sides of stone. A female descendant of Gopi, the builder of the

The Gopi Talav

5 *Travels of P. Della Valle*, I, 24-25.
6 ibid, I, 30.

reservoir, was then living in the town, 'and I know not by what sinister hap of fortune, very poor, so that she hath scarce bread to eat'; 'wherein', comments the traveller, 'I observed a great ingratitude of the citizens of Surat, in suffering his heir to want food, who for their public benefit had been at so great expense'.[7]

Details about Malik Gopi.

Not less valuable than his account of the Gopi Talav are the details which Della Valle gives of the wealthy Hindu noble named Gopi who built this tank. These also show that he had read widely and was familiar with the works of writers on the history of the Portuguese in India :

'It is not improbable', he says, 'that this Gopi, who made this Piscina of Surat, is the same whom Giovanni di Barros, in the Second *Decade* of his *Asia*, frequently mentions with the title of Malik, and relates to have been in those times, a little above a hundred years ago, a great friend to the Portugals ; styling him often lord of Barocci (Broach), and once, in the last book, lord of Surat. But I rather believe that he was only governor of either of these two cities under the then Mahomedan kings of Cambaia[8] (as he speaks), that is of Gujarat xxx 'Tis, therefore, possible that Malik Gopi, mentioned by Barros, made this cistern when he was governor of Surat, it being the work and expense of such a person.'[9]

The once famous Gopi Talao, the premier pleasure resort of Surat for a couple of centuries, has long since ceased to function as a reservoir. Its site, covering an area of some 58 acres, is now an immense dry hollow occupied by fields and trees and some houses. The stone steps which surrounded the tank have disappeared, having been partly utilised to build the outer city-wall (the *Alampanah*) in the first quarter of the 18th century. In one corner of the site is an old *wav*, or step-well, built in 1718 and now in a semi-dilapidated condition, the waters of which are believed to have some medicinal effect.

Della Valle on natural history

Among other interesting sites visited at Surat, Della Valle mentions a huge 'Bur' or Banyan tree which was held in great veneration by the Hindus who worshipped an idol engraven on the trunk of the tree. On another occasion, the Dutch Director took the traveller to see 'one of the finest and famousest gardens of Surat,' handsomely laid out with straight walks with rows of trees on either side. While describing several of the plants

7 For a full list of all references to the Gopi Talav given by European travellers and writers between 1615 and 1775 see my *Studies in the History of Gujarat*, 96 *n*.

8 Della Valle proceeds to explain how the term 'Kingdom of Cambaya' refers to Gujarat : 'Of which Province Cambay is the principal and in a manner the maritime city, more known than the rest to the Portugals by trade ; whence they have given its name to the whole kingdom, although not Cambay, but Ahmadabad, more within land, is probably the Royal Seat' (*Travels of P. Della Valle*, I, 34).

9 Gopi flourished in the reign of Sultan Muzaffar II of Gujarat (1511-27) ; all the available information about his career and his violent death has been given in the account of that Sultan's reign in the first volume of this work, and also in my *Studies in the History of Gujarat*, pp. 99-107.

he saw there, Della Valle shows his interest in natural history when he says : 'As for the plants and simples of India (very different from ours) I shall say briefly once for all that they are such and so many that to write fully of them would require express volumes, and make them as big as those of Dioscorides and Pliny.' He goes on to add that those who wished to know more about the subject may consult the works of 'natural historians', such as Garcia da Orta and two others whom he names, all of which had been collectively rendered into Latin; and that there had been so little curiosity on the part of the Portuguese, or other Europeans trading in these parts, that he knew of no other person who had written anything bearing on the same topic. After expressing his opinion that these three, though their range was not wide, 'had written faithfully and well,' he tells his friend at Naples: 'And I, who have read them all with diligence, have made some not unprofitable notes upon them, which I keep in manuscript by me, and you may see (them) one day when it shall please God to bring us together'.[10]

Though the English and Dutch factories had not been established at Surat for more than a dozen years previous to the visit of Della Valle, he found the Presidents of both living in considerable splendour, 'after the manner of the greatest persons of the country.' When they went about they were accompanied by their own men on horseback, or by a great number of Indian servants, armed with swords and bucklers, or bows and arrows, according to the custom of the country. Moreover, the Chiefs 'had a very high banner carried before their coach or horse and a saddled horse led by hand in front of them.' Our traveller was impressed by the freedom with which private individuals were permitted to live in the city 'with as much splendour and equipage as they pleased and could afford,' and he adds, 'and they do it securely because the King does not persecute his subjects with false accusations, nor deprive them of anything when he sees them live splendidly and with the appearance of riches (as is often done in other Mahometan countries).' We are also told that an ordinary servant, 'between wages, victuals and clothing, stands not in (need of) more than three Rupia a month'.[11]

The English and Dutch Chiefs

After about ten days' stay, Della Valle, accompanied by his ward Mariam Tinatin, Signor Alberto, and a number of Dutch factors, left Surat for a visit to Cambay, of which town he had heard a great deal 'as one of the most ancient in India, and which he had come from Persia with a great desire to see.' The party proceeded in five coaches, two of which were occupied by the Hollanders with their arms. The Dutch 'Commandator' came to Della Valle's house with many others to conduct him forth and to set him on the way, and all of them kept him company in their coaches upto a certain distance beyond the city. Before parting, the Director

Departure for Cambay

10 *Travels of P. Della Valle*, I, 35-37; 40-41.

11 *Travels*, op. cit., 41-42.

entertained the visitor with sundry fruits, particularly with grapes grown at Surat, 'ripe, sweet and good' in this month. While they were halting, a post reached the Dutch President from Agra bringing topical news to the effect that the Emperor had sent his great minister Asaf Khan to Agra to remove the royal treasures from that place before the arrival of Sultan Khurram, then in revolt, who was reported to be on his march to that capital. After communicating all the news to his guest, the Director left the party with a final salute in the form of volleys of muskets.

Having travelled 22 *kos*, sometimes at night also, the party arrived at Broach after being ferried across the Narbada river. The Dutch trumpeter, who was with them, sounded his silver trumpet when they were over the stream, and gave notice of their arrival to the members of the Dutch factory in the city, who came down to the banks to meet them and took them to the Dutch house. 'The city of Broach', says our traveller, 'is encompassed with a wall of moderate bigness, built upon a rising hill'. It was known for its great trade in fine cotton cloth, or calicoes, which were sent to all parts of Asia and also to Europe, the cloth being packed in great bales, 'as big as a Roman coach', for transport on board the English and Dutch vessels. The industry was a source of great wealth to the town and brought in a good revenue from the customs duties. Some miles distant from this city were located the famous mines for agates and chalcedonies, white and green, but these stones were carried less to Broach than to Cambay because the latter was a sea-port and there was a much larger concourse of foreign merchants there. Della Valle was taken at Broach to see a small ship under construction, and was later entertained with toddy, 'not unpleasing to the palate, almost like our Poignant or Brisk-wine, yet it inebriates as wine doth if drunk immoderately.'[12]

Broach described

On arrival at Jambusar, after a journey of 18 *kos* from Broach, Della Valle joined a large convoy which was proceeding to Cambay. When nearing that town, the traveller reached the broad mouth of the Mahi river, at the inmost part of the Gulf of Cambay, 'in which the flux and reflux of the sea is more impetuous and violent and with a more rapid current than perhaps in any other part of the world.'[13] 'The fording of the river presents,' he says, 'a great problem, for there is a plain stretching across five *kos* which is overflowed at high tide*** Even in places where the river is always fordable, when it happens that the water is higher or the current more furious than ordinary, it often carries away people, and sometimes with such violence that an elephant cannot bear up against it, but is swept away by the water.' The people

The Mahi and its passage

12 *Travels*, op. cit., 60-62.

13 'This Mahi, which I speak of, is a river of handsome but ordinary greatness, and hath not the least correspondence with the Indus' (*Travels*, 63-64).

of the country, however, had good knowledge of the conditions prevailing at various seasons, and the *kafila*, which Della Valle had joined, reached the Mahi at the proper time of the month, and the coaches passed over the area without much difficulty. At some places, the water through which they waded rose higher than the belly of the oxen which drew the coaches, but owing to the height of the wheels it did not enter the carriages, in which one had to sit cross-legged. Moreover, for greater security, men were engaged to hold the carriages on either side and to keep them steady so that they might not float or be carried away by their lightness.[14]

On arrival at Cambay, on the night of the 23rd February 1623, Della Valle went to lodge with the members of the Dutch factory where he was treated with 'exquisite cheer'. He describes the town as moderately large, and says that 'most of its greatness consists in the suburbs without the walls, which are sufficiently spacious.' The majority of the population consisted of 'Gentiles', and we know that Cambay was a great centre of Jainism in the 17th century. Among the first sights visited by this traveller was an hospital for birds and fowls, 'which for being sick, lame, deprived of their mates, or otherwise needing food and care, are kept and tended there with diligence.' This and similar Jain institutions in Gujarat are the outcome of the Jain doctrine of *ahimsa*, though Della Valle ascribes the same to the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls, 'not only from man to man but also from man to brute beast.' The hospital was not a large one, a single small room sufficing for inmates of all sorts, comprising, besides small birds, cocks, hens, pigeons, peacocks and ducks. When they recovered from their lameness or other disability, they were, if wild, set at liberty, and if tame, given away to some pious person to be kept in his house. 'The most curious thing I saw in this place', adds the Italian traveller, 'were certain little mice, who being found orphans, without sire or dame to tend them, were put into this hospital, and a venerable old man with a white beard, keeping them in a box with cotton, very diligently tended them, with his spectacles on his nose, giving them milk to eat with a bird's feather, because they were so little that as yet they could eat nothing else'.[15]

Hospital for birds at Cambay

Della Valle also mentions another animal hospital (*panjrapol*) for goats, sheep and kids, and a third one for cows and calves, some with broken legs, others very old or lean or infirm, and kept here to be cured. He found in this latter place, to his no small surprise, 'a Mahometan thief, having been taken in theft and both his hands cut off. But the compassionate Gentiles, that he might not perish miserably, now he was no longer able to get his living, took him into this place, and kept him among the poor beasts, not suffering him to want anything.' Outside one of the gates of

A Muslim cripple in a Panjrapol

14 *Travels*, op. cit., 63-66.

15 *Travels*, op. cit., 67-68. An equally interesting account of the *Panjrapols* at Surat is given by J. Ovington in his *Voyage to Surat* (Oxford Ed., 177-178).

the city, he saw a great herd of cows and calves which, having been cured of their disease, 'were sent into the field to feed by cowherds purposely maintained at the public charge.' Among them were goats and other animals bought up from Muslims who would have killed them for eating. Della Valle here specially points out that there was no necessity for the Jains of the town to redeem cows and calves from slaughter, 'because, in Cambay, cows, calves and oxen are not killed by any, and there's a great prohibition against it, by the instance of the Gentiles who upon this account pay a great sum of money to the Prince, and should any, either Mahometan or other, be found to kill them, he would be punished severely, even with death.'[16]

Hindu Iconology

The next morning, Della Valle visited a temple, 'one of the best which the Gentiles have in Cambaia'. His enquiring and intelligent mind was puzzled at the nature and symbolism of the images, and, equipped only with his knowledge of Greek, Roman and Egyptian mythology, he tried in vain to unravel the mysteries of Hindu or Jain iconography, no work having been yet published in Europe on the subject. The Indians who accompanied him as guides or interpreters, and who spoke to him in Portuguese or in Persian, being only merchants without learning, could not satisfy his curiosity. Besides, their knowledge even of these two languages was not very great, and they could not make themselves intelligible except in matters connected with buying and selling. The learned Brahmans, on the other hand, who could have satisfied Della Valle's desire, knew only their own language. The traveller adds that, in view of these difficulties, he hoped, at a future date, to secure the information he required at Goa, for there he might come across some learned Brahman, 'perhaps turned Christian,' who would give him a more exact account of these mysteries either in Portuguese or in Latin; 'and if he be a Christian, he will, no doubt, give it me more truly than the Gentiles, who, I believe, talk with us concerning their own matters neither willingly nor sincerely.'[17]

Widow-burning

After pointing out that the Indians (*i.e.*, the Hindus) generally took but one wife, and seldom divorced her or married another, Della Valle remarks that the custom under which the husband was free to marry again after his wife's death, while a similar privilege was not allowed to the wife, was 'a very hard law indeed and from which infinite inconveniences arise.' He next refers to the unhappy institution of *sati*, which was to continue in India for two hundred years after his visit, and he makes some judicious observations which show that, in spite of his short stay, he was very well informed about this custom which prevailed chiefly among the better classes and the ruling princes. Like many other

16 *Travels*, 70-71.

17 ibid, 71-72.

travellers before him, he says that, once the woman was on the pyre, she was not allowed to leave it, if she repented after the fire had been kindled:

'I have heard say (for I have not seen any women burnt alive) that xxx diverse men stand about the pile with staves in their hands to stir the fire, and pour liquors upon it to make it burn faster; and that if they should see the woman offer to come out, or avoid the flames, they would knock her on the head with their staves and kill her, or else beat her back into the fire ; because it would be a great shame to the woman and all her kindred if she should go to be burnt, and then, through fear of the fire and death, repent and come out of it.'

Mughal policy on Sati

This author remarks that he had heard it said that some women were forced to immolate themselves against their will by their relatives, who stupefied them by some drugs, 'that they might the more easily suffer themselves to be cast into the fire.' The Indians, however, denied the use of such force, and Della Valle adds that this was probably true in territories under Muslim sway, 'for there no woman is suffered to be burnt without leave of the Governor of the place, to whom it belongs first to examine whether the woman is willing; and for a licence there is also paid a good sum of money.' This is a correct reference to the Mughal policy towards the Hindu practice of *sati*, from the time of Akbar onward, under which the responsibility of giving sanction for such a rite was laid on the local governors. Della Valle observes, however, that 'many widows being in the height of their passion taken at their word by their kindred, who desire it, go to it afterwards with an ill will, not daring to deny those that exhort them thereunto, nor to discover their own mind freely to the Governor, things which amongst women, with their natural fearfulness and modesty, easily happen.' He concludes with the statement that 'in the territories of Christians, where the Portugals are masters, women are not suffered to be burnt, nor is any other exercise of their religion permitted them.'[18]

From Cambay to Ahmadabad

After a stay of only two days at Cambay, Della Valle and his friend Signor Alberto, with their companions, joined, on 25 February, a caravan that was proceeding to Ahmadabad. He describes the caravan as very large with some 100 coaches, a large guard of horsemen and foot soldiers, and a multitude of wagons laden with goods. After covering 15 *kos*, they arrived at the town of Mātar, and the next day completed the journey to the capital. On the way, they met a large number of 'beggars' with trumpets, and armed with bows and arrows, 'two things sufficiently uncouth for beggars.' These ruffians, he says, often robbed travellers whom they met alone or unarmed. The country through which the caravan now passed was woody and 'unmeasurably dusty,' and the highway was lined on both

18 *Travels*, op. cit., 83-85.

sides with tall hedges of the cactus, which is described as a 'plant always green and unfruitful, not known in Europe, and having no leaves.'

On arrival at Ahmadabad (Feb. 26), 'a large city with great suburbs,' Della Valle's party alighted at the English factory, and, though their stay was to be very short, hired a house in the quarter known as the 'Darzi caravanserai.' We may mention that the famous Serai built in 1638 near the Bhadra towers by the viceroy Azam Khan during Shah Jahan's reign was not yet in existence. Della Valle says that the Serais in this city were not separate structures, 'but they are whole great streets of the city destined for strangers to dwell in, and whosoever is minded to hire a house.' These streets were locked up at night for the security of the persons and their goods.[19] Going out to see the market place the same evening, he found the roads large and straight, but badly paved, and so dusty that walking was most difficult, 'because the foot sinks very deep in the ground,' while the clouds of dust made riding equally unpleasant, 'a thing indeed of great disparagement to so goodly and great a city as this is.' During the two days of his stay in the capital, Della Valle could not have visited even a fraction of the monuments which made it famous.

Ahmadabad a dusty city

The next morning, Della Valle, walking out, 'saw a handsome street, straight, long and very broad full of shops of various trades.' This was the principal business centre of the city, and he says that it was called the *Bazar-i-Kalān*, or the Great Market, to distinguish it from others which were smaller. He refers to the Triple Gateway, that still spans this road at one end, as 'a stone structure athwart the street, like a bridge with three arches, almost resembling the Triumphal Arches of Rome.' Beyond this stood a great well, 'round about which is built a square Piazetta (arcaded gallery), a little higher than the ground.' The well supplied water to a large number of people who gathered there.

The Bazar-i-Kalan

Beyond this market street, and confronting the three arches, Della Valle mentions the 'Great gate, beautified with many monuments, between two goodly towers.' This refers to the imposing east entrance of the Bhadra citadel at Ahmadabad adjoining Azam Khan's *serai*. In the open area near this gate stood two platforms, built of stone and raised above the ground, from which were proclaimed all royal commandments for public information. Turning thence to the right, and passing through another large gate, he entered the Bhadra castle through a fair street leading to the royal palace which stood in a great square court enclosed by white and well polished walls. Under the royal windows was a square plat-

The Bhadra and the royal palace

19 From Della Valle's description it appears that he put up in a quarter of the city probably known as the 'Darzi's Pol'. On a later page he says that he saw in this city a caravansarai made with cloisters like those of Persia (p. 101).

form, enclosed by a rail of wood, where attended the mansabdars of various ranks when the Emperor was resident there. Within this enclosure, under the King's balconies, stood two 'carved elephants of embossed work, but not large, painted with their natural colours.' Della Valle was told that some time back there was to be seen, in one of the balconies, 'an Image of the Virgin Mary placed there by Shah Salim [Jahangir], who, they say, was devoted to her, and to whom perhaps it was given by one of our priests, who frequent his court out of a desire to draw him to the Christian faith.' It is quite possible that the Emperor, during his stay at Ahmadabad in 1618, had the image of the Virgin exposed in his palace balcony just as he used to do at Agra. Della Valle adds that it was not there when he saw the palace, and that 'it was possibly taken away by Sultan Khurram, his son (reported an enemy of the Christians and their affairs), since his coming to the government of those parts of Gujarat.'[20]

The same day, after dinner, Della Valle took leave of the Armenian and Syrian Christians, who were resident in Ahmadabad with their families, and joined the caravan which was now returning to Cambay. After it was out of the city, he and his companions turned aside to pay a hurried visit to the Kankaria tank, 'made of stone with stairs at several angles about it' and with a diameter which he conjectured was about half a mile. In its middle, he says, was an island with a little garden, 'to which they go by a handsome bridge of many arches very well built.' Having seen the tank, he and his party proceeded to overtake the caravan which had halted for the night at the village of Bareja.[21]

The Kankaria Tank

The caravan set forth from Bareja at break of day on March 1, and lodging at night at the town of Sojitra, reached Cambay by noon on the next day. The following day (March 3), Della Valle went outside the city-walls to the top of a tomb, 'near the king's garden,' to behold from this height, which gave full command of the sea, the coming in of the Bore or rushing tide.[22] It being the day of the new moon, the tide was expected to be higher than usual, and they had timed their arrival so as to observe it at its height, because at that time it increased in less than a quarter of an hour to almost its greatest level. 'We saw the sea,' he writes, 'come roaring afar off like a most rapid river, and in a moment overflow a great space of land, rushing with such fury that nothing could have withstood its force; and I think it would have overtaken the swiftest race-horse in the world.' He points out that these conditions were in sharp contrast to those usual in other places

The 'Bore' at Cambay

20 *Travels*, op. cit., 97-98. Della Valle's account of the old palace of the Sultans is of special value as the building has not been described by any other traveller.

21 *Travels*, op. cit., 102. At Della Valle's departure from the capital, he found the gates of the city closed, by prince Khurram's orders, owing to the civil war then in operation. His account of the episode has been quoted at p. 88 in this book.

22 At Cambay, high spring-tides rise and fall as much as 33 feet and the tide runs at the velocity of from 6 to 7 knots per hour.

'where both the rising and falling of the sea, in the flux and the reflux, is done gently in full six hours.'[23]

Della Valle next day went out of the city to the old town of Nagra,[24] a few miles off, which he was told was in ancient times 'the royal seat and the principal city and the head of the whole kingdom,' while Cambay was, by comparison, 'a modern thing' which rose to greatness on the ruins of the old capital. At Nagra he visited a small temple dedicated to Brahma where he saw in the central area a large marble statue of Brahma having many arms and three faces with 'a long peaked beard, but ill cut as well as the rest of the figure.' On each side stood the statue of a woman, somewhat smaller in size. On the same day, there arrived at Cambay a Portuguese fleet from Goa in which came a young Jesuit lay-brother on his way to Agra. Della Valle had already decided to proceed from Gujarat to the capital city of Goa, but as all his heavy luggage, including his wife's remains, had been left at Swally, he could not join the Portuguese fleet at Cambay on its return voyage to Goa. In company with Signor Alberto and a Venetian merchant, therefore, he paid a visit to this Jesuit at the place where he had lodged, and secured from him a letter of recommendation to Fr. Antonio Albertino, an Italian, who was Rector of the Jesuit college at Daman, as also another to the Rector of their college at Bassein, to assist him to secure a convenient passage for Goa either at Daman or Bassein where he intended to contact this fleet on its return voyage. On his own part, Della Valle gave this brother a letter to the *padres* at Agra to whom he was known as he had corresponded with them from Persia. On March 7, 1623, Della Valle left Cambay, after an entertainment by the Dutch merchants, who conducted their guest and his companions two miles out of the city before taking leave.

The ruins of Nagra

After crossing the Mahi river,[25] and entering the limits of the present district of Broach, the caravan lodged that night at Jambusar, and the following evening (8 March) arrived at Broach. On the outskirts of this town, Della Valle visited 'a handsome structure, the famous sepulchre of I know not well whom, pleasantly seated amongst trees, something elevated, upon the side of a little lake or great cistern.' Besides the central tomb

The Rauza of Changiz Khan at Broach

23 *Travels*, op. cit., 103-04.

24 Nagra is now a prosperous village three or four miles to the north of Cambay town and it evidently occupies the site of an ancient city. Here may be seen a life-size marble statue of Brahma with a beard and moustache. There are also marble statues of two women, evidently representing Brahma's wives. The temple to which these images probably belonged, and which is described by Della Valle, has disappeared, and the image of Brahma is now located in a small house. See Ratnamanirao Bhimrao's *History of Cambay* (in Gujarati), p. 148 and Plates.

25 The caravan crossed again the bed of the Mahi extending over many miles, but the water was much higher than it was at their coming into the city, so that it entered the coaches, and Della Valle and others had perforce to keep standing, and to hold fast by the roof of the carriages, bare-legged too, as the water came up to the middle of the legs. (*Travels*, I, 117-19).

in this mausoleum were others in white marble.[26] Round about were a number of graves showing that the site was held sacred and in great esteem. With his limited knowledge of local history, Della Valle could hardly be expected to identify the person buried in the main structure. But there is little doubt that it was the Rauza built in honour of his martyred father, Imad-ul-Mulk, by Changiz Khan, one of the great nobles of the last days of the Gujarat Saltanat, who became almost supreme in the kingdom before he was treacherously assassinated at Ahmadabad, as related in the first volume of this work. He, and his father before him, held Broach and Champaner as their jagirs, and after their murder the bodies of both of them were brought here and buried in this mausoleum near the site rendered sacred by the tomb of Baba Raihan, a Muslim saint who had settled in these parts in the early Middle Ages before the Muslim conquest of the province.[27]

Last days at Surat

On March 10, 1623, the party reached Surat, where Della Valle put up in the same house which had been placed at his disposal by the Dutch Commander when he first arrived, and here he stayed for 13 days preparing for his journey to Goa. Soon after arrival he heard the news that Sultan Khurram had taken and sacked the city of Agra, but had not secured the Fort, and that his army had committed many atrocities there, and had looted the goods and money of the citizens. Della Valle was anxious to join at Daman the Portuguese fleet returning to Goa from Cambay, but it was not possible for him to do so in a Surat boat, since its owner could not remove the baggage from the *Whale* to his own boat without carrying it first to Surat town for the payment of the customs.[28] He was able, however, to sail for Daman in a small shallop (*almadia*) belonging to that port. Here ends our traveller's long letter to his friend from 'Surat, March 22, Anno 1623' which contains the narrative of his stay in Gujarat, and which has been reviewed above.[29]

Farewells at Swally Marine

Owing to various obstructions at his Surat house, it was night before Della Valle crossed the Tapti to the opposite side, and securing coaches there, travelled all night over the ten mile road to the sea, and arrived on the 24th morning at 'Suhali' (Swally) where he and Maria Tinatin were received in the tent of President Rastell who was already there with all his merchants to supervise the departure of some English vessels from the harbour. He spent the day in visits to the Captains and other friends on board the *Whale* and its companion the *Dolphin*, and on the latter ship he took affectionate leave, 'with many embraces,' of his companion Signor

26 *Travels*, op. cit., 119-20.

27 See Vol. I of this History, 467-69, 493, 495-96, and the plate facing p. 468.

28 There were also other difficulties, such as the fact that our traveller's goods included several 'Moorish books' besides the relics of his wife Sitti Maani, and on this account an inspection at the customs was likely to involve much trouble and delay.

29 *Travels*, op. cit., 122-25.

Alberto Scilling who was proceeding to Aethiopia to the 'Court of the Abyssins' [*i.e.*, Prester John]. The next morning (the 25th) he got into the Portuguese shallop, which, after casting anchor at night in the Kolak river (*Rio di Colak*), arrived at Daman at noon the following day. Referring to the numerous inlets or arms of the sea, going often far inland, on this coast, Della Valle says that the Portuguese denominated them rivers, and although he doubted this designation at first, for the water was always salty, he had subsequently ascertained that several of them were indeed small rivers falling into the sea.[80]

It now only remains to record Della Valle's passing references to the two Portuguese settlements of Daman and Bassein before he left the coast of Gujarat on his way to Goa. These occur at the beginning of his next Letter to his friend Mario Schipano, which was written from Goa, and dated April 27, 1623. At its prelude, he makes some humorous remarks which show that European travellers in the East were in the habit of adapting their costume to the dress commonly prevailing in the countries through which they travelled. He says :

European costume resumed

'Now salute you (my dear Sigr. Mario) from Goa; in India indeed I am, but no Indian. Having passed through the Syrian, and afterwards the Persian, I am again invested with our European garb. In Turkie and Persia you would not have known me, but could not mistake me in India, where I have almost resumed my first shape. This is the third transformation which my beard hath undergone, having here met with an old barber who hath advanced my mustachios according to the Portugal mode, and in the middle of my chin, shaven after the Persian mode, he hath left the European tuft.'[81]

On arrival at Daman on 26 March, it was found that the merchant ships from Cambay convoyed by the Portuguese fleet had, a few hours before, left that port. But Fr. Antonio Albertino, the Rector of the Jesuit College of St. Paul's, being informed of the traveller's arrival, came to the seaside to receive the visitor courteously and conducted him to the spacious convent of this Order, while Maria Tinatin was conveyed in a palanquin to the house of a Portuguese lady. Della Valle was advised by the Rector to proceed in the same barque to Bassein, where the convoy was to touch, and to rest for the day at Daman. In the short account of the town given here, we are told that, though small, it had fine straight streets. There was in this place no Bishop, as all the towns under Portugal in India were in spiritual matters subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa, but in each of them there resided a chief priest, called the *Vicar da Vara*,[82] with supreme power. Besides 'the Church of

Account of Daman

80 *Travels*, 126-32.

81 ibid, 126.

82 In explaining this title, Della Valle adds : 'that is, Vicar of the *verge* or *mace*, which is the badge of authority'. The mace was adopted as an emblem of authority by ecclesiastics as they were forbidden by a canon of the church to use the sword.

the See (or Sè), as they call the Duomo or Cathedral,' and that of the Jesuits, there were others belonging to the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians.[33] The Jesuit convents in India have always been famous for the sumptuous hospitality with which they entertained their guests, and at their table Della Valle tasted many unfamiliar Indian fruits, some of which, he says, had been described by the famous scientist Carolus Clusius,[34] but not the others which had been introduced later into East India from Brazil, 'or New Spain.' Among these he mentions the papaiya, the cashew or caju, the 'jambo' fruit and the 'ananas,' all of which he found good, and, though of different taste, not inferior to the fruits of Europe.[35]

From Daman to Bassein

Departing from Daman at noon on the 27th, in the same boat which had brought him from Surat, Della Valle and his party cast anchor at night at Dahanu, because of the contrary current, and the danger from the Malabar pirates, who could not be easily seen or avoided in the dark. On the following night, they sought similar safety in the creek at Kelve-Mahim, and finally arrived at Bassein on the evening of the 29th. Our traveller conveyed intimation of his arrival to the Rector of St. Paul's College at Bassein, for whom he had brought letters from the head of the College at Daman. The Rector secured for the visitor and his ward accommodation on one of the merchant ships, where they were expected to be more comfortable, and free from trouble from the soldiers in the men-of-war, which were escorting the merchant vessels. As it was night, and the convoy was to sail within a few hours, Della Valle placed his goods, as also Maria Tinatin, in the most comfortable cabin on board the ship, and went on shore to visit and thank the Rector and other Fathers, who courteously detained him to supper, after which he returned to his ship to avoid the risk of being left behind. He writes that he could say little about Bassein, as it was already night both when he entered and left it.[36] The next morning the fleet sailed away, and with it Della Valle finally left the coast of Gujarat, proceeding to the Portuguese settlement at Chaul on his way to Goa. In taking leave of this interesting person, we may mention that, in spite of his short stay in the province, his Diary shows that he was a careful observer who evidently took pains to gather exact information about what he recorded ; and it is seldom that he goes wrong except when dilating on Hindu mythology and religion, on which he was naturally not qualified to speak. For reliability and acuteness of observation, his work deserves comparison with that of the French traveller, M. de Thevenot, who visited Gujarat in 1666.

33 *Travels*, 132-34.

34 This is the Latinised form of the name of Charles de l'Excluse, the celebrated French botanist, and one of the most learned men of his day. He was a native of Arras and died at Leyden in 1609.

35 *Travels*, op. cit., 134-36.

36 ibid, 137-39.

CHAPTER XXX

EARLY ENGLISH VISITORS AT SURAT

Rev. Henry Lord and Thomas Herbert, 1624-27

IN the twenties of the 17th century there arrived at Surat two Englishmen, *viz.*, Henry Lord and Thomas Herbert, who have left in their works some interesting accounts of what they saw or heard. In January, 1624, the services of one Rev. Henry Lord were engaged in England by the East India Company for a period of five years on a salary of £60 per annum. He sailed in Wadell's fleet which left the Downs on March 28, as chaplain on board one of the ships proceeding to India, and on arrival at Surat was transferred to that place as the factory chaplain. The President of the English factory was then Thomas Kerridge, who had shortly before relieved Rastell of his post, after that chief's unpleasant experiences with the Mughal governor. The salary of the new chaplain might appear at first sight to be rather small, but it was not really so if we consider the then purchasing power of the rupee, and also when we find that the amount given to the President of the Surat factory was not more than £100 per annum.[1]

Rev. Henry Lord as chaplain at Surat

Henry Lord devoted his leisure to good purpose at Surat, and, on his return to England, he published a small book including two tracts entitled *A display of Two Foreign Sects in the East Indies* (1630), in which he gave, for the first time, an account of the cosmogony, the religion, the ritual and the sacred works of the Banyas and of the Parsis. The frequent presence of brokers belonging to both these communities at the English factory on business, naturally helped Lord to secure much of the information he desired, and he was also encouraged to undertake this pursuit by Thomas Kerridge, who, as President, used his influence to induce the Brahmans to 'discover' to Lord the teachings of the *Shastras*. Lord's small book, published as early as 1630, marks a definite advance over Edward Terry's in the information that it supplies about Hinduism, and it ranks among the earliest works written in English relating to Indology. With the exception of the Jesuit Padre Thomas Stephens,[2] who arrived in India in

His work on the Banyas and the Parsis

1 *English Factories in India*, Ed. by Sir William Foster, 1624-29, p. 314.

2 Fr. Stephens spent a large part of his life at Salsette near Goa, and wrote a long epic in the Konkani dialect of Marathi on the whole Bible-Story. which was originally printed at Goa in 1619 (Gerson da Cunha, *Origin of Bombay*, 162-67)

1579, it may be claimed that Henry Lord was the first Englishman who made a serious, though not a very sound, attempt to acquire a knowledge about the religion of the Indian communities with which he came into contact. Thomas Herbert, who was at Surat very shortly after Lord, incorporates in his book, first published in 1634, a detailed synopsis of Lord's tracts on the Banyas and the Parsis, with only an inadequate acknowledgment.[3]

His description of the Banyas

Henry Lord's account supplies an interesting pen-picture of the Surat Banyas at this period:

'Enquiring what novelty the place might produce, a people presented themselves to mine eyes, clothed in linen garments, somewhat low descending, of a gesture and garb, as I may say, maidenly and well nigh effeminate; of a countenance shy and somewhat estranged, yet smiling out a glosed and bashful familiarity, whose use in the Company's affairs occasioned their presence there.'[4]

He is helped by a Parsi priest

After a long account of the religion, the rites, the customs and the ceremonies of the Banyas, Lord proceeds to his Tract on the Parsis, who, he says, were different both from the Muslims and the Hindus in the manner of their living as in their religion. He adds that he gathered his information about this sect from 'one of their churchmen,' and that a Parsi at Surat, whose long service under the Company 'had brought him to a mediocrity in the English language,' served as an interpreter and helped him in his enquiries.

The advent of the Parsis at Sanjan

Perhaps more important for historical purposes than this English clergyman's account of the Hindu and Zoroastrian cosmography and religion, are the few preliminary remarks which he offers about the advent of the Parsis in India.[5] This exodus took place, he says, after the death of their last Emperor Yezdegard, owing to the religious persecution which they experienced at the hands of the Arab conquerors of their ancient country. Repairing in secret to the town of Jask on the Persian Gulf, the fugitives obtained a fleet of seven junks to convey them and their goods to the coast of India as merchants. All the ships arrived together on the shore of 'St. John's' (Sanjan), not very distant from the port of Suwali which was the place usually made for by foreign ships. A treaty was entered into between the strangers and a 'Raja living at Navsari' in which were laid down 'the cause of their coming thither, as also their suit to be admitted as sojourners with them, using their own law and religion, but yielding themselves in subjection to their government.' Upon payment of

3 A critical survey of one of Lord's two tracts, viz., *A Discoverie of the sect of Banians*, has been published in a Paper contributed to the *Jha Commemoration Volume* (pp. 277-96) by Dr. H. N. Randle, Librarian at the India Office, London.

4 Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, London, 1732, VI, 301.

5 For a List of all the references to the Parsis of Gujarat in the works of early European writers and travellers, especially in the 17th Century, see my *Studies in the History of Gujarat* (Longmans. 1935), p. 84 *n*.

homage and tribute, the Parsis were permitted to land the passengers contained in five of their junks.

Of the remaining two ships, according to Lord's account, one proceeded to the roadstead of Suwali, and those on board entered into an agreement with a Raja who resided at the little town of Variav near Surat, and were admitted on similar terms. We are informed, however, that the Raja of Variav being at war with a neighbouring ruler, the latter, being victorious, put to the sword all the Parsis who had settled in his opponent's domains, as being in the category of the enemy's adherents. The last of the seven boats sailed along the coast until it arrived at Cambay where also the fugitives were allowed to land on the same conditions as at Sanjan and Variav. These three then were the original Parsi settlements according to the information given to Henry Lord in 1624, and from these the Parsis gradually dispersed to other parts of Gujarat.[6]

Also at Variav and Cambay

The chaplain says that he was further informed that the Parsi immigrants in Gujarat forgot in the course of centuries some of the traditions and customs of their race, and the details of their religious rites and ceremonies, until

The Parsis in the Middle Ages

> 'being known by the name of the Parsees, they were agnized (recognised) by the remnant of their sect abiding in Persia, who acquainted them with the story of their ancestors, and communicated to them both their law and instructors in the worship according to which they were to live.'[7]

That the Zoroastrians in Persia at one time helped the Parsis settled in Gujarat with religious instruction is a fact which is also borne out by the chronicles of the latter.[8] If then the Parsi community of Bombay has for over half a century past interested itself in the education and uplift of the small band of Zoroastrians still residing at Yezd and other centres in the ancient motherland of Iran, it is only repaying a debt which it owed to them for services to its ancestors in Gujarat during the Middle Ages.

6 The traditional date of the advent of the Parsis in India is A.D. 716 (Samvat 772). The details given to Rev. Lord were thus based on oral traditions handed down for about nine centuries. These were for the first time reduced to writing by a Parsi priest of Surat in 1599 in a Persian poem, entitled *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*, which, however, gives no dates. (See Vol. I, li-lii) Lord's account differs in several details from that found in the *Kisseh*.

7 Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. VI, 328-29.

8 From time to time, between the years 1478 and 1768, the leaders of the Parsis in Gujarat selected a suitable member of the community, from Surat, Broach, Cambay, Navsari and other places, to proceed to Iran as their representative with a questionnaire seeking authentic information on matters of tradition and religious rites from the Zoroastrian head-priests in Iran's different centres. The answers received from the latter have been preserved and are known as the *Revayats*. In one of the earliest replies, received in the year 1511, the Iranian 'anjuman' writes that they were not aware of the existence of the Parsis in India until they received in their midst the first representative, one Nariman Hoshang of Broach, in 1478. In the 1768 mission, one Caoos Rustum Jalal was sent from Surat with a list of 78 questions to get the correct answers from the 'Dasturs' of Yezd and Kerman. (*Parsi Prakash* by B. B. Patell, pp. 6-7, 50). See also Vol I, 183-85.

Three years after Henry Lord was appointed to the Surat factory, a more distinguished person reached the bar at Suwali. This was Thomas Herbert, a young man of twenty, who, through the influence of his kinsman, the third Earl of Pembroke, had obtained a place in the suite of Sir Dadmore Cotton, accredited by King Charles I as his ambassador to the court of Shah Abbas the Great of Persia. In company with the Envoy and Sir Robert Shirley, Herbert sailed for Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) in an East Indiaman, and proceeding by the Cape route arrived at Suwali in December, 1627. The stay at Surat was brief, and the party continued its voyage to Persia, where its famous ruler gave them an interview. Some time after, both Cotton and Shirley took ill and died in Persia, and Herbert, after an extensive tour in that kingdom, returned to Surat early in 1629, from which place he sailed for home by way of Ceylon, Mauritius and St. Helena.[9]

Thomas Herbert at Surat, 1627

Here is the account of Herbert's entry into Surat from Suwali harbour, where the party had landed :

Journey from Suwali to Surat

> 'The 1st of December (1627), with some peons (or olive-coloured Indian foot-boys who can very prettily prattle English), we rode to Surat: our chariot was drawn by two buffaloes, who by practice are nimble in their trot and well-managed. We past first through Swalley, and then through Bhate (famous for good toddy) and Damka, all which are villages, and after to Surat, the chief factory of the East India merchants, whose President has there his usual residence. At that time one Master Wyld was in that office, an ingenious and civil merchant, to whose kind respect I owe acknowledgment; and in whose house ('tis called the *English-house*) we had tidings at that time of Sultan Khurram's coronation at Agra.'[10]

Surat itself is described as the third best town in Gujarat, the other two being Ahmadabad and Cambay. Its importance and trade were, however, comparatively recent, dating from the wanton sack and burning of Rander by the Portuguese Captain, Antonio da Silveira, in 1530. The town was enclosed by a mud wall, and its strong stone castle, standing on the riverside, was mounted with large cannon and garrisoned by troops, 'who made dainty to admit strangers to see their fortifications.' Among the houses in the city, those belonging to the English and the Dutch surpassed the others in size and furniture. There were three chief

Surat city described

9 In 1634, Herbert published in England a small volume containing an account of his Eastern travels, which became popular and in course of years was reprinted with large additions and many digressions. The last edition was printed in 1677 under the title of 'Some Years' Travels into Africa and Asia the Great, especially describing the famous Empires of Persia and Industan, by Sir Tho. Herbert, Bart', the author having been rewarded with a baronetcy in 1660 for his faithful services to King Charles I during the latter's captivity and subsequent vicissitudes.

10 In the first edition of his *Travels*, 1634, Herbert says that in honour of this event the English ships riding at anchor at Suwali Road fired a salute of 200 guns. (*A Relation of Some Years' Travaile, begun Anno 1626*, London, 1634, p. 29)

posterns leading from the city-walls into the suburbs and the towns beyond: One led to Variav and Cambay ; another to Burhanpur; and the third to Navsari and thence to Gandevi, Bulsar and Daman. There was an 'English garden' outside the city with pretty walks. Adjoining the Navsari gate was a large reservoir—the Gopi Talav—built of freestone, which was filled by rain water and used by the people to get their supply for drinking, the river being useless for this purpose as also for navigation.

Scenes on the wharf at Suwali

We learn from Herbert's *Travels* that, between September and March every year, the port of Suwali presented an animated scene, for there all ships coming from foreign parts rode at anchor. The Banya merchants pitched their booths or straw huts in large numbers all along the sea-front, giving the whole place the appearance of a country-fair. Here they sold calicoes, china, satins, porcelain, escritoires or cabinets of mother-of pearl, ebony, ivory, agates, cornelians, etc.; also rice, sugar, plantains and arrak. Many little boys were available on the site, ready, on payment of four pice a day, to go on errands or to do odd jobs. While, within the towns, people of means went about in palanquins, it was common to employ carriages drawn by oxen to travel from one town to another. Herbert mentions four kinds of coins in current use, *viz.* the pice, mahmudis, rupees and dinars. The pice was a heavy round piece of copper of which 30 went to a shilling; the mahmudi, which was a silver coin, was equal to a shilling; the rupee was equivalent to 2 sh. 3d; the dinar was a gold coin worth 30 sh.

Description of Ahmadabad

Ahmadabad, 'the Megapolis of Cambay or Guzarat,' is described as enclosed by a strong wall provided with many towers and a dozen gates out of which few could pass or repass without a pass. The streets were many and large, and the shops well stored with aromatic gums, perfumes, spices, silks, cottons, and rarities from India and China, and all of them owned by 'abstemious' Banyas, who formed the bulk of the population. The Castle (Bhadra) was strong with a moat round it, and contained the residence of the Gujarat viceroy. Near Sarkhej, Herbert mentions the spacious gardens and stately pleasure-house built by the Khan Khanan, the son of Bairam Khan, to commemorate his success over the last Sultan of Gujarat during Akbar's reign.[11]

Interpolations in later editions

Herbert's *Travels*, being written in a lively and agreeable style, had great vogue in his time, and the work was translated into the Dutch and the French languages. In the later and enlarged editions of his work (for he lived up to 1682), he has given a fairly detailed account of the religion and the worship practised by the Banyas and the Parsis of Gujarat, and of the ceremonies

11 *Some Years' Travels into Africa and Asia the Great*, etc., by Sir Tho. Herbert, 3rd Edition enlarged, London, 1677, pp. 42-57 ; 64

connected with their baptisms, marriages and funerals. He tells us that this information had been gathered by Henry Lord, when resident as minister to the Surat factory, and also partly by himself. The reference to Lord is of interest, as it points to the fact, sufficiently patent to readers of Herbert's *Travels*, that the long dissertations, especially in the later editions, about India and its history, were based on the works of contemporary writers. The author's knowledge of India was confined to a brief residence at Surat on the outward and return journeys to and from Persia, and he had no personal knowledge of many of the historical places or events that he describes.

APPENDIX

TOM CORYAT, 'THE ENGLISH FAKIR,' AFTER HIS DEATH AT SURAT, 1617

An interesting personality, who visited India as early as 1616, and found a last resting place at Surat within a few years of the establishment of the English factory there, was the eccentric but bold and adventurous Englishman, Thomas Coryat.[12] His earlier travels in Europe, in which he traversed nearly two thousand miles on foot, were recorded in his book *Coryat's crudities hastily gobbled up*, published in 1611. In 1612 he set out on his more extended travels to the Middle East and India, sailing first to Constantinople, and thence proceeding by land to Jerusalem, Damascus and Aleppo. Passing through Persia he reached Qandahar, then the extreme outpost of the Mughal Empire, and, after visiting Lahore, he at last arrived at Jahangir's court at Mandu in 1616.

Coryat's journey to India was done mostly on foot and his expenses are said to have been only two-pence sterling per day, and 'those two-pence begged on the way,' for which reason Dr. Fryer called him 'our English Fakier.' At Agra, Coryat was welcomed by the members of the recently established English factory in that city. Later, when the imperial court was at Mandu, he also came into contact with Sir Thomas Roe, who was staying there at the time as the ambassador of King James I, and especially with the Rev. Edward Terry, the chaplain, who says that Coryat 'was either my chamber-fellow or tent-mate which gave me a full acquaintance of him'; and it is Terry who has handed down to us some interesting details about this traveller in his book *A Voyage to East India*.[13]

Being apt at Turkish and Arabic, Coryat acquired in India a working acquaintance with Urdu and Persian, and he showed his boldness and eccentricity when he delivered a speech in Persian at the court of Jahangir whom he flattered by saying that as the Queen of Sheba, having

12 Tom Coryat was the son of the Prebendary of York and was educated at Oxford.

13 E. Terry, *A Voyage to East India* (1777), pp. 55-72.

heard of the fame of King Solomon, came from afar to visit him, and, having done so, confessed that what she had heard was not half of what she saw of his wisdom, greatness and riches, so what he (Coryat) beheld of Jahangir far surpassed all that had been reported about him. This and other bits of flattery pleased the Emperor who rewarded Coryat with a hundred rupees, regarding him as a poor darvesh. Sir Thomas Roe, who was present at the time, was much upset at Coryat's buffoonery which lowered the prestige of the English ambassador at the court, and he gave Tom a scolding. 'But', says the latter, 'I answered him in that stout and resolute manner that he ceased nibbling at me.'

Two instances have been recorded by Terry of the patronising manner with which Coryat was treated. When he arrived at Mandu, there also arrived at that place from Surat one Richard Steel, a servant of the East India Company, who had met Tom in Persia during his overland journey to England. Steel informed Coryat that King James had enquired about him, and that, when he informed the King of his meeting him on the way, James only replied, '*Is that fool yet living?*' 'This', writes Terry, 'when our pilgrim heard, it seemed to trouble him very much because the King spoke no more nor no better of him; saying that Kings would speak of poor men what they pleased.' Sir Thomas Roe, the British envoy, was also rather condescending in his attitude towards the poor traveller. When Coryat was ready to depart from Mandu, the Lord Ambassador gave him a letter of introduction (for being utilised on his return journey) to the British Consul at Aleppo, in which that official was requested to furnish Coryat with ten pounds and to receive him with courtesy for he would find him 'a very honest poor wretch.' Poor Tom, though pleased with the gift, was naturally much mortified at the language used by his aristocratic countryman in introducing him.

But Coryat was not destined long to endure the contemptuous jibes of kings or gentlemen. Though in poor health, he left Mandu for Surat, travelling alone, and could not be dissuaded by Roe to stay on till he was better. He was just able to reach Surat but soon fell ill and died a few days later, in December, 1617, and was buried at Swally at the mouth of the Tapti River. Though eccentric to a degree, Coryat was no 'bookish yokel,' but an observant and educated person familiar with Latin and Greek to which he added a knowledge of several oriental languages during his travels. He was anxious to secure contemporary and posthumous fame, and, as Terry says, it was his 'itch of fame' that led him to undertake all the hardships entailed by his long travels without adequate financial resources.



J. Albert de Mendelslo, German Traveller in Gujarat, 1638-9
(From The English Edition of 1662 by John Davies)

CHAPTER XXXI

J. ALBERT DE MANDELSLO IN GUJARAT, 1638

SOME fifteen years after the visit of the Italian traveller P. Della Valle to Gujarat at the end of Jahangir's reign in 1623, we find another and a younger visitor from Europe who made a fairly long stay at Surat in 1638 and who has also left us a short account of his travels. This was J. Albert de Mandelslo, a young man of good birth, who had been attached as a page to the court of the Duke of Holstein, a small principality in the north of Germany. In 1635, the Duke sent two ambassadors to the courts of Moscow and Persia, and Mandelslo, then only twenty years old, was, at his own request, permitted to join them as an attaché. After sharing their adventures for three years, and being desirous of visiting India, he parted company with them at Isfahan in 1638. Taking ship at Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) on the Persian Gulf, he arrived at Surat at the end of April of this year, and passed the rainy season there. In October, he made a journey to Ahmadabad and thence to the Mughal capitals at Agra and Lahore. On his return to Surat, he sailed for Europe on 5 Jan., 1639. The scanty manuscript of his *Travels* was published, after his death, by Adam Olearius, the Secretary to the Duke of Holstein's embassy, as a supplement to his own erudite work, called *The Travels of the Ambassadors.*[1] As an abridged and annotated account of Mandelslo's Travels, divested of all interpolations, was published by the author in 1931,[2] it is not necessary to enter into any details here, and a short summary will, therefore, suffice for the purpose of this volume.

Duke of Holstein's Embassy

On reaching Surat bar, or Swally Marine, on April 25, 1638, in a small English ship of 300 tons' burden, Mandelslo proceeded by boat up the river for ten miles, and landed near the customs-house of Surat. Here his clothes and pockets were examined as usual, while the governor of the town took from his baggage a bracelet of yellow amber, for which he had a

Long stay in the English factory at Surat

[1] This book was first published in German in 1646, and Mandelslo's *Travels* in the same language were bound up with it as one volume. In this form both works appeared in the only English translation published by John Davies in London in 1662. Olearius inserted many interpolations of his own in the account originally written by Mandelslo, who had made him his literary Executor, and still further additions and interpolations were made by De Wicquefort, who rendered his *Travels* into French. Further details about his manuscript will be found in my book mentioned in the following note, Intrn, p. IX.

[2] *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India* (A.D. 1638-39), by M. S. Commissariat (Oxford Univ. Press), 1931. All references in this chapter are to this work.

fancy, 'promising to return it later.' The traveller stayed at the English factory here for five months, being treated with great respect by William Methwold, who had been President of the factory for eight years and was soon to relinquish that office. He was the only person among the English merchants with whom Mandelslo could carry on some conversation, for the Chief knew the Dutch language; but the Hollanders at Surat and their families were more helpful in this connection. The brief account given by Mandelslo of the English factors shows that, apart from business, they led a gay and pleasant life, being served at dinner with some sixteen dishes of meat; while on Sundays and holidays they went, after the sermon, to their garden outside the city, where they diverted themselves with swimming in a tank, shooting at targets, and in other ways. Crossing the river for a hunt on the other side, Mandelslo describes Rander as 'a ruined city where the Dutch had a warehouse,' and inhabited by Muslims who were either mariners or tradesmen. At the village of Damri he drank of some toddy in the orthodox fashion in cups made of leaves, and his description of the manner in which the liquid was extracted from the palm-tree shows that little or no change has taken place in this respect even after 300 years.

Surat described

Surat town had at this date three gates, one leading to Cambay and Ahmadabad, another to Burhanpur, and the third to Navsari. The entrance to the Castle had a spacious *maidan* in front of it. The customs-duty was three and a half per cent. *ad valorem* on all goods, except gold and silver, which paid only two per cent. The harbour of Surat was near Suwali village and it was a very safe landing place for the greater part of the year. The spacious houses occupied by the English and Dutch companies were among the best in the city. The Muslims were looked up to with some respect as members of the ruling race and by virtue of their capacity to bear arms. They had an aversion to trade and business and preferred military service, 'for if they can but once get to be masters of a horse they court fortune no further and immediately lend themselves to the service of their Prince.' Surat was at this time the headquarters of all the English factories throughout India, and the chiefs in charge of subordinate factories had to go there once a year to give an account of their administration to the President. The Gopi Talav, with its pleasure house, was not only a place for recreation but it supplied water to the whole city. At the end of the rains of 1638, the Company's ships arrived from Europe, but, as their departure would not take place for some months, Mandelslo, at the President's advice, joined a caravan which was proceeding to Ahmadabad.[3]

[3] *Mandelslo's Travels*, op. cit., 1-12.

The *kafila* or caravan, which was being sent by the President, consisted of some 30 wagons laden with quicksilver, spices and other goods, and was guarded by twelve English armed soldiers, and as many Indians, against the attacks of highway robbers. Passing by Kathodra and Ankleswar, it arrived at Broach, the weavers of which place were known for producing the finest *baftas* in the province. Continuing the journey by way of Jambusar, and travelling by night, to avoid the heat, Baroda was reached on Oct. 3. Here the English agent, as usual, sent for some dancing-girls to entertain his guest, 'who,' says our traveller, 'were very desirous to see my clothes which I still wore after the German fashion, though the English and the Dutch, who are settled in the Indies, go ordinarily according to the mode of the country, and would have obliged me to put them off.' The Mahi was crossed near Vasad, where there was a small fort with a Mughal garrison. The demand for payment of a levy per wagon being refused, the caravan was in danger of a strong attack, but the timely arrival of another caravan belonging to the Dutch, and the payment of a few rupees, averted the danger. Passing by Sojitra and Nadiad, and crossing the Vatrak near Mahmudabad, the party reached Ahmadabad, 'the metropolis of all Guzuratte,' on 12th October, 1638, some twelve days after its departure from Surat, and was welcomed some miles outside the city by Benjamin Robertson, the head of the English factory there.[4]

From Surat to Ahmadabad

Mandelslo's account of Ahmadabad, where he stayed for some ten days, is probably the most valuable part of his narrative, because of the details he gives of the 'Maidan Shah,' of Shantidas's Jain temple, and of the stern rule of the viceroy, Azam Khan, which are not available to us from other sources. After he was lodged in the large mansion occupied by the English factory in the city, the Chief entertained his guest by sending for six dancing-girls after supper, the handsomest that could be found in the city, who were evidently much attracted by the cavalier style of the visitor's locks. 'They admired my clothes,' he says, 'but, above all, that lock of my hair that hung down over my shoulders ; and could hardly be induced to believe I was what I really am.' Among the sights of this capital, the first to be visited was the Great Square, which extended in front of the main entrance to the Bhadra citadel. The account given of the same deserves to be quoted, for it shows how greatly the present conditions are different from the lovely surroundings of three centuries ago:

The Maidan Shah at the capital

'The Maidan Shah, or the King's Market, is at least 1,600 feet long and half as many broad, and beset all about with rows of palm-trees and date-trees, intermixed with citron-trees and orange-trees, whereof there are very many in the several streets ; which is not only

4 Mandelslo's *Travels*, 15-20.

very pleasant to the sight by the delightful prospect it affords, but also makes the walking among them more convenient by reason of the coolness.'[5]

After a round of the Bhadra Citadel and the royal palace in it, Mandelslo's party proceeded outside the town to inspect the imposing city-walls which were surrounded by a ditch sixteen fathoms (96 feet) broad. The moat was, however, in ruins in many places and without any water. The next monument visited was the great Jain temple built by Shantidas Jawahari in the then flourishing suburb of Saraspur to the east of the capital. After referring to it as a noble structure, Mandelslo says: 'It was then new, for the founder, who was a rich Banya merchant, named Santidas, was living in my time'. The description of the building given by him is valuable, because this magnificent monument was, some years later, desecrated, and fell gradually into ruin, and all traces of it have now disappeared. It was suffering from neglect even when Thevenot saw it some thirty years later. The temple stood in the middle of a large court which was enclosed by a high wall of freestone. Abutting on the inner side of this wall was a gallery, 'similar to the cloisters of the monasteries in Europe', with a large number of cells, within each of which was a small statue in white or black marble—no doubt representing the Jain Tirthankars, though to Mandelslo's uniformed eye they looked like women sitting cross-legged. At the entrance to the temple stood two elephants of black marble in life-size, and on one of them was seated the effigy of the founder of the temple. The walls of the building were adorned with figures of men and animals. Three shrines at the far end of the temple contained marble statues of the Tirthankars. The officiating priest, who received floral offerings for being placed on the images, had his mouth and nose covered with a piece of linen cloth, so that the impurity of his breath should not profane the images.[6]

Jain temple of Shantidas

Ahmadabad is described as a great and populous capital, seven leagues (about twenty miles) in compass, including the suburbs and adjacent villages. Its streets were broad and its houses imposing, especially the mosques. The city was also unsurpassed at the time as a commercial emporium : 'There is not', says our traveller, 'in a manner any nation, nor any merchandise in all Asia, which may not be had at Ahmadabad, where there are made abundance of silk and cotton stuffs. They also make there great quantities of gold and silver brocades, and some of them amount to eighteen crowns the piece'. Among other varieties of rich

Commercial greatness of the city

5 The French traveller, M. de Thevenot, who was at Ahmadabad thirty years later, in 1666, says : 'Going from the Dutch lodgings, one enters by these arches (the *Tin Darwaza*) into the Maidan Shah, or the King's Square. It is a long square having 400 paces in breadth, and 700 in length, with trees planted on all sides.' (*Travels into the Indies*, translated by Lovell (1687), p. 9.

6 *Mandelslo's Travels*, op. cit., 23-25. See also the author's *Studies in the History of Gujarat* (Longmans), 62-63.

stuffs produced here were satins, velvets in all sorts of colours, and carpets on grounds of gold, silk or cotton. Mandelslo enumerates, besides these, a large number of commercial commodities[7] which were trafficked in this city, including ambergris and musk, which though not produced in Gujarat were obtained from other parts. Ambergris was sold at forty mahmudis or eight crowns per ounce. We find special reference to the fact that foreign bills of exchange could be easily secured by merchants here, as the Banyas had 'correspondents' in all parts of Asia and at Constantinople. Foreigners had freedom to trade in all sorts of commodities, except gunpowder, lead and saltpetre, which were not allowed to be exported without the viceroy's permission.

Its garden-like approaches

In his short account of a visit to Sarkhej, Mandelslo rightly points out that the finest indigo in the country was produced there. He also saw the Shahi Bagh in the suburb of Begumpur and the Kankaria tank with its Nagina Bagh. His reference to the garden-like aspect of Ahmadabad and its environs is of particular interest, and deserves to be quoted, if only to show how it contrasts with the smoking chimneys and the squalid approaches which today characterise this opulent centre of the textile industry in India:

> 'There are so many other gardens about Ahmadabad, and the whole city is so full of trees, that a man may say it makes all but one garden; for, as he comes to the city, he sees such abundance of them that he may well think he is going into a forest. Among other things, I took particular notice of the highway which they call Baschaban (Bagh Shaban), which leads to a village six leagues distant from the city. It is so straight that it should seem they took a great pleasure in planting the trees about it, whereof there is a double row on both sides upon a straight line.'[8]

Azam Khan, the Viceroy

Of unusual interest is the information that Mandelslo gives of the character and personality of Azam Khan,[9] the powerful noble who was at this time viceroy of Gujarat, and to whom our traveller paid two visits, in company with the English Chief, during his short stay at Ahmadabad. The viceroy, who was by birth a Persian, was about sixty years of age, and Mandelslo was credibly informed that he was worth fifty million crowns. His establishment consisted of 500 persons, mostly slaves, and his domestic expenditure was estimated at 5,000 crowns (about Rs. 10,000) a month,

7 These included sugar-candy, cumin, lac, opium, borax, ginger, myrabolam, saltpetre, sal ammoniac and indigo.

8 *Mandelslo's Travels*, op. cit., 26-30. In writing of the trees and gardens about the capital, Mandelslo makes special reference to the large colony of apes in the city and its suburbs. Some of them were as large as grey-hounds and strong enough to attack a man. Owing to the strong objection of the Hindus to their being killed, they multiplied in great numbers. The German visitor counted one day a hundred and fifty of them in the English Factory house, 'who played among themselves and indulged in a great many antics as if they had been specially sent for my diversion'.

9 An account of Azam Khan's viceroyalty of Gujarat from 1636 to 1642 has been given in chapter X of this volume. See also p.303 for his severity.

excluding the amount spent on the stables, where he kept 500 horses and 50 elephants. A few months previously, his daughter, a great beauty, had been married to Prince Shuja, the Emperor's second son, and when she proceeded to the court for the wedding, her father had her attended by twenty elephants, 1,000 horses, and several thousand wagons laden with the richest stuffs produced in the province. At the first visit, which took place on 18 Oct., 1638, the viceroy expressed surprise when he learnt that Mandelslo had continued to wear his European dress during his travels through so many countries, and declared that the Dutch and the English residents in the province clad themselves according to the fashion of the country to prevent any unhappy incidents.[10] The visitors left the palace after a sumptuous dinner, to which they were invited, and which was prepared and served in the manner in vogue in Persia.

Second interview

At the second visit to Azam Khan, which was paid two days later, Mandelslo had dressed according to the mode of the country, for he proposed to travel the next day to Cambay, which he thought it inexpedient to do without changing his costume. He soon realised from the viceroy's remarks that he was pleased at the change in his dress. The great man was put into further good humour when he found that the German traveller had picked up some Turkish at the city of Isfahan and in the Persian province of Sherwan, which happened to be his own native country. Leaving his guests seated in the apartment, where there were several other officers, the viceroy went out to review some companies of horse and foot soldiers which had been drawn up in the court. With the eye of an experienced general, he inspected their arms and made the troops shoot at a target to judge of their proficiency. Returning, he called for a little golden cabinet, set with precious stones, and taking from it some opium and *bhang* for himself, passed it on to his guests, of which they had to accept a little, though it was little to their liking. Azam Khan being a Persian, the talk naturally turned to Persia, where the cruel tyrant Shah Safi was then the ruler. He declared that cruelty was hereditary in the Shah's family, and proceeded to point out how Ali Mardan Khan, the famous governor of Qandahar, had that very year transferred his allegiance to the Great Mughal, and handed over to the latter this great frontier fortress, because he thought that his life was in danger. Azam Khan next proceeded to some comparison between the two rulers, and dilated on the wealth of the Emperor and the poverty of the Shah. This gave Mandelslo an opportunity to pay a delicate compliment to his host:

'I was loath to enter into any contention on so ticklish a subject', he says, 'and, therefore, only told him that it was indeed true that

10 Azam Khan also wanted to know his German visitor's age, and how long he had been out of his country. Being told that he was 24 years old, and had been on his travels for three years, he showed surprise that his friends and relatives had allowed him to start on his travels at so young an age.

there was not any comparison between the gold and the silver: the wealth of Persia and what I had already seen of the Mughal's kingdom; but that it must be withal confessed that Persia had one thing which could not be had elsewhere, and was in effect inestimable, which was the great number of Kazilbashes, with whose assistance the King of Persia might attempt the conquest of Asia; which I said purposely, knowing the governor was a Kazilbash and that he could take no offence at such a discourse.'[11]

Execution of the dancing girls

Mandelslo describes the viceroy of Ahmadabad as 'a judicious, understanding man, but hasty and so rigorous that his government inclined somewhat to cruelty.' This estimate is in accord with the information that we derive from historical sources. To illustrate his remarks, the German traveller relates a shocking story about the execution of several dancing girls in the viceroy's palace, in the presence of a large company, for their refusal to obey his summons. One day, having invited to dinner the Directors of the English and Dutch Companies, and desiring to give them some sport and diversion, Azam Khan sent for twenty women-dancers. The tragedy that followed may be described in Mandelslo's own words:

"As soon as they were come into the room, they fell a singing and dancing, but with an activity and exact observation of the cadence much beyond that of our dancers upon the ropes. They had little hoops or circles through which they leaped as nimbly as if they had been so many apes, and made thousands of postures, according to the several soundings of their music, which consisted of a timbrel, a haw-boy, and several tabours. Having danced near two hours, the Governor would needs send into the city for another band of dancers; but the servants brought word that they were sick and could not come. This excuse being not taken, he sent out the same servants with express order to bring those women away by force ; but they returning the second time with the same excuse, he ordered they should be cudgelled. Upon that, they cast themselves at the Governor's feet, and acknowledged that it was indeed true, they were not sick but that they absolutely denied to come, saying they knew well enough the Governor would not pay them. He laughed at it, but immediately commanded out a party of his Guard to bring them to him, and they were no sooner entered into the hall ere he ordered their heads to be struck off. They begged their lives with horrid cries and lamentations; but he would be obeyed, and caused the execution to be done in the room before all the company, not one of the Lords then present daring to make the least intercession for those wretches, who were eight in number. The strangers were

11 Mandelslo's judgment was right, for, pleased at this delicate flattery, the viceroy turned to another Persian noble by his side and said, 'I believe this young gentleman hath courage since he speaks so well of those that have.' Kazilbash (or 'Red Head') was the name given to seven Turkish tribes in Persia distinguished for their valour. They were so called because they wore a scarlet headpiece. It was with their help that the founder of the great Safawi dynasty, Shah Abbas the Great, had established his power in Persia.

startled at the horror of the spectacle and inhumanity of the action; which the Governor taking notice of, fell a laughing, and asked them what they were so much startled at? 'Assure yourselves, gentlemen,' said he, 'that if I should not take this course, I should not be long Governor of Ahmadabad. For should I connive once at their disobedience, they would play the masters and drive me out of the city. 'Tis but prudence in me to prevent their contempt of my authority by such examples of severity as these are'."[12]

After some days' stay at the capital, Mandelslo paid a flying visit to Cambay with a convoy of eight foot-soldiers armed with pikes and bucklers to guard against robbers. He describes the town as larger than Surat in extent, with straight roads and fine houses, and having some fifteen public gardens in its suburbs. The next day, two members of the English factory at this place offered to take him to witness the self-immolation of a young Hindu woman, about twenty years of age, whose husband had been reported to have been killed at Lahore. The Mughal governor of the town had in vain attempted to dissuade her from her resolve, but finding that she had definitely made up her mind, he had reluctantly given his consent.[13] She approached the pyre with so much self-control and cheerfulness, so unusual in a person faced with inevitable death, that Mandelslo was inclined to believe that she had dulled her senses with a dose of opium. After looking upon the pyre with a certain amount of disdain, she took leave of her kindred, and distributed among them her rings, bracelets and ornaments. 'I was', says the German traveller, 'something near her on horseback, and I think she perceived in my countenance that I pitied her, whence it came that she cast me one of her bracelets, which I had the good hap to catch, and still keep in remembrance of so extraordinary an action'.[14] On his return journey from Cambay, Mandelslo halted at the village of Jetalpur and visited the famous Jitbag which was laid out there to commemorate Saif Khan's victory over the army of Prince Shah Jahan in the Civil War of 1623. His account of this famous garden has been given in an earlier chapter bearing on Jahangir's reign.[15]

Trip to Cambay

12 *Mandelslo's Travels*, op, cit., 31-40.

13 Since Akbar's time, no Hindu widow could immolate herself without the formal sanction of the Mughal governor. But the latter could only advise and delay his decision; if the woman remained firm he was bound to grant the permission.

14 *Mandelslo's Travels*, op. cit., 41-46.

15 ibid, 47-48. Mandelslo's statement that the garden was laid out 'to commemorate the Mughal victory over the last king of Gujarat (1584)' is responsible for the confusion between *Fateh Bagh* and *Jitbag* near Jetalpur. Both names mean 'the garden of victory'. It was this latter garden that our traveller visited in 1638 and not the Fateh Wadi near Sarkhej as stated in my Edition of his work.

Soon after his return from Cambay to Ahmadabad, Mandelslo joined a caravan of two hundred merchants that was proceeding to Agra, and from this place he later went to Lahore. Here, in the last month of the year, he received letters that President Methwold, whom he was to accompany, would embark shortly for Europe, as soon as the goods expected from various centres had been laden on the outgoing ships. Our traveller was also invited to be present at the ceremonials and entertainments that were expected to take place at the change of Presidents in the Surat factory. Mandelslo, accordingly, come back to Ahmadabad after his short visit to the Mughal capitals in the north. His return journey from this place to Surat was, however, destined to prove eventful, as the caravan which he had joined was attacked by highway robbers after it had left Baroda on its way to Broach. Though referred to as Rajputs, the bandits were probably Kolis, and they were armed with arrows and pikes. Mandelslo, and an English merchant with him, were provided with pistols and they had a guard of about a dozen armed foot soldiers. In spite of this, they were in immediate danger of their lives, and the caravan would have been mercilessly looted. An arrow was shot in the pommel of Mandelslo's saddle and another into the Englishman's turban 'We ran a great hazard of our lives,' he says, 'for I was set upon on all sides, and was thrust twice with a pike into my buff-collar, which certainly saved my life that day. There came two of the Rasboutes so near as to lay hold on my bridle, after they had killed two of my foot soldiers, and were going to carry me away prisoner. But I despatched one of them with a pistol-shot, and the English merchant came in to my relief and behaved himself with as much gallantry as it was possible man could do.' The timely arrival of a Dutch *kafila* on the scene, made the robbers seek safety by flight into the woods, leaving six of their men dead and carrying along with them several who were wounded. On the whole, the young traveller had shown great courage and judgment in a very critical situation and helped to save the caravan. The incident also serves to illustrate the conditions of travel in the province three hundred years ago. There were no further mishaps on the journey, and the party reached Surat on 26 Dec., 1638.

Return journey: attack by robbers

On arrival at this city, Mandelslo found that some fifty Englishmen had gathered at the place to witness the change over of the head at the English factory, including five Chiefs from subordinate factories, three chaplains and two physicians. At the formal ceremony, held on Dec. 27, Methwold thanked all assembled for their fidelity and devotion to himself, and the honour they had rendered the East India Company in his person, and asked them to give the same allegiance to William Fremlin, his Second, who was to take his place. He then handed over to the latter the letters-patent by virtue of which he was to assume charge. After this offic al ceremony, the assembled company went to the English garden outside

Change-over at the English Factory

the city to partake of a splendid repast, and were entertained by English, Muslim and Hindu musicians, besides the inevitable dancing-girls. The change over in the English factory coincided with the arrival the next day of a new Mughal governor at Surat in the person of Mir Musa, who was sent to take the place of Massih-us-zaman who had been recalled for his cruel and oppressive administration. Fremlin, accompanied by five of his principal merchants, and inviting Mandelslo to join him, went a mile and a half outside the city to offer the governor due welcome. Our traveller gives an account of the great pomp with which the new ruler entered the city, with a bodyguard of a hundred foot soldiers, beside an elephant, horses, and a palanquin gilt all over. Mir Musa himself rode a fine Persian horse and was surrounded by a large number of his officials and courtiers.

On January 1, 1639, Methwold, taking Mandelslo with him, paid a visit to the new governor, and thereafter they entered a shallop to proceed to join the *Mary* at the harbour, which was now laden and ready to sail for Europe. Fremlin and all the members of the factory accompanied them, and stayed on the ship for three days, 'entertaining and treating one another, and drowning in good wine the affliction which was to ensue upon so long a separation.' The long voyage to Europe began on January 5th, the ship being first directed along the western coast to Goa, where the ex-President had some financial matters to discuss with the Portuguese viceroy.[16] Here then we part with this young German visitor to Gujarat, who, during his stay with the English factors at Surat for five months, had impressed them so favourably with his character that President Fremlin and his Council, writing to the Company from on board the *Mary* on Jan. 4, 1639, describe him as 'the civillest, modestest, and fairest behaved that we have ever known of his age and education'.[17]

Departure for Europe

16 Mandelslo gives a short account of Goa and its ecclesiastical monuments, and of the manners and customs of the Portuguese settled in India, which deserves to be compared with the more exhaustive records of Linschoten, Pyrard de Laval, P. Della Valle, and other travellers. It has been reproduced with explanatory notes and appendices (Op. cit., 57-84).

17 *Mandelslo's Travels*, op. cit., 55-56 and *n; English Factories*, 1637-41, p. 118.



M. JEAN DE THEVENOT, FRENCH TRAVELLER
IN GUJARAT, 1666
From THE ENGLISH EDITION OF 1687 BY A. LOVELL)

CHAPTER XXXII

M. JEAN DE THEVENOT IN GUJARAT, 1666

TOWARDS the end of the first decade of Aurangzeb's reign, yet another European traveller, more scholarly and more keenly observant than either Della Valle or Mandelslo, arrived in Gujarat early in 1666. This was a Frenchman, M. Jean de Thevenot, who has left us an excellent account of his visit, especially of the cities of Surat and Ahmadabad. Born at Paris in 1633, he completed his studies at the age of 18 at the College of Navarre in the University of Paris. The next year, in 1652, he began a long journey through the countries of Europe as far as Constantinople and thence to Egypt and Palestine, which extended over seven years. On return to his native land in 1659, he spent four years at home in studies useful to a traveller. In 1663, he left France on his second voyage to the East, devoting his attention this time to Iraq, Persia and India. It was in Persia that he met the famous traveller and diamond merchant, M. de Tavernier, and the two proceeded by way of Shiraz to Bandar Abbas. But, owing to the opposition of the Dutch, Thevenot was unable to secure a passage to India at this port. Later he made his way to Basra, and sailed for India in an English ship, the *Hopewell*, arriving two months after at Surat, in Jan., 1666. His travels in India occupied the next thirteen months, the early part of which was spent in a tour through the province of Gujarat. Though he died only two years later in 1667, he has left an account of his travels in French, which was probably written while actually on his journeys. But his work is little known, owing to the fact that the only complete English translation of the same, made by A. Lovell and published in London in 1687, is now very rare.[1] As three chapters in my book, *Studies in the History of Gujarat* (1935), have been devoted to a close study of Thevenot's visit to this province, with full commentaries, it will suffice in this chapter to give only a resumé of his *Travels*.

Early career and travels in the East

On New Year's Day, 1666, the *Hopewell* sighted the south coast of Kathiawar and the island of Div. Thevenot's description of the great

1 His account of his stay at Surat has, however, been translated into English by H. G. Rawlinson and published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LVI, 1927, pp. 199 *et seq.* Since this chapter was written, the Third Part of Thevenot's Travels has been reprinted and edited by Dr. Surendranath Sen in his *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri* (National Archives of India, 1949).

Portuguese fort here shows the exactness of his information, though he did not land at the place. The fortress, he says, was considered impregnable, being surrounded by two ditches, both filled with sea water, the outer one being deep enough to admit of ships. It was defended by solid stone bastions mounted with large cannon. The capture of such a fort would be no easy task, he adds, unless the garrison was forced into surrender by an enemy through lack of provisions; also that, owing to its fine harbour, all the trade of the Indies was formerly centred at Div, but it had been wholly removed to Surat in his day.

The Great Fort of Div

The *Hopewell* arrived at Surat Bar on 10 January, 1666, and the next day, Thevenot and his fellow-passengers got into a smaller craft and slowly sailed up the river as far as the customs-house, but darkness having fallen, they spent the night in the river, as no one could enter the town until the customs inspection had been carried out. The next morning they were taken to the shore on the backs of porters who came up in waist-deep water in order to carry them to the land. The procedure at the customs-house is described by Thevenot in minute detail and is fuller than that given by any other traveller. 'Visited we were', he says, 'but in so severe and vexatious a manner, that though I did expect it, and had prepared myself for it beforehand, yet I had hardly patience enough to suffer the searchers to do whatsoever they had a mind to, though I had nothing about me but my clothes.' On landing, all persons were surrounded by a number of peons with large canes in their hands, who drew up to make a lane for them to pass on to the building. Each passenger was admitted singly to the Hall where the Chief of the Customs sat with his clerks, and he was subjected to a thorough search:

Customs house procedure at Surat

> 'He must take off his cap or turban, his girdle, shoes, stockings, and all the rest of his clothes, if the searchers think fit. They feel his body all over, and handle every the least inch of stuff about him with all exactness; if they perceive anything hard in it they rip it up, and all that can be done is to suffer patiently. The search is long, and takes up about a quarter of an hour for every person severally.'

This did not complete the requirements of the Customs, for the next day they had all to come back for the inspection of their baggage which had been left behind. Every one had to wait at the gate till he was summoned. Thevenot had the good fortune to be admitted with the first batch. His 'cloakbags' were emptied and the contents examined, though he had no merchandise with him. 'My quilt was ripped up', he says, 'they undid the pommel of one of my pistols, with pegs of iron felt in the holsters.' The clerks being satisfied, he was allowed to go. Others, however, had to wait for many days, sometimes even for a month, before they could get out their baggage, especially if they had merchandise, on which they had to pay four per cent. duty if they were Christians and five per cent. if they were Hindus.

Inspection of the baggage

Thevenot arrived at Surat just two years after Shivaji's sack of the city, and he gives a detailed account of this episode. He says that Surat had hitherto only dilapidated mud walls, but he saw the new walls, ordered by Aurangzeb, just begun. They were made of brick, about ten feet thick and as many high, and were intended to protect the place against a repetition of the attack. He criticises their alignment, which he thought to be too near the Castle. These walls, it may be pointed out, were those long known as the *Shehērpanah*, 'The Safety of the City', and which came later to be called the 'inner walls'. They appear to have taken more than fifteen years in construction, but are now in ruins.[2] In 1717, during the reign of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, when Haider Quli Khan was governor of the city, a new line of fortifications was commenced which was to enclose both the city and the extensive suburbs. The stones of the Gopi Talav, which had long since become dry, were extensively used in building these walls. The reason for their construction was the repeated scare of the Marathas, whose annual infiltrations had by that time become very serious. These later walls, which were known as the *Alampanah*, the 'Safety of the World', and also as the 'outer walls', are still standing and in good preservation.

City-walls of Surat

Surat had a large but fluctuating population at this period. During the fair weather, from November to April, when ships from various countries came there for traffic, it was so full of people that it was difficult to find comfortable quarters. These foreign merchants were Arabs, Persians, Turks and Armenians, as also the English and the Dutch. Among the local population, besides the Hindus and the Muslims, Thevenot mentions the Parsis, 'who are also known as Gabres, or fire-worshippers', and he adds that they professed the religion of the ancient Persians and took refuge in India when the Khalif Omar subjugated the kingdom of Persia.[3] We are also told that there were some extremely rich people at Surat, and that 'a Banya, named Virji Vora, who is a friend of mine, is supposed to be worth eight million (francs) at least'.[4] There were also quite one hundred Catholic families at Surat.

The population of Surat

The account given of the Kotwal at Surat, an officer who combined in his person the powers of Chief of the Police and Police magistrate, is particularly full. He went about the city on a horse, attended by his staff on foot, some of them bearing sticks and large whips, while others were armed with swords, lances, shields and iron maces. His methods of

The Kotwal and his methods

2 Dr. John Fryer, the Surgeon to the English Factory at Surat, found them still being built in 1674. He informs us that they were completed in 1679 (*East India & Persia*, I, 248; III, 161-2).

3 A complete list of references to the Parsis in Gujarat in the works of the early European writers and travellers, the majority of which belong to the 17th century, will be found in the author's *Studies in the History of Gujarat*, 84 note.

4 *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 200. For further details about Virji Vora and his great wealth, see my *Studies*, op. cit., 85.

dispensing justice were summary, the offender being punished with the lash of the whip or blows from a stick in his presence in the public street at the very spot where the offence was committed. Thrice every night this custodian of the peace took his rounds of the city, and during the same his guards shouted *Khabardar* (be on your guard) at the top of their voices, to which the sentinels in the neighbouring lanes responded with a similar cry, to show that they were not asleep. This process was cont nued from street to street until the round was finished. Torture was not infrequently resorted to by the Kotwal, not only to extort confession from culprits, but even to prevent complaints. A rich Armenian merchant of the day, named Khwaja Minas, was robbed of 2,400 sequins; two of his slaves also disappeared at the time and no trace of them could be found. The governor of the city told the Kotwal that the money had to be found somehow, for if the Emperor was informed of the loss, worse results would follow. The Kotwal asked for permission to imprison the wealthy Armenian so as to question him and his servants under torture whether the money had been actually stolen. No sooner had the merchant news of this, than he withdrew his complaint, preferring to lose all than to endure the torments intended for him.[5]

French agents at Surat

During the reign of Louis XIV, and under the fostering care of his great minister Colbert, the French East India Company had been formed in 1664 to secure for that country a share in the vast profits which the English and the Dutch were drawing from the East India trade. In order to prepare the way for the ships and the merchants to be sent out by the Company, Colbert had sent, at the end of that year, five nobles and agents to the courts of the Shah of Persia and the Great Mughal, as representatives of the French crown, for holding preliminary discussions and for concluding treaties of commerce. Two of these, *viz.*, M. La Boullaye le Gouz and M. Beber, were already at Surat when Thevenot arrived at that place. He says that the governor of the town was then holding an enquiry into the character of the French nation; for he, as well as the Surat merchants, were unwilling to grant it permission to trade there, because of strong reports that the French were pirates. This suspicion was, however, due entirely to a misunderstanding. A Dutch pirate chief, named Hubert Hugo,[6] who sailed under the French flag, and had several Frenchmen on board, had in 1662 captured a ship belonging to the Queen of Bijapur which carried a large amount of money, besides jewels and rich presents, intended for distribution in the holy centres at Mecca and Medina. This episode had created a great stir at Surat and had given the French a bad reputation in the eyes of Indians on the Western coast.

5 *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 202.

6 For some further details about the career of Signor Hubert Hugo, the Dutch rover, see my *Studies*, 87 *n* 4.

The situation was awkward for the French nobleman and his colleague, but Thevenot informs us that it was saved by the powerful intercession of the famous French missionary, Father Ambrose, the Superior of the Capuchin mission at Surat, who went in person to the governor to warn him against the rumours spread by the enemies of the French Company, and after much difficulty convinced him that Hugo was not French and that the Company was not coming to India with the object of piracy. The governor promised to forward the Father's written testimony to the Emperor, and assured the French delegates that he would render them any service that was in his power. The President of the English Factory also did them all the honour that was in his power.[7]

Intercession of Fr. Ambrose

The Capuchin mission in India dates back to the year 1640 when Fr. Zenon of Beauge established himself at Surat with two others of his order. In 1651, Fr. Zenon was succeeded in his office by Fr. Ambrose of Preuilly, whose missionary labours in this city extended over a quarter of a century, till his death on 4th December 1675 at his cherished mission at Surat, where he had won the esteem and veneration of all classes in the city. Some further details about the Capuchin order and this mission in India have been given in my *Studies*.[8]

The Capuchin Mission at Surat

Thevenot's *Travels* gives us perhaps the best account yet available of the great influence which this Capuchin Father wielded in the social life of Surat, both with the officials and the people, by virtue of his piety, intrepidity, charity and commanding personality. He generally settled all disputes among the Christians in the city, especially among the Catholics, and his authority was well backed up by the local officials. If he found the behaviour of any Christian at Surat scandalous, he did not hesitate to put him in confinement, and neither the governor nor the Kotwal, if petitioned for release, would interfere. They would, at best, only offer their intercession with the Capuchin priest. Fr. Ambrose had also permission to banish from the city persons of lax morals belonging to his faith, the Kotwal sending his peons to conduct them out of the town to whatever place the Father might desire. The priest used his influence to help Hindus also, securing their release if imprisoned for some minor offence. At the time of Shivaji's attack on the city in Jan., 1664, Fr. Ambrose boldly approached him with a request not to do any harm to the poor Christians resident at Surat; moreover, during the sack, the

Great reputation of Fr. Ambrose

7 *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 204.

8 *Studies in the History of Gujarat*, 88, note 2; 89, notes 2 and 3; 90.

invaders spared the Capuchin monastery, under orders from their Chief, though all the city, except the European factories, was pillaged.[9]

Thevenot naturally visited the English and Dutch cemeteries at Surat, which are among the more important historical sites in the city, because of their imposing domed tombs and the inscriptions which are associated with the history of their respective Factories at Surat. In fact, the members of these two nations vied with each other in the size and splendour of the monuments erected over the graves of their deceased Presidents, in order to impress the people of the country. These tombs were located beyond the gate in the mud walls, then known as the 'Broach gate', and our traveller refers to them as 'brick pyramids coated with lime'. No doubt, some of the most famous of the English tombs, *viz.* that of George Oxenden and the one believed to cover the remains of Gerald Aungier, the first two governors of Bombay under the E. I. Company, did not exist when Thevenot visited the cemetery, because they were then both alive. At the time of Thevenot's stay in the city a tomb was being built for a Dutch President which was estimated to cost eight thousand francs. We have also an interesting reference to the tomb of an unknown Dutchman, believed to be a relative of the Prince of Orange, who was banished to India by the States-General of Holland. 'To show that he was an adept in the art of drinking,' says Thevenot, 'a large stone cup was placed on top of the monument, and a smaller cup at each of the four corners of the tomb, and the Dutch factors used to go there on a picnic to amuse themselves and made a hundred stews in these cups for their drink.'[10]

European cemeteries at Surat

One of the pleasure-resorts of the people of Surat visited by Thevenot was what he calls the 'Princess Garden.' This was long known as the Begum Wadi, named after Jahanara Begum, sister to Aurangzeb, who had been given Surat as her jagir, and in whose time the suburb known as Begumpura, where this garden was situated, was founded. According to Thevenot, the garden contained several straight avenues, 'among these being four

The Begum Wadi described

9 *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 222-23; *Studies*, op. cit., 89-90. The famous French jeweller, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who was often at Surat during his many journeys to India, says: 'The Reverend Capuchin Fathers have built a very commodious place upon the model of the houses of Europe, with a beautiful Church, and I myself furnished a large portion of the money which it cost; but the purchase had to be made under the name of a Maronite merchant of Aleppo, named Chalebi' (Tavernier's *Travels*, Ed. by Ball, I, 7). The Convent as well as the Church of the Capuchins have now disappeared. In 1877, a wooden cross, on a plot of land not far from the Municipal Hall, marked the site of the Capuchin Church. A metal tablet attached to the Cross bore a Latin inscription which said: 'Here stood the only altar of the ancient church of the Capuchins'. Both the cross and the tablet have now gone. (See Bombay Gazetteer, II, 304).

10 *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 217. J. Ovington, who was evidently familiar with Thevenot's account, says that these large punch-bowls were placed on the tomb 'for the entertainment and mirth of his surviving friends, who remember him there sometimes so much that they quite forget themselves.' (*Voyage to Surat*, Oxford Ed., 236.)

which traversed the garden cross-wise with a small channel in their midst.' In the centre of this royal garden was a building with four fronts, with a square tank full of water near each of them, whence issued the streams which flowed along the main avenues. The French traveller, however, did not think that the garden came up to the elegance of those in his native land. A hundred years later, this famous garden had gone to decay and ruin, as may be seen from the following reference made by the Dutch sea-Captain and traveller, J. S. Stavorinus, who visited the site on 21 Nov., 1775:

> 'I went to see the garden which had been laid out by Begum Saheb, sister to the celebrated Aurangzeb. I walked over it with Thevenot's *Travels* in my hand, and found everything perfectly agreeing with his account, making allowance for the circumstance that that traveller saw it in its greatest splendour, and I, more than a century afterwards, in a deplorable state of decay.'[11]

Account of the Gopi Talao

Strangely enough, practically all our information about the once famous reservoir known as the Gopi Talao at Surat, for over a century and a half one of the most popular pleasure-resorts of the city, has been derived from the accounts left by European travellers in this province. Thevenot mentions the tank in his chapter entitled *Of Diverse Curiosities at Surat*, and says that it was situated near the Daman gate. He describes it as a musket-shot in diameter, with sixteen angles, each of its sides being one hundred paces in length. The bottom of the reservoir was paved with large smooth stones, and it was surrounded by steps of fine freestone, after the manner of an amphitheatre, reaching from the top of the tank to the bottom. Where there were no steps there was a sloping descent to the basin. In the middle of the tank was an island on which stood a stone building, some twenty-five feet high, and as many in length and breadth, which was mounted by two small staircases. This pleasure-house could only be approached by boats, and here the people from the town came to take the air and enjoy themselves. The great tank was filled with rain-water, which, after flowing through the country-side in a large canal, over which bridges had to be made, was made to run into a large cistern enclosed by walls, when it passed into the great reservoir through three circular outlets each having a diameter of four feet.[12] The tank was constructed at the expense of a rich Banya, named Gopi, for the use of

11 Stavorinus, *Voyages to the East Indies*, trans. by S. H. Wilcocke, London, 1798, III, 177. In another part of his work, this Dutch writer says that the Begum Wadi was located in the 'outer town' near the Navsari gate and that it was surrounded by a high wall enclosing about 15 acres. Most of the trees had been cut down except those consisting of the four chief walks, being all tamarind trees. All the ground was sown with different kinds of pulses and greens. Referring to Thevenot's remark that the garden was outside the city, he explains, 'but the suburbs were not then encircled by walls' (op. cit., II, 468-69).

12 It appears that the Gopi Talao at Surat resembled in many respects the Kankaria Talao at Ahmadabad constructed about half a century earlier during the reign of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Ahmad Shah.

the public. 'It is most certainly', adds Thevenot, 'a piece of work worthy of a king, and may well be compared with the finest ever built by the Romans for the public benefit'. He notes, however, that for lack of proper care in upkeep, the reservoir was silted up with six feet of slime in his time, and he prophesies that it would be completely filled up with earth some day, 'unless some charitable Banya has it cleared out'.[13] No trace now remains of the Gopi Talao at Surat. Its stones were largely utilised in the building of the outer city-wall, which was begun about 1719, during the reign of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar. In fact, so completely was the tank despoiled that, in 1775, the Dutch sea-captain Stavorinus says that 'searching about the great tank with Thevenot's *Travels* in my hand, could not discover it.'[14]

The Tari tree and its uses

No traveller from Europe to Surat in the 17th century has missed giving an account of the *Tari*-tree, and its juice, which has nourished the country-population for centuries. Thevenot's description of the manner in which the juice was extracted shows his close and accurate observation; also that the methods of today in this respect hardly differ from those practised nearly three hundred years ago.[15] He evidently tasted and enjoyed the beverage, and describes clearly two varieties of the 'tary,' *viz.*, the fresh and the fermented:

> 'The best Tary is drawn in the night time, and those who would use it with pleasure ought to drink of that, because, not being heated by the sun, it is of an acid sweetness which leaves in the mouth the savour of a chestnut, which is very agreeable. That which is drawn in the daytime is eager, and most commonly made vinegar of, because it easily corrupts and decays.'

This traveller further points out that, besides supplying the liquid, the coco-palm is put to many other uses. The trunk provides material for masts and anchors and even for the hulk of boats; while sails and cables are made from its bark. The fruit (the cocoanut) is as big as a melon, and contains a very wholesome juice, 'which hath the colour and taste of white wine.'[16]

Surat as a commercial emporium

Thevenot concludes his account of Surat, which is extremely interesting and accurate considering that his stay lasted for only three weeks, with a reference to the commercial greatness of this emporium. Besides the stuffs and cloths made in the Indies, all the important commodities of Europe as also those of China were sold in its markets. Among the various com-

[13] *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 218; *Studies*, op. cit., 97-98. For a detailed account of the career of Malik Gopi, see Vol. I of this work; also *Studies*, op. cit., 99-107.

[14] Stavorinus, *Voyage to the East Indies*, trans. by Wilcocke (1798), II, 472. This reference shows that, more than a hundred years after Thevenot's visit, his book was being utilised as a sort of Guide Book by European travellers.

[15] For an extract from Thevenot's account on this subject, see *Studies*, op. cit., 94.

[16] *Studies*, op. cit., 94-95.

modities, he specially enumerates musk, amber, incense, manna, sal-ammoniac, quicksilver, lac, indigo and the 'root raenas for dyeing red,' and in general all those articles which foreign merchants buy for being sold in all parts of the world.[17]

On Feb. 1, 1666, Thevenot left Surat on his journey northward to Ahmadabad. After the passage of the Tapti, where his carriage was hauled into a boat by eight men, he continued past the town of Variav to the river Kim, thence to Ankleshwar, and, on crossing the Narbada, to Broach.

From Surat to Ahmadabad

The fort of Broach, he says, being situated on a hill, was visible at a great distance and its stone walls were flanked by round towers. The water of the Narbada was considered excellent for bleaching cloth which was brought from all parts to be whitened here.[18] The traveller next continued his journey through the Broach district, and, passing by the little town of Sarbhan and crossing the Dhadhar river, he arrived at a place called Dabka in the wooded country on the Mahi river.[19] He describes the village as a nest of robbers, and makes the rather unusual statement that its inhabitants 'were formerly such as are called merdi-coura (*mardum khwar*), or Anthropophagi, man-eaters, and it is not very many years since man's flesh was there publicly sold in the markets.' It is probable that he was ill-informed, and that the wild Bhils and Kolis of Dabka were at most in the habit of consuming carrion. After the passage of the Mahi, he advanced to Petlad, and thence to Sojitra and Matar, until he reached Jitbag (now Jetalpur), some five miles distant from Ahmadabad. He refers to the famous garden laid out here as 'a pretty handsome garden by the side of a reservoir,' and he adds that the dwelling house in it was running into ruins and the royal house not far off was in very bad repair also.[20]

The next stage was Ahmadabad, the capital of the province, and Thevenot correctly observes that the great *amir* Mahabat Khan was the governor in his time. He stayed in the city for a fortnight in the Dutch factory, situated in the main street of the city, and his hosts kept him company when he visited the chief sites of the capital. His account of the Maidan Shah, or Royal Square, extending from the 'three large arches' (the *Tin*

The Maidan Shah at Ahmadabad

17 *Studies*, op. cit., 95-96.

18 Tavernier also says that the Narbada possesses a peculiar property for bleaching calicoes which were brought there for the purpose from all parts of the Moghal Empire (*Travels*, trans. by Ball, I, 66.)

19 Dabka is a large village in the Padra sub-division of the Baroda District situated on the left bank of the Mahi river, 18 miles from Baroda city. The country round about is very picturesque with its hills and the deep ravines descending to the low bed of the great river. The deer and boar preserves in its neighbourhood used to make Dabka an important centre for the hunting expeditions of the Gaekwads of Baroda.

20 *Studies*, op. cit., 109-10.

Darwaza) to the main gate of the Bhadra Citadel, deserves to be compared with that given by Mandelslo some 28 years before him:

> 'Going from their [Dutch] lodgings, one enters by these high arches into the Maidan Shah, which signifies the King's Square. It is a long square having four hundred paces in breadth and seven hundred in length, with trees planted on all sides. The gate of the Castle is on the west side opposite to the three arches, and the gate of the Caravanserai on the south. x x x In this maidan there are several little square buildings, about three fathom high, which are tribunals for the Kotwal who is the criminal judge'.[21]

The caravanserai referred to above was no doubt the magnificent structure erected by the viceroy Azam Khan during his term of office.

The Bhadra Citadel

It is, however, a matter for regret that neither the French traveller, nor Mandelslo, who was at Ahmadabad in the year after its completion, has left us any account of the same. From the Royal Square, Thevenot entered the Castle (Bhadra) 'by a very high gate betwixt two large towers,' and he describes it as walled about with freestone and 'as spacious as a little town.' He also refers to the royal palace within this enclosure, with its balcony for the musicians (*naqarkhana*), who played pipes, trumpets and 'hautboys' (oboes) every morning, noon, evening and midnight.[22]

It has been said in criticism of Thevenot's *Travels* that he saw only the outside of Indian life. This is true enough, but, considering his

Thevenot's antiquarian interest

short stay, he could hardly be expected to have known much of the manners and customs of the people or their economic life. His scholarly interests were devoted primarily to historical antiquities, and his long account of this capital is valuable for the fullness and accuracy of his descriptions of the principal monuments of the city and its suburbs, such as have not been given by any other traveller of the 17th century. With slight errors, which are inevitable in a foreigner imperfectly acquainted with the past history of this province and its monuments, his descriptions are exceptionally exact. We have already reproduced, in an earlier chapter, his account of the great temple built by Shantidas and how it was desecrated by Prince Aurangzeb and converted into a mosque.[23] So also reference has been made to his visit to the Shahi Bagh, with its symmetrical avenues, long before it began to fall into neglect and desolation.[24] Besides these and many other historical antiquities, he mentions the existence of the unusual institution of an hospital for birds where the Hindus kept all the sick birds that they could find. There was another for beasts also, where he saw several sick oxen, camels, horses and other wounded

21 *Studies*, op. cit., 112-13.
22 ibid, 113.
23 See Chap. XIII in Part I of this volume, pp. 141-42.
24 See Chap. VIII *ante*, pp. 98-99.

animals, 'which were purchased from the Muslims and the Christians in order to save them from cruelty, and these were well fed and looked after.'[25]

Taking leave of his Dutch hosts, Thevenot started on his return journey on 16 Feb., 1666, and at Sojitra branched off to visit Cambay. This town is described as being the size of Surat but not nearly so populous, with long streets all of them terminating at the gates. The shops were well stocked with spices, silks and other stuffs, including articles made of agates. The suburbs, which were adorned with a large number of fine public gardens, 'were almost as extensive as the town,' and indigo was manufactured there. The sea was already a mile and a half away from the town, though formerly it came up to it. This fact had greatly reduced the trade of the place, as large ships had to keep many miles out in the sea. The tides in the Gulf were so swift that a man on horseback at full speed could not keep pace with the first waves.[26]

Cambay described

Though he was told that passage by sea on a small boat from Cambay to Surat would take no more than twenty-four hours, Thevenot decided to go by land as these vessels sailed generally by night for fear of the Malabar pirates, who were always on the watch to surprise them. There was danger from robbers on land also, and the Frenchman was advised by his friends to engage the services of one of the tribe known as Charans, with a woman of the same class, who would conduct him safely through the danger zone. Thevenot, however, declined to do so, 'looking upon it to be too low a kind of protection.' Describing this once famous fraternity in Gujarat, and the part it played in the social life of the times, Thevenot states that a traveller conducted by a Charan thought himself safe, because this escort would inform any robbers whom they encountered to the effect that the person was under his charge and that he would cut his own throat if they did him any harm; at the same time the woman with him would threaten that she would likewise cut off one of her own breasts with a razor which she would show them. We may add that the source of a Charan's powers lay in the fact that his death under such circumstances was dreaded by everyone owing to the widespread belief that a Charan's blood brought ruin and misfortune on him who caused the blood to be spilt, and a Charan's ghost was specially dreaded. The

The Charans as escorts

25 These hospitals or asylums for animals (*Pinjrapols*) are common in all the larger towns of this province, because of its considerable Jain population, attached to the doctrine of *ahimsa*. The absurd lengths to which this may be carried, is seen in the account given by the Rev. J. Ovington, Chaplain to the English Factory at Surat in 1690. He says that the Banyas there had also an asylum for preservation of bugs, fleas and other vermin which suck the blood of men; and that to maintain these on their choice diet, some poor man was hired now and then to rest all night upon the bed where the vermin were put, and he was fastened upon it, lest their stings should make him take to flight before the morning. In the words of Dr. J. Fryer, 'the Banyas of Surat were more merciful to beasts than to men.' (See references given in *Studies*, op. cit., 115-16 and notes).

26 *Studies*, op. cit., 116-17.

robbers, therefore, being highly superstitious, thus avoided doing any harm to the party travelling under a Charan's protection.[27]

After the passage of the Mahi river, Thevenot had to pay a toll to the Raja of the Grassias[28] who controlled all the villages between Cambay and Broach and who guaranteed the safety of the travellers against the robbers. We are told that this Chief received ten rupees per head from the caravans which passed by his capital, and in return provided them gratis with cooks, provisions and even entertainments. In fact, this Grassia 'Robin Hood' was so much of a gentleman that he was most particular about restoring to its owner any property taken by the bandits within his territories and his horsemen accompanied all caravans for security until they were out of his jurisdiction.[29]

Grassia Raja on the Mahi

On arrival at Surat, Thevenot undertook a longer journey through the province of the Deccan, visiting Golkonda and proceeding as far as Masulipatam.[30] On completing this tour he returned to the banks of the Tapti in the last days of the year 1666. Resting here for a time, he secured a passage for Bandar Abbas, and finally left the shores of India in Feb., 1667, after a stay of about thirteen months in this country. Near Shiraz, in Persia, he was accidentally wounded in the thigh by a shot from one of his pistols. He spent the summer months in the great city of Isfahan, where his wound was treated and healed. Continuing his journey to the north, by way of the town of Qum, he took ill on the way, and died at a small place called Miana, about a hundred miles from Tabriz, on 28 November 1667, at the early age of 34 years.

Later tours and final departure

Some valuable information about Thevenot's scholarly attainments and his character is supplied in the Preface to the English edition of his *Travels* made by A. Lovell more than two hundred and sixty-eight years ago, in 1687. Thevenot was proficient in several oriental languages, including Turkish, Arabic and Persian, which must have proved to him of great service on his journeys in all the countries of the Middle East. But this was not all, for he had attained to great knowledge in geometry, astronomy and mathematics, and he was specially familiar with the philosophy of Descartes. With all this great learning, his zeal for religion was sincere, and his piety has been praised by all who came into contact with him during his travels.

Thevenot's high attainments

27 *Studies*, op. cit., 117-18; 120-23.

28 Even as late as 1781, more than a hundred years after Thevenot's time, James Forbes refers to a Koli Raja or Chieftain on the banks of the Mahi whose chief quarters were at Dehwan and whose well cultivated lands and prosperous villages attracted his attention.

29 *Studies*, op. cit., 118.

30 Thevenot's record of his journey to the south is thus based on his personal observations; but the same cannot be said of the long account of the Mughal provinces of Upper India which is given in the published editions of his *Travels*, and which is necessarily second-hand.



DR. JOHN FRYER, SURGEON TO THE ENGLISH FACTORY AT SURAT
(From the Edition by the Hakluyt Society)



JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, FRENCH JEWELLER AND TRAVELLER IN INDIA IN THE 17TH CENTURY
(pp. 131-32) (From *Tavernier's Travels in India*, trans. by V. Ball, London, 1889)

CHAPTER XXXIII

DR. JOHN FRYER'S ACCOUNT OF SURAT, 1674-75

AN interesting account of the city of Surat, its chief functionaries, the sections of its population, the constitution of the English Factory, and various aspects of the city's life, as they were seen in the middle period of Aurangzeb's reign, may be found in the pages of Dr. John Fryer, who was surgeon to the English factory in this city at intervals between 1674 and 1681, and who published, after his return to England, a work entitled *A New Account of East India and Persia.*[1] After taking his medical degree at Cambridge, Fryer was appointed in England in 1672 to the post of surgeon under the East India Company, and he set sail at the end of the same year for Bombay, which he reached in Dec., 1673, exactly a year after his departure from England. We find in his book a valuable account of the English colony on the Island of Bombay only a few years after it had passed into the hands of the East India Company; the famous Gerald Aungier, the real founder of the city that was to be, being then the President. Some nine months later, in Sept., 1674, Fryer was transferred to Surat by order of the President, but returned to Bombay in April, 1675. We next read of his being away on a visit to Karwar in the company of the Chief of the factory there, and on his return he was again sent to Surat in December, 1676. Early in 1677, he was posted to Persia, and attached to the English factory at Isfahan, as his professional services were much required. After spending many months in Persia, he was again back at Surat in Jan., 1679, and finally embarked for England from this port in Jan., 1682 in the home-going fleet. After his return to his native land he appears to have risen to eminence, for he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1697, probably in consideration of his professional standing and his deep interest in scientific pursuits, of which his book bears ample evidence. In 1698 he published the work on which his reputation depends, and which purports to be a reprint of a series of letters addressed by him from India to some unnamed friend in England, who appears, from some references, to have been a person of learning and distinction. Fryer died in his native land in 1733.

Dr. John Fryer's career

1 Fryer's *New Account of East India etc.*, first published in London in 1698, has been republished by the Hakluyt Society, Edited by William Crooke, in 3 volumes (1909-15). The references are to this edition.

At the end of the rainy season of 1674, Dr. Fryer was sent from Bombay to Surat by command of the President, Gerald Aungier, and proceeding by sea, which was the usual practice at this period, he arrived at 'Swally Marine', as the seaport adjoining the village of Suwali was called. Here the English, as also the other European Companies, had places assigned to them for loading and unloading the goods which were brought by their ships. Fryer was entertained by the Deputy President, Matthew Gary, at the English 'booths,' or small wooden houses, erected in an enclosure allotted by the governor, in which were located their warehouses, stables, and other adjuncts. At Suwali, Fryer was much pestered by sand-flies and by the smaller Banya traders, 'that hang like horse-leeches.' 'As soon as you have set your foot on shore,' he writes, 'they crowd in their service, interposing between you and all civil respect, as if you had no other business but to be gulled; x x x enduring servilely foul words, affronts and injuries for a future hope of gain; expert in all the studied arts of thriving and insinuation. x x x These generally are the poorer sorts, and set on by the richer to trade with the seamen for the meanest things they bring.'[2]

'Swally Marine'

Fryer refers to the 'English House' at Surat as built of stone and excellent timber, with good carving and according to the style of the country, where the President had 'spacious lodgings and noble rooms provided for counsel and entertainments,' besides tanks, yards, and a hamam for bathing:

The English Factory-House

> 'Here they live (in shipping-time) in a continual hurly-burly, the Banyans presenting themselves from the hour of ten till noon; and then afternoon at four till night, as if it were an Exchange in every row; below stairs, the packers and warehouse-keepers, together with merchants bringing and receiving musters [samples], make a mere Billingsgate, for, if you make not a noise, they hardly think you intent on what you are doing.'[3]

We are next given an account of the establishment at the English Factory, its various officials, and their respective duties. Besides the President, there were four other principal officers, *viz.*, the accountant and treasurer, the warehouse-keeper, the purser-mariner, and the secretary. These, with the senior merchants, formed the President's Council. The Presidency of Surat was considered superior to all in India and the salary of the President was £500 a year, half of it being paid in India and the other half reserved to be received at home for making satisfaction in case of misdemeanour. There were at this time twenty Englishmen

Office-bearers in the Factory

[2] J. Fryer, op. cit., I, 211-12. He refers to the practice of these petty traders to cling to these foreign arrivals 'like leeches till they had secured their object'.

[3] J. Fryer, op. cit., I, 215. Fryer's long account of Surat is contained in his Letter III addressed to his anonymous Friend, which was finished at Bombay on Sept., 22, 1675.

attached to the Surat factory, besides the minister for divine service, the surgeon, and a guard of English soldiers, consisting of a double file led by a sergeant, to attend on the President. The whole body of the Company's servants was comprehended in three classes, *viz.*, 'merchants', 'factors' and 'writers'. All young men sent out from home began as 'writers', and were obliged to serve for five years on a pay of £10 per annum, with a bond for good behaviour, and they were placed under one or the other of the functionaries mentioned above. The second stage was that of 'factors' during which they rose to preferment, according to seniority and trust, and had to execute a bond for a higher amount, and received a salary of £20 per year for three years. The next grade mentioned by Fryer was that of 'senior factors', and when they had served therein for another period of three years, they acquired the status of 'merchants', from whose ranks the Chiefs of subordinate factories were recruited, as places fell vacant, and they received £40 a year, besides lodging and board at the Company's charge. 'These in their several seigniories,' says Fryer, 'behave themselves after the Fundamentals of Surat, and in their respective Factories live in the like grandeur, from whence they rise successively to be of the Council in Surat, which is the great Council, and consists of about five in number, besides the President, to be constantly resident'.[4] From this Council was selected the Deputy-Governor of Bombay (the President at Surat being the Governor) till the year 1686 when, during the time of Sir John Child, and under the Company's orders, the seat of the Presidency was transferred from Surat to Bombay. Fryer concludes his short exposition of the English factory at Surat with the remark: 'On these wheels moves the traffick of the East, and has succeeded better than any Corporation preceding.'

Other European Companies

King Charles II was the reigning monarch in England at this period, and, recording some traditions of trade-rivalry and bitter hostility between the English and the Portuguese at Surat in the early part of the 17th century, Fryer says that 'these sores are fortunately bound up in that conjugal tye between our sacred King and the sister of Portugal, laying foul words and blows aside.' He adds that the Dutch, who followed the English, 'and got in at the breach we made,' gave the Portuguese even more trouble, and deprived them of much of the Spice Trade. In 1675, among the various European Companies at Surat, the volume of English trade was the largest, 'so that we singly have the credit of the port, and are of most advantage to the inhabitants, and fill the custom-house, with the substantialest incomes.' The French too had arrived in Surat in 1668, after the establishment by Colbert of the East India Company, and Fryer has some sly remarks to offer about it: 'But not to defraud the French of their just commendations, whose Factory is better stored with Monsieurs than with Cash, they live well, borrow

[4] J. Fryer, op. cit., I, 214-19.

money, and make a show. Here are French Capuchins, who have a convent, and live in esteem.'[5]

Going out to see the sights of Surat, Fryer encountered the rudeness of the Muslim faqirs, who enjoyed a privileged position in the city and exacted offerings from the populace, not by request but by force as of right. In fact, they were 'vagabonds under the cloak of religion' and were a terror to the peaceful citizens:

Insolence of the Faqirs

'Though we meet not Boys so rude as in England, to run after strangers, yet here are a sort of bold, lusty and drunken beggars, of the Mussleman caste, that if they see a Christian in good clothes, mounted on a stately horse, with trappings, are presently upon their punctilios with God Almighty, and interrogate him, why he suffers him to go a foot, and in rags, and this caffer (unbeliever) to vaunt it thus. And hardly restrained from running amuck (which is to kill whoever they meet till they be slain themselves), especially if they have been at Hodge (Hajj); these commonly, like evil spirits, have their habitations among the tombs. Nor can we only complain of this libertinism, for the rich Moormen themselves are persecuted by these rascals'.[6]

Fryer describes in some detail sundry 'extravagances' and voluntary penances indulged in by these faqirs. One, for example, had vowed to hang by the heels till he got money enough to build a mosque. Another had a great iron chain fettered to his feet, some two yards in length, such as were in use to foot-lock elephants with, every link thicker than a man's thumb. The shaking of his chain bespoke his necessity, 'which the poor Gentiles (Hindus) dare not deny to relieve; for if they do, he accuses them to the Kazi, who desires no better opportunity to fleece them; for they will not stick to swear they blasphemed Mahomet, for which there is no evasion but to deposit, or be cut and made a Moor [Muslim].' Fryer characterises the majority of the faqirs as vagabonds. 'They are the pest of the nation they lived in; their habit is the main thing that signalises them more than virtue ; they profess poverty, but make all things their own where they come. x x x Here are of these strollers about the city enough to make an army, so that they are almost become formidable to the citizens; nor is the governor powerful enough to correct their insolences.'

Their fantastic ways

In relating some exemplary punishments inflicted on evil-doers in the interests of justice, Fryer gives what must be regarded as an early account of the practice of Thugee on this side of India. A gang of these villains, fifteen in number, who had been infesting the roads in the district for a long time, had been captured, and, though the Banyas proferred money for their redemption, they were led to execution because of an express order sent

An early account of Thugee

5 J. Fryer, op. cit., I, 224-25.
6 ibid, 229-30.

by the Emperor. These malefactors used to lurk under hedges in narrow lanes, and, when they found an opportunity, 'by a device of a weight tied to a cotton bowstring made of guts, of some length, they used to throw it upon passengers so that, winding it about their necks, they pulled them from their beasts, and dragging them upon the ground, strangled them, and possessed themselves of what they had.' Among those captured was an old man, with his two sons, the younger not yet fourteen. Being sentenced to be hanged, they were delivered over to the Kotwal's men, and were led two miles out of the city, with ropes about their necks, to some wild date-trees. They were cheerful on their way, and went singing and smoking tobacco, 'being as jolly as if going to a wedding,'[7] the Banyas giving them sweetmeats. The young lad, now ready to be tied up, boasted that though he was not fourteen years of age, he had killed his quota of fifteen men. The old man, being the leader, was the first to be made an example of for his villainy, and then the two striplings, followed by the rest, being raised half a foot from the ground, and so they were left after their legs had been cut off.[8]

After giving an account of the activities of the Qazi, or judge, and the Mulla, or priest, Fryer proceeds to describe the functions of the Kotwal, or head of the Police, whom he characterises as 'the governor of the Night as the other two great officers rule the Day':

The Kotwal and his functions

> 'For, after the keys are carried to the governor, it is the Kotwal's business, with a guard of near two hundred, to scour the streets and brothels of idle companies; to take an account of all people late out, to discover fires and housebreakers, and to carry all lewd persons to prison, which is solely committed to his charge. So that all night long he is heard by his drums and trumpets, shouting and hallowing of his crew in their perambulations through all parts of the city, with lights and flambeaus.'[9]

Though the Kotwal's office was a place of great trust, it was neither so honourable nor so profitable as that of the Shahbander, 'who is King of the Port or Chief Customer.' We are told that the revenue from the customs had 'something abated by the Mogul's too fondly, in a religious vanity, granting immunity to the Musselmen lately, which is no small detriment.' The custom-house 'was filled with publicans, waiters and porters, who are always at the receipt of customs, but are a little too tardy sometimes in the delivery of goods, making the merchants dance attendance till a right understanding be created betwixt the Shahbander and them, which commonly follows when the first is mollified.' Over against the Custom-house stood the stately entrance to the royal mint, 'which is a large town of offices within itself.' Here came all the shroffs or bankers to have their

The Customs and the Mint

[7] J. Fryer, op. cit., I, 240-41.
[8] ibid, 244-45.
[9] ibid, 246

silver assayed, this metal, as also gold, being at Surat 'the most refined and purest from alloy in the world'.[10]

Fryer supplies some important topographical information to the effect that the walls of the city were still building, with a ditch to surround them. These, it may be noted, were the fortifications which had been begun, under Aurangzeb's orders, soon after the first sack of the city by Shivaji in 1664, and which came in time to be known as the *Sheherpanah*. They also came to be called the 'inner walls', to distinguish them from the 'outer walls', named the *Alampanah*, which later enclosed the suburbs of the city. Fryer's reference shows that, though ten years had elapsed since Shivaji's first sack, the fortifications had not been completed when he first saw them in 1674. Seven hundred men had been assigned at this period for the defence of the walls, with European gunners at every gate, which were six in number, besides 36 bastions with half a dozen great guns apiece. Spiked timber was piled upon the top to repel the scalers. Rumours of renewed Maratha invasion were still common in Surat when Fryer arrived there in 1674, a few years after the second sack:

The city-walls under construction

> 'Up and down the city are remains of Sevaji's fury, the ruins being not yet repaired ; of whom they stand in hourly fear, having their sores still fresh in their memory : to prevent whose rage they are collecting an hundred thousand rupees till their walls be finished, when we shall see how they will defend them.'

Fryer was away from Surat for two years after Jan., 1677. On his return to this city in Jan., 1679, he writes that the city-walls had been completed, but that the merchants had fled from the town because of another scare of Shivaji's return, and the pusillanimous attitude of the governor, who was more anxious to buy off the invaders than to oppose them in arms:

Scare of Shivaji's return, 1679

> 'Which had put such a consternation on the merchants that at my return they were all fled with their wealth, wives and families, not thinking themselves safe within the walls of Surat, which are now complete and able to beat off a strong enemy, would they stand to it. But having formerly felt the hostile cruelties of Sevaji, besides the present governor being a better politician than warrior, has hitherto only mulcted the Banyans to cast a crust before this Wolf, and he still expecting the usual tribute, descends now in hopes of the same booty, burning and spoiling the country about till they send him a peace offering.'[11]

Surat Castle, fronting the river and moated by it, was at this period defended by thirty or forty 'stout pieces of ordnance,' and was approached by a drawbridge to which no stranger was admitted. It was manned by 300 soldiers, armed with gun, sword and buckler. Its governor (the *Killedar*) was independent of the governor of the city, 'being as it were confined to

Surat Castle and its Killedar

10 J. Fryer, op. cit., 247-48.

11 ibid, III, 161-62.

it, not presuming, on forfeiture of his head, on any account to pass out of a garden by the bridge, it being his farthest walk.'[12]

From the early days of Mughal rule in Gujarat, the governor of Surat was appointed directly by the Emperor and he was in no way responsible to the provincial viceroy. He had in his pay an army of 1,500 men with 200 horse. He came to his Seat, or office, attended every morning by 300 armed soldiers, three well-caparisoned elephants, 40 horsemen armed, four and twenty banners of State, and accompanied by huge trumpets and thundering kettle-drums. Besides, there was a large retinue of the Qazi's, who was always present to assist him on points of law. But so bold and impertinent were the Faquirs in the town, who have been described above, that 'neither the formality of this appearance, nor regard due to his office, was terrible enough to prevail with these to submit to resign some caitiff whom they were shielding from justice, and hardly is his whole force able to keep them from bare-faced rebellion.'[13]

Military pomp of the Governor

Fryer gives a short account of the habits, manners and social customs of the Muslim population of Surat. Referring to the dishes served at their entertainments, he says: 'They drink no wine publicly, but privately will be good fellows, not content with such little glasses as we drink out of, nor claret or Rhenish (which they call vinegar), but sack and brandy out of the bottle they will tipple, till they are well warmed.' Those who were well-to-do went in rich attire, with a poniard or *katar* at their girdle : 'as they are neat in apparel, they are grave in their carriage.' The men were strict observers of the hours of prayer, when they stripped off all their gorgeous habiliments. They were great revellers by night, 'but in the heat of day they sleep and dally.'[14]

Manners and customs of the Muslims

In 1674-75, owing to a quarrel between the governor of the town and the Dutch, the latter threatened to remove their factory, with the help of their fleet, to Gogha, on the coast of Kathiawad, over against Suwali, to prevent which the governor issued an order that no 'Firingi'[15] would be allowed to leave the gates without his special permission. Being desirous to visit the sites outside the town, Dr. Fryer, having obtained leave of the governor, went out of the Broach gate to the north to see the English, Dutch and Armenian cemeteries located in that quarter. He tells us that, though the ground in the English graveyard was not so full of tombs as that of the Dutch, 'in one of Sir George Oxenden's it excels the proudest.' This shows that this well-known and imposing monument—which made up the tombs of the two famous brothers—had

European cemeteries and the suburb of Fulpara

12 J. Fryer. op. cit., I, 248-49.

13 ibid, 242, 249.

14 ibid, 234-36.

15 Firingi was the general term long used in India to denote Europeans or foreigners from Europe.

been completed by the end of 1674. Adjoining the Dutch cemetery, the Armenians had a garden, 'where on a terrace (forty yards in length and five in breadth) are reared several monuments coffin fashion, with a place to burn incense at the head, like the Moors, only over it a cross.' The whole area for a mile or so beyond the gate was full of Muslim tombs. Further on, about two miles from the city, Fryer mentions the suburb of Fulpara on the banks of the Tapti, 'a town separated for the Banyans to exercise their funeral and festival rites.' Here the bodies of Hindus were brought from the town for cremation, and our traveller refers to the existence of two temples, defaced by the Muslims; also to a seminary of their 'Doctors or Brahmins, many of whom were in the river doing their devotions, which consists in washing and praying.' He witnessed also a large number of yogis, or sanyasis, indulging in various 'austerities', which took the form of torturing their bodies in various horrible fashions, a practice commonly indulged in by this class in the 17th century, which is now fast dying out. The entire length of the road from Surat to Fulpara was covered by a row of shady trees on either side, and constantly traversed by all sorts of people either for worship or pleasure.[16]

The Gopi Talao described

Fryer also refers to the famous Gopi Talao outside the walls of Surat, which appears, from his account, to have gone completely dry already by this period. He describes it as a mile in circumference, surrounded by descending stone steps all about. Many large tombs were erected near its brink, and there were aqueducts to convey water, 'with which, were it filled, the best ship that swims in the sea might ride in it.' 'It looks now,' he adds, 'more like a circus or gymnasium, able enough to contain as many as such spectacles would delight. In their great solemnities it is usual for them to set it around with lamps to the number of two or three lakhs, which is so many hundred thousand in our account'.[17]

Procession on the '*Id* festival

In his chapter entitled 'Of their solemnities, sports and pastimes,' Dr. Fryer describes one of the most important of Muslim festivals at Surat, *viz.*, that of the '*Id* of Ramzan, when the governor, attended by all the high officials of the city, proceeded in state to offer prayers at the Idgah beyond the walls, while cannon at the castle boomed forth a salute:

'The Governor goes in procession and bestows his largess in his passage to the chief place of devotion, literally scattering rupees as Kings do medals at their coronations,[18] waited on by all the gallants of the town; his son first leading a body of horse of the cavalry of the city. After whom followed the Qazi, with green banners, with a band of foot of 100 men; then the Customer[19] with his men and

16 J. Fryer, op. cit., I, 252-61.
17 ibid, 261.
18 It was the practice among the Mughal Emperors to have special coins, known as *Nithar*, minted for the purpose of being scattered among the populace at the anniversary of their coronation.
19 This is the Chief Customs Officer at Surat.

colours, both carried in palankeens; whom followed the Mullas and merchants, some in coaches, others in palankeens, with their large troops of servitors. Then five elephants in armour, with banners supported by those that were in their seats. xxx After these came a dozen leopards on state-hackeries with their keepers, who train them up to hunting. At convenient distances the trumpets sounded, and camels of war with *pedreros*[20] on their saddles, marched with a pace laborious to the guiders. After which followed the governor in the middle of a troop of soldiers, all in coats of mail, and head-pieces, armed at all points, both themselves and horses ; himself mounted on a little she-elephant, with all the trappings and accoutrements of state xxx. In this state he rode to a place set spart for this day's solemnity, out of the walls, where, after prayers, he received the compliments of the grandees, and returned to feast.'[21]

Aurangzeb's orders about Muharram

Fryer also gives an account of the public solemnities at the Muharram festival to lament the tragic death of the sons of the Imam Ali, annually observed among the Muslims. He refers to the usual bands of persons who indulged in various antics and dances, 'laying about with swords, clubs and staves'; and if, per chance, two companies encountered each other in the streets, 'they seldom part without bloody noses.' These unseemly demonstrations of the populace, at what was essentially a period of religious mourning, were, no doubt, distasteful to the puritanical Emperor, for Khafi Khan, the historian, tells us that in 1669, on account of a fatal riot arising from this celebration at Burhanpur, Aurangzeb issued orders to the governors of all the provinces forbidding the making of *tazyas* and carrying them in procession.[22] Fryer also supports this statement, for he says : 'The religious bigot of an Emperor, Aurangzeb, seeks not to suppress it (*i.e.* the festival) utterly, but to reduce the celebrations, to preserve their memories by a pious respect, suitable to the gravity of the Moors.' After pointing out that the Emperor's object was to prevent a form of mourning that was 'a scandal to the Muhammedan religion,' and which would give an opportunity to its opponents to discredit it, he refers to the recently imposed jaziya capitation tax on his Hindu subjects :

'For even at this instant he is on a project to bring them all over to his Faith, and has already begun by two several taxes or polls, very severe ones, especially upon the Brahmins, making them pay a gold rupee an head, and the inferior tribes proportionable; which has made some Rajas revolt, and here they begin to fly to the Portugal countries and Bombaim.'[23]

20 Pedrero (*Span.*) is an Engine for flinging stones; later, a piece of ordnance for discharging pieces of broken iron, etc., and for firing salutes.

21 Fryer's *New Account of East India and Persia*, I, 272.

22 Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-ul-labab* (Bib. Indica), II, 213 *f.*

23 J. Fryer, op. cit., I, 274-75. The reference is clearly to the imposition of the hated Jaziya impost on the Hindus in 1679-80, when Fryer was actually in the city. The gold rupee he mentions is the *ashrafi* or gold muhur. According to Manucci (II,

Fryer makes a passing reference to the limitations imposed by the wild Koli tribes of Gujarat and the Maratha invaders on the authority of the provincial viceroy, Muhammad Amin Khan, the son of Mir Jumla, 'whose metropolis was at Amidavad, the chief city of Guzerat',

The viceroy and his authority

'Who, notwithstanding he has vast forces, wealth and territories, is not able to quell the Coolies (Kolis) from pilfering, Sevaji from plundering, and the outlawed Raspoots from dispoiling, whenever they please to descend in companies from the mountains. Though none of them, nor all joined together, can cope with him in a pitched field, but only by thievery and surprise, wherefore, when any caphila or treasure passes, they hire soldiers to guard it, otherwise they are liable to be made a prey.'[24]

We learn from Fryer's narrative that, though the mercantile community as such was held in slight consideration by the Mughal bureaucracy, the English Company and its servants at Surat received respect and esteem from the ruling classes. This, he points out, was due partly to the special Farmans granted to it from time to time by successive Emperors, and partly to the English naval power. After giving an account of the various communities at Surat, he says:

The English held in esteem

'It is time to return to see what grace we are in among this divided multitude: Our usage by the Pharmaund (or charter) granted successively from their Emperors is kind enough, but the better because our naval power curbs them; otherwise, they being prone to be imperious, would subjugate us, as they do all others that are harnessed with the apronstrings of Trade. Supposing us then to bear the face of ministers of state, as well as the sly visage of mechanicks,[25] they depose[26] something of their severity, and treat with us in a more favourable style; giving us the preference before others here resident, and look on us with the same aspect as they do on their great *Ombrahs* [Umaras, *i.e.*, nobles] [27]

234), the scales of the impost were : 13½ rupees on great merchants ; 6½ on the middle class ; 3½ on the poor per annum. Many Hindus must have sought refuge with the English at Bombay or in the Portuguese settlements of Daman and Bassein to the south of Surat.

24 J. Fryer, op. cit., I, 302.

25 'Mechanicks' is used here in the sense of merchants; so also 'sly' is used in a good sense to mean shrewd or skilful or knowing.

26 Depose=lay aside

27 J. Fryer, op. cit., I, 288-89.

PART V

DECLINE AND FALL OF MUGHAL RULE IN GUJARAT, 1707-58:

MARATHA INFILTRATIONS AND FINAL CONQUEST OF THE PROVINCE

CHAPTER XXXIV

EVENTS FROM THE DEATH OF AURANGZEB TO 1719:

Last years of stable rule in Gujarat

THE year 1707 is a landmark in the history of Gujarat, not so much because it marks the end of the long reign of Aurangzeb, but for reasons that have a more important significance in history. From this date, or shortly after, we note the decline of Mughal rule in Gujarat and the gradual emergence of a new political order. The period of 134 years, from the conquest of the Gujarat Saltanat by Akbar in 1573 to the end of Alamgir's reign, was a period, on the whole, of strong government and peaceful administrative progress. After 1707, however, and more particularly after 1719, we find a decided and revolutionary change. We enter upon a period of civil strife and foreign invasion, involving progressive deterioration in the administrative system and continuous warfare, which must have dislocated economic activities and seriously affected the well-being and prosperity of this province, thereby largely discounting the proud claim made for it by Aurangzeb when he described it as 'the beauty and ornament of India.' These conditions lasted for about half a century during which the Marathas obtained an ever increasing hold over the province, until the surrender to them of Ahmadabad by Momin Khan II in 1758, after a final siege, marks the final collapse of Mughal sway in the province. The story of these fifty years, sad and troublous though it be, is not devoid of interest or of stirring events or of remarkable personalities. In this respect, it is in striking contrast to the turgid annals of the last twenty years in the history of the Saltanat from the death of Sultan Mahmud III in 1554 to the Mughal conquest in 1573.

Significance of the period, 1707-58

Prince Muhammad Azam, generally called Azam Tara, had great hopes of succeeding to the Empire when he left Gujarat at the end of 1705. He had been for long the favourite of his father and of the nobles and princes at the court, and the great vazir Asaf Khan was also believed to be in his favour. During the year that was left of the Emperor's life after Azam's arrival at the imperial camp at Ahmadnagar, there was intense rivalry between this Prince and his brother Kam Bakhsh, the son of the Udaipuri Rani, so that their aged sire was forced, a few days before his death, to send off his youngest son to Bijapur as governor while

Prince Muazzam becomes Emperor

Azam received orders to proceed to Malwa, where he was appointed viceroy. Four days after his departure, Azam received intimation of Aurangzeb's death on 20 Feb. 1707, and he immediately returned to the royal camp, where he won over the army and the nobles, proclaimed himself Emperor, and had coins struck in his own name.[1] He next marched to the north to meet his elder brother Prince Muazzam, then governor of the Punjab, in the civil conflict that was inevitable, for neither of them was prepared to accept the distribution of the provinces of the Empire made in his last will by Aurangzeb in the vain hope of averting the fratricidal strife which he anticipated, and which had been the curse of the Mughal Empire in India. At the battle of Jajau,[2] fought near Agra in June, 1707, Prince Azam was defeated and slain along with his son Prince Bidar Bakht.[3]

Reign of Bahadur Shah, 1707-12

The victorious brother was proclaimed Emperor and assumed the style of Bahadur Shah, Shah Alam (I), which latter title duly appears on the very few rupees of his reign struck at the Ahmadabad mint, and known to us.[4] The first noble to be sent to Gujarat as viceroy after the accession of Bahadur Shah was the famous commander-in-chief of Aurangzeb's reign, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang. This appointment again bears out the statement that some of the most illustrious names in the history of the Mughal Empire in India, under successive sovereigns, were connected at some time or other with the province of Gujarat. It was no doubt partly due to the importance attached to this province. But it was at the same time the result of the policy of frequent transfers of powerful generals and nobles who were often despatched to distant parts of the Empire to keep their ambitions under control. The newly appointed viceroy was the head of the 'Turani' party of the nobles

1 Prior to his defeat and death, and during his short term of usurpation, Prince Azam had caused coins to be struck in his name at Aurangabad, Burhanpur and Ahmadabad. A solitary rupee from the last named mint is in the coin cabinet of the British Museum. The obverse bears the Hijri year 1119 (A.D. 1707) and the couplet, 'The king of the realm, Azam Shah, struck money through the world with prosperity and majesty.' The reverse gives : 'Minted at Ahmadabad in the year 1 of the most noble reign.' (Geo. P. Taylor, *The Coins of Ahmadabad,* J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, 435).

2 Jajau is about 20 miles south of Agra and 30 miles north of Dholpur.

3 Prince Azam Shah's failure to attain Empire excites no regret. Manucci makes the following reference to his character : 'This prince is by nature very choleric, a debauchee, rough and discourteous to everybody, also avaricious.' (*Storia do Mogor*, trans. by Irvine, IV, 462).

4 These coins are, however, the first to bear on the obverse an inscription which, with the necessary change of name, continued in vogue through the reigns of nearly all the succeeding Mughal Emperors. It reads, 'Sikka Mubarak, Shah Alam Bahadur, Badshah Ghazi.' The reverse repeats the formula introduced by Aurangzeb : 'Struck at Ahmadabad in the year....of the reign of tranquil prosperity.'

at the court.[5] His name comes prominently to our notice in the later years of Aurangzeb's reign when, as commander-in-chief of Aurangzeb's army in the Deccan, he was encamped at Brahmapuri in 1701, and, under royal orders, secured the detention of the English ambassador, Sir William Norris, at that place for over a month. Exceptionally gifted and dignified, we are told that for the last twenty years of his life this noble was blind, or nearly so, but, in spite of this heavy disability, he continued his active career whether in command of an army or in charge of a province.[6] He was the father of the more famous nobleman who is known in Indian history under his titles of Chin Qilich Khan, Nizam-ul-Mulk, and Asaf Jah, who established, in the rapidly approaching decline of the Empire, the independent dynasty of the Nizams of Haidarabad in 1724.

Ghazi-ud-din Khan arrived at Ahmadabad in Sept., 1708, but his tenure of office did not last for more than two years, for he died there towards the end of 1710. An incident that took place in the capital of the province during his administration was of a religious character. The new Emperor held Shiah tenets, and orders were sent to Gujarat that, in the Friday public prayers for the sovereign, the word *wasi* or heir was to be added to the titles of the Caliph Ali in the recital of the names of the Prophet's successors. When the *khatib* at Ahmadabad, who led the prayers in the Jami Mosque, acted on the orders, protests were made by the Turani soldiers who came in the train of the viceroy, and he was warned not to repeat the title objected to. But, on his persisting in doing so the next week, he was dragged down and killed by a Muslim.[7] At this time, Bahadur Shah, having heard that the library of the Saiyids connected with Shah Alam's *rauza* at Ahmadabad contained a copy of the Quran written by the Imam Ali Taki, son of Musa Raza (A.D. 810-29), and having expressed a desire to see the sacred volume, the viceroy sent it with Abdul Hamid Khan to the Emperor who was encamped at Dhar on his return journey from the Deccan campaign against Kam Bakhsh.

Shiah tenets opposed in Jami mosque

5 Historians of this period invariably refer to two principal parties of the nobles at the court, *viz.*, (1) the 'Mughal' or 'Turani' or foreign party which included all adventurers who came from Persia or from beyond the Oxus. The Afghans were also included in this group. (2) The 'Hindustani' or home-born party was made up of Muslims born in India, many of them being descendants in the second or third generation of foreign immigrants. The Rajput and Jat chiefs attached themselves to this party, as did also the official Khatri class of the Panjab. (W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, 272-75).

6 A detailed reference to his blindness and its causes is made in his *Journal* by the English Ambassador Sir W. Norris. According to W. Irvine, he lost his sight in an epidemic which raged in the army under his command. (*Later Mughals*, I, 270).

7 In 1711, Bahadur Shah attempted in person to have this form of the *Khutba* recited in the Jami Masjid at Lahore, but his order was opposed by the learned men and the nobles and the idea was abandoned to prevent a popular outbreak backed by the army. (W. Irvine, op. cit., I, 130-1).

Ghazi-ud-din Khan's health had now begun to fail, and, when he marched out of his capital to collect the tribute from the ruler of Danta, now in the Banas Kantha district, he was taken seriously ill at that place and died after his return to Ahmadabad on 28th November, 1710. As he had not submitted satisfactory accounts, his entire property was, by royal orders, confiscated. Amanat Khan,[8] the governor of Surat, was instructed to take charge of affairs at the capital till the arrival of the next Subahdar, and the title of Shahamat Khan was conferred upon him. He reached Ahmadabad in May, 1711, and, at his request, the Emperor sanctioned the expenditure of one lakh of rupees every month from the local treasury for collecting forces and artillery to meet the rising danger from Maratha incursions in the province. The same year, Khanderao Dabhade penetrated with his army as far as Broach, but Shahamat Khan led his troops boldly to the south, defeated the Marathas severely near Ankleswar, and forced them to withdraw to the borders of Khandesh. Saiyid Ahmad Gilani, the fauzdar of Sorath, had, at the summons of the viceroy, joined that officer with his troops, and he thus also contributed to the defeat of the enemy.[9] This year saw, for the first time, civil strife at Ahmadabad between the troops of Shahamat Khan and Muhammad Beg Khan, which was ultimately ended by the intervention of Safdar Khan Babi and the royal Bakshir, Meher Ali Khan.

Amanat Khan keeps the Marathas at bay, 1711

Not less than five imperial farmans, issued in the name of the Emperor Bahadur Shah (Shah Alam I) in favour of Maharaja Ajitsingh of Marwar, have been found in the State archives of Jodhpur, and they cover the years 1709 to 1711. One of these (19 April 1710), acknowledges the Maharaja's petition, sent through Muazam Khan, the Khan-i-Khanan, and conveys the grant of the royal pardon and the restoration of Jodhpur to Ajit Singh on promise of future obedience, while Mairta is declared to be annexed to the Khalsa lands. The last, dated 12 Nov. 1711, is important for our purpose, for it bestows the Fauzdari of Sorath in the Subah of Ahmadabad, which was previously held by Iradat Khan, on the Maharaja. The majority of these Farmans bear the seal of Asaf-ud-daulah Asad Khan, the Vazir of the Empire.[10]

Farmans for Maharaja Ajitsingh

8 The name of Amanat Khan appears as that of the viceroy in a legal document registering a complicated transaction about a sub-mortgage executed at Ahmadabad in 1711-12 (Samvat 1768) during the reign of the Emperor Bahadur Shah, when Shariyat Khan was the Badshahi Diwan (P. C. Diwanji's paper *Three Gujarati Legal Documents of the Mughal Period* in Journal *Gujarat Research Society*, Jan., 1942, pp. 24-27).

9 Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, 299; also Vol. I, Pt. I, 297.

10 Paper by Pandit B. N. Rieu of Jodhpur in Proceedings of the Indian History Congress for 1947, pp. 352-53.

The Emperor Bahadur Shah died at Lahore in February 1712, having occupied the throne for less than five years, and he was succeeded by his son Jahandar Shah, one of those worthless princes who now began to disgrace the Mughal throne.[11] Ten months later, this ruler was deposed and slain by his nephew Farrukh-siyar who ascended the throne, on 31 Dec. 1712, with the help of the famous Barha Saiyids, Abdullah Khan and Husain Ali Khan, who played the role of king-makers during the next eight years till their power was overthrown in 1720 at the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Shah. Abdullah Khan was now appointed the vazir of the Empire under the title of Qutb-ul-Mulk while his brother Husain Ali Khan was made Amir-ul-umra and Mir Bakhshi and put in charge of the Deccan provinces. Shahamat Khan, who was in charge of the Subah of Malwa, was appointed as Subahdar of Gujarat and he arrived at Ahmadabad on June 3, 1713, where he received a royal farman directed to him.

Farrukh-siyar as Emperor, 1713-19

When Bahadur Shah, after his accession, had marched into Rajputana in 1708, the Maharaja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur had tendered submission and personally offered allegiance to the Emperor in his camp at Mairta.[12] But, four years later, in the confusion that followed the death of this Emperor, Ajit Singh's attitude became again hostile. Ejecting the Mughal officers from Jodhpur, he entered imperial territory and took Ajmer. Early in Farrukh-siyar's reign, it was decided to chastise him, and the conduct of the campaign was entrusted to the powerful Amir-ul-umra, Saiyid Husain Ali Khan (Nov., 1713). The latter advanced into the heart of Rajputana with a strong army and Ajit Singh was compelled to seek refuge in flight, as his capital Jodhpur was in danger. He started negotiations, which were concluded in May 1714, under which the Maharaja agreed to give his daughter in marriage to the Emperor and to send his eldest son Abhay Singh to the court with Husain Ali Khan.[13] By the irony of history, the son of Jaswant Singh, who had been cruelly persecuted and deprived of his patrimony for a generation by Aurangzeb's policy, was from this time forward till 1722 in close alliance with the Empire, and destined to play a leading part in the shifting politics at the imperial capital. He gave his daughter in marriage to the Emperor, and later we find him twice appointed to the high office of Subahdar of Gujarat.

War against Ajit Singh, 1713-14

11 Under Jahandar Shah, Asad Khan was appointed Subahdar of Gujarat. But he remained at Delhi and his favourite Muhammad Beg Khan, and after him, Sarbuland Khan, were appointed as his Deputies, while Shahamat Khan was sent to Malwa as viceroy. (1712).

12 W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, 48. Mairta is a district town under Jodhpur about 9 miles S. E. from Merta Road on the Jodhpur-Bikaner Railway.

13 ibid, I, 285-90.

Shahamat Khan was displaced within a few months and his successor in Gujarat was another famous noble, Daud Khan Panni, who had made his name as a general during Aurangzeb's campaigns in the Deccan. After the accession of Farrukhsiyar, the Deccan provinces had been transferred to Saiyid Husain Ali Khan, and the latter had appointed Daud Khan as his deputy until his own arrival in the Deccan. Marching from Aurangabad with speed, the new viceroy reached Ahmadabad in October, 1713 and assumed office. Daud Khan's name was famous for his courage in the field and his stern discipline over his Afghan troops, but he preferred the outdoor life of a soldier to the duties of civil administration, and lived under canvas in his tents on the Sabarmati river in preference to the palace in the Bhadra. Entrusting all civil matters to Deccani Brahmans he spent his time in witnessing animal fights and in hunting with his greyhounds.[14] The principal event of interest during his period of office was a communal riot that broke out at Ahmadabad, an account of which will be given below. In July, 1715, Daud Khan left Ahmadabad on being appointed by the Emperor to the charge of Burhanpur, with secret instructions to resist the powerful Saiyid Husain Ali who had gone to the south as viceroy of the Deccan provinces.[15] Muhammad Firuz Khan Jalori of Palanpur acted as deputy in Gujarat till the arrival of Maharaja Ajit Singh as Daud Khan's successor.

Daud Khan Panni as viceroy, 1713-15

The *Holi* festival of the Hindus in the spring of 1714 was the occasion of serious communal riots that broke out at Ahmadabad in this year. The events which precipitated the outbreak have, however, been variously described by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* and in the history known as the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*. The centre of the disturbance was the Jhaverivada, or Jewellers' quarter, where stood the mansions (*havelis*) of Madan Gopal,[16] Kapurchand Bhansali, and many other wealthy shroffs and money-lenders of this city. At the time of the *Holi* festival, one Hariram, the agent of Madan Gopal, had invited to his house a large party of friends to celebrate the holiday in the usual bacchanalian manner, when a Muslim passer-by received their attentions and was besprinkled with red powder and mud.[17] This man and his companions, thereupon,

Communal riots at Ahmadabad, 1714

[14] In 1714, during his expedition into Kathiawar as far as Navanagar, for the collection of tribute, the viceroy married the daughter of Raj Jaswantsinghji, the Chief of Halvad in Jhalawar.

[15] Daud Khan was killed in a battle near Burhanpur in which Husain Ali was victorious (August, 1715).

[16] Madan Gopal was a wealthy shroff from the north who had come to Gujarat with Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jung.

[17] This is the version given in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. According to the *Siyar*, a Hindu, in spite of objections made, performed the ceremony of the *Holi* in his own house-yard, part of which was connected with some Muslim houses. The next day, the Muslims brought a cow in that yard and killed her. Transported by religious fury, the Hindus of the quarter collected and forced the Muslims to fly for their lives. They also sought

raised a hue and cry and sought the help of one Muhammad Ali, a divine who was at the time famous in the city for his eloquent sermons. The crowd found its way to the Jami Masjid, and its strength increased when Mulla Abdul Aziz, the head of the Sunni Bohras, arrived there with the members of his community. A large number of Daud Khan Panni's Afghan soldiers also joined the multitude. The mob next proceeded to the house of the city Qazi, Khairullah Khan, but he shut himself up and did not wish to meddle in the affair as he knew that the viceroy, Daud Khan, supported the Hindus. Inflicting damage on his residence, and taking the Qazi in their charge, the rioters proceeded to loot the shops and to burn the houses in the Hindu locality till they were checked by the armed retainers of Kapurchand Bhansali, the leading citizen of Ahmadabad, who was a man of great influence with the viceroy. After the tumult had subsided, the Muslims, who thought themselves aggrieved, sent Muhammad Ali, the preacher, and Mulla Abdul Aziz, the Bohra leader, to place their complaints before the Emperor. On the other hand, the Subahdar, Daud Khan Panni, deputed Kapurchand to the court after providing him with an account of the entire episode, signed by himself, the Qazi, the crown officers, and the commander of the troops, which certified that the Hindus were not in the wrong and that the Muslims had been the aggressors. There are conflicting versions of what took place at Delhi.[18]

Momin Khan Dehlami as governor of Surat

In 1714, a Persian noble entitled Momin Khan arrived in Gujarat from Delhi, being appointed as mutasaddi or governor of Surat, besides being given the post of fauzdar at Baroda, Petlad, Nadiad and Dholka. Placing his deputies at all these four places, he proceeded himself to Surat. His name deserves special notice, for his descendants, bearing the same famous title, were to play a leading part in the political history of Gujarat during the generation that preceded the collapse of the Mughal power in the province. At Surat, he had differences with Zia Khan, the Killedar of the Castle. Both summoned their partisans, and there was some armed conflict between their forces near Broach, but the commander of the Castle had ultimately to give way. In Dec., 1715, Momin Khan was displaced at Surat by Haider Quli Khan, but, on the latter's transfer early in 1718, he was again appointed to this post where he remained for several years. In 1723 an army sent by him against Pilaji Gaikwad, who had entered the Athavisi, was defeated. In the next year (June,

the butcher who had slaughtered the cow, but not finding him they dragged the butcher's son, a youth of fourteen, into that very yard, and killed him. The riots in the city followed. (*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, Eng. trans. I, 98-99).

18 Bombay Gazetter, Vol. I, Part I, 298 ; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, trans. by J. Briggs (1832), I, 98-101. According to the *Siyar*, the Muslim deputies were put into prison through the influence of one Raja Ratanchand, the friend and adviser of Saiyid Abdulla, the powerful vazir of the Empire. According to the *Mirat*, Kapurchand was put under arrest by the Emperor's orders. The leaders on both sides, however, made up their differences and thus secured their release.

1724), he was appointed to the high office of Diwan of the Subah of Gujarat, and he held the same till his death at Ahmadabad in 1727. After him, his brother Abdul Gani Khan was appointed by the court to succeed him in this post. In 1729, his son-in-law[19] was invested by the Emperor with the title of Momin Khan, and this noble was destined, under the style of Momin Khan (I) Najm-ud-daulah, to be Subahdar of the province from 1737 to 1743, and to be the founder of the independent dynasty of the Nawabs of Cambay.

Ajit Singh as viceroy, 1715-17

On the transfer of Daud Khan Panni to the Deccan war, the Emperor Farrukh-siyar appointed Raj-Rajeshwar Maharaja Ajit Singh as the viceroy of Gujarat, while his eldest son Abhay Singh was made the fauzdar or governor of Sorath. The Maharaja sent Vijayaraj Bhandari as his own deputy, and Fatehsingh Kayast as his son's, and they reached Ahmadabad in July, 1715. Haidar Quli Khan was appointed diwan of Gujarat and his name was to be intimately connected with the political history of the province during the next few years. Several months after his appointment to the province, Ajit Singh arrived in person at the Shahi Bagh from Jodhpur with a large army, on 22 February 1716, and on an auspicious day entered the Bhadra citadel. With him came his trusted Muslim adviser and minister, Nahar Khan, who had been the intermediary between the Jodhpur ruler and the Mughal power during their hostile relations in previous years.[20] Ajit's government lasted for about two years and there are no political events of note during this period. We are told, however, that his Marwadi officials in the capital were oppressive and for that reason unpopular. An incident which nearly ended in another serious communal riot at Ahmadabad took place in 1716. On the occasion of the 'Id festival, the Bohras of the Kalupur ward had collected a large number of cows and buffaloes for sacrificial purposes. A Muslim havildar on duty, impelled by pity, or with an eye to the fact that the Subahdar was now a Hindu, secured by force the release of a cow that was intended for this purpose. There was great excitement among the Bohras who gathered in strength and carried their complaints to the Qazi of the city, Khairullah Khan. As no immediate orders were passed by the viceroy's officials, plunder and riots were imminent. To prevent developments, several peace lovers induced the Maharaja to send an assurance to the Qazi that the Muslims were free to carry out the rites of their religion.[21]

19 The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* wrongly calls him his son (Vol. II, Guj. trans., p. 136). This noble's correct name, as gathered from the epitaph on his tomb, was Mirza Muhammad Najm-i-Sani. (Chaghatai, *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad*, 99). According to genuine family tradition, he was the son-in-law of Momin Khan Dehlami, the governor of Surat, whose title he inherited (Bom. Gazttr., VI, Cambay, 221-22).

20 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 1-3. All references to this Persian history in this and the succeeding chapters are to the Gujarati translation of Vol. II of the text (Ed. by Nawab Ali) made in four Parts by Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri (1933-36).

21 ibid, pp. 7-8.

Haidar Quli Khan,[22] an intrepid commander, appears to have been a very influential person, for, besides the post of diwan of the province given to him, he was made mutasaddi of Surat and Cambay and fauzdar of Baroda, Broach, Nandod and Arhar-Matar. He elected, however, to take up the lucrative office of the gov rnor of Surat and appointed deputies at all the other places.[23] At Surat, his name is still perpetuated by the extensive city-wall, known as the *Alampanah*, which was built by his orders and the foundation of which was laid in 1716. In this year died Mulla Abdul Ghafur, the famous Bohra merchant of Surat, whose name finds frequent mention in the English Factory records in connection with the capture of his ships by European pirates. As the greatest and richest merchant in the province he enjoyed the title of *Umdat-ul-tujjar*. On his death, Haidar Quli Khan confiscated his vast property estimated at 85 lakhs of rupees. But the late merchant's son, Mulla Abdul Hai, proceeded to the court where he established his claim as heir to his father's estate and secured a royal order for the restoration of the property.[24] On his leaving the court he received a dress of honour, an elephant and the title of Muhammad Ali.

Haidar Quli Khan as governor of Surat, 1716-18

There is little doubt that the outer city-walls of Surat (the *Alampanah*), mentioned above, were built by Haidar Quli Khan to protect the city from the terror of the Maratha invasions after the serious danger that threatened the inhabitants in 1703 and 1711. The construction of this fortification is recorded in a beautiful inscription in Persian verse, carved in relief on a long slab of white marble, which was found some thirty years ago in the 'Mughal Sarai' building at Surat, and which is now located in the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay.[25] This slab was probably originally fixed in the walls of the city and it is fortunate that it escaped destruction after it became detached from its setting. The epigraph refers to the construction, by the orders of Farrukh-siyar, of a fortification at Surat 'to secure the people from attacks by land and sea.' Strangely enough, no date is given and there is no reference to the name of the builder. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, however, definitely states that Haidar Quli Khan laid the foundation of the *Alampanah* at Surat in 1716 and

City walls of Surat: the *Alampanah*

22 Haidar Quli Khan was appointed to Surat as governor on 28 December 1715 and was summoned to the court from Gujarat on 20 June 1718 (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, 414 *n.*)

23 In 1716, the fauzdari of Sorath (Suarashtra) also was given to Haider Quli Khan on the transfer of Kunvar Abhay Singh, the son of Ajit Singh.

24 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 6-7.

25 This marble slab was discovered by Mr. R. D. Banerji of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1921. It measures 5'7" × 10" × 4". On the back of the slab are four sculptured panels, one over the other, representing Hindu or Jaina deities. This shows that the slab was once a pillar in some Hindu or Jaina temple, which, after its removal, was sawn lengthwise and the inscription carved on its flat side. (Paper entitled *Two Persian Inscriptions from Surat* by C. R. Singhal in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1925-26, pp. 12-13.)

that the ceremony was performed by Saiyid Akil Khan. We may, therefore, presume that these extensive city walls were commenced by him when he was governor, though completed several years later. There is a tradition that he utilised the stones of the Gopi Talao in the construction of the wall, which shows that this famous reservoir, once the pride of the city, built in the time of Sultan Muzaffar II by his Hindu governor Gopi at Surat, had dried up by 1716. Two of the verses of the Persian inscription are rendered below:

> 'The Emperor of the world, the world-conquering sun, Farrukh-siyar, whose subjects are the skies and whose army the stars, ordered the building of a fortification at Surat, so that people might live secure from attacks by land and sea.'

The reign of the Emperor Farrukh-siyar is also of special interest in the history of the East India Company at Surat, for in 1716 its Factory secured from him an imperial farman under which the English were permitted to commute all customs-duties to be paid at this port for an annual contribution (*peshkash*) of ten thousand rupees. An English translation of this document is preserved in the Surat Diaries.[26] This farman is directed to the jagirdars, fauzdars, and other officers at Ahmadabad, Surat and Cambay, and states that the Agents of the English had represented to His Majesty that in the reign of Shah Jahan they paid a customs-duty of 2 per cent. at Surat, and that it was 3½ per cent. in the reign of Aurangzeb, and 2½ per cent. in the reign of Bahadur Shah, and further that, owing to ill-treatment and oppression, they had not been able to carry on any trade in that port for three years past. They also pointed out that in the provinces of Bihar and Orissa the English paid no duties, while in Bengal the customs duties had been commuted for a sum of three thousand rupees annually. They requested, therefore, that in Surat also, as in other ports, their customs might be commuted into an annual present, and for this privilege they promised to pay the sum of ten thousand rupees. This request was granted, and the officials were directed that all goods brought ashore by the English should be suffered to pass without any hindrance or vexation. If robbers seized their goods, they were to be captured and the goods redelivered, and wherever the English had established their factories they should be favoured and assisted in the purchase and sale of their merchandise.

Farman of Farrukh-siyar for the English

In 1717, Maharaja Ajit Singh marched into the peninsula to establish order and to collect the usual tribute from its chiefs. Owing to his excessive demands, he met with armed resistance at Navanagar but managed to enforce his demands. Thereafter, he visited Dwarka, the holy centre for Hindu pilgrimage. Meanwhile, the Emperor, having received com-

Ajit Singh recalled. 1717

26 It was not till 7 March 1736 that the Surat Council decided to insert a translation of this royal Farman in the registers of the Surat Factory for all references in future (Gense & Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, I, 21-22.)

plaints of oppression by the Marwari officials, appointed the great noble Khan Dauran, Samsam-ud-daulah, a mansabdar of seven thousand, as viceroy in place of Ajit Singh, with Abdul Hamid Khan as his deputy (25 May 1717). News of his supercession reached Ajit Singh when he arrived at Sarkhej, near Ahmadabad, on his return from the tribute-collecting expedition. Expecting that the Maharaja might contest the imperial orders, Abdul Hamid Khan busied himself with strengthening the defences of the city and mounting artillery at the gates. Ajit Singh advanced from Sarkhej and established his camp at the Shahi Bagh with intention of giving battle. But his most trusted adviser, Nahar Khan, now joined him from the city, and by his efforts succeeded in inducing the Maharaja to retire to Jodhpur without a contest (June 10, 1717).[27]

Farrukh-siyar's farmans for Ajit Singh

Maharaja Ajit Singh of Marwar had, after his reconciliation, stood high in favour at the imperial court during the reign of the Emperor Farrukh-siyar from 1714 to 1717, both as the leading Rajput noble of the time and as the father-in-law of the Emperor. It is, therefore, not surprising that several farmans issued during this reign and addressed to the Maharaja have been preserved in the office of the Mir Munshi at Jodhpur. Three of these deserve to be mentioned. A farman issued on 15 Feb., 1714 conveys to Ajit Singh the royal pardon for his faults, and the restoration of his former rank and state, according to an order sent through Saiyid Husain Ali Khan. Another, in the third year of the accession (9 Dec., 1715), is a patent appointing the Maharaja as the subahdar of the province of Ahmadabad in succession to Daud Khan. It desires Ajit Singh to attend to the proper management of his charge and the good of the people, to ban intoxicants, to render justice, and to punish wicked persons. A third farman, issued probably at the end of 1717, acknowledges a letter sent by Ajit Singh in which he had stated that, after his return from Dwarka, he had left Ahmadabad, and had arrived at Jodhpur without any halt, and that he was on the march to Delhi to pay his respects. The Emperor assures Ajit Singh that he was a true friend and that it would give him great pleasure to meet the Maharaja ; also that he was much worried about the affairs of the State and would explain the reasons personally. In this farman, Ajit Singh is addressed as 'the best among the Rajas of Hindustan,' and the document bears on its reverse the autograph of the Emperor himself.[28]

[27] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Guj. trans.), II, 15-16.

[28] Paper by Pandit B. N. Rieu in Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1947, pp. 353-55.

Khan Dauran (Samsam-ud-daulah)[29] was far too powerful and important a nobleman at the court of Delhi to be willing to leave the imperial capital, and, during the short period that he nominally held office as viceroy the administration was carried on by his deputies. In 1717 Abdul Hamid Khan issued orders to the effect that the weekly Bazar (*gujri*) held at Ahmadabad, in the open square in front of the Triple Gateway, should be held not on Tuesdays but on Fridays, the Muslim sabbath day, as was the practice upto the end of Aurangzeb's reign.[30]

Khan Dauran as viceroy: Haidar Quli Khan as deputy 1717-19

In Dec., 1717, an order arrived from Samsam-ud-daulah appointing Haidar Quli Khan, the governor of Surat, as his deputy in Gujarat. The latter nobleman left Surat on Jan. 22, 1718 for the purpose, and, when encamped near Vatva, a serious skirmish took place between his troops and those of the powerful local noble, Safdar Khan Babi,[31] in which the Babi's forces, consisting mostly of Kolis and Kasbatis, were routed by the trained soldiers of the deputy viceroy. The strife arose from trifling causes, but it is probable that the ambition and rivalry of the leaders had precipitated it. Anyhow, the event is ominous of the civil strife among the Muslim nobles that was within a few years to become chronic in the province. Later on, a reconciliation between the two nobles was effected through the intervention of Muhammad Firuz Khan Jalori, the ruler of Palanpur. Haidar Quli next marched to the Shahi Bagh, where he stayed for a month and a half, after which he entered the Bhadra at Ahmadabad on 6 April 1718. He later proceeded to the pargana of Baroda and the Mahi region to overawe the Kolis and to maintain order. Here he learned that the charge of Gujarat had been taken from Samsam-ud-daulah, and he, thereafter, left for the court some time in June of the same year.[32] He returned to Gujarat three years later (1721) as Subahdar of the province. Two domestic events during his short administration deserve to be mentioned.

The year 1718 (Samvat 1774) was long remembered by the people of the capital on account of the severe famine which afflicted the land.[33] The price of *bajri* rose to four sers per rupee and stocks were not available. Under the orders of Haidar Quli Khan, all grain brought into the capital was to be taken to the residence of Raghunathdas, the diwan, and sold there under control. The scanty rainfall had produced only green

Famine in Gujarat, 1718

29 Samsam-ud-daulah, Khan Dauran, was one of the most powerful nobles at the Mughal court from the time of Farrukh-siyar to his death at the battle of Karnal in 1739. He was the head of the 'Hindustani' party in opposition to the 'Mughal' or 'Turani' group. It was through him that the great Rajput and Jat nobles submitted their requests to the Emperor. (W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, 264-65.)

30 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Guj. trans.), II, 16-17.

31 Safdar Khan was the ancestor of the ruling Babi families which were established at Junagadh, Radhanpur and Balasinor on the collapse of Mughal authority in Gujarat.

32 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 17-18, 26-27.

33 This famine was popularly known as *Chumoterio* (*i.e.*, the affliction of the Samvat year 1774).

weeds, which the hungry people cooked and devoured, so that disease and cholera broke out, and carried off large numbers. The Persian historian says that children were sold by their parents for one or two rupees during this dire calamity.[34]

Another event was the construction in this year of a fine step-well at Surat, in one corner of the hollow area formerly occupied by the Gopi Talao, as is mentioned in two Persian inscriptions carved on slabs fixed in the well, which may still be seen. These are almost identical in their purport and record the fact that the step-well was constructed 'during the reign of the Emperor Farruk-siyar, the Second Alamgir, by Mir Alam, the sincere friend of Haidar Quli Khan, in the year H. 1130 (A.D. 1718)' and that the bricks were taken from an old temple. The identity of Mir Alam cannot be ascertained. The *wav* is now in a semi-dilapidated condition.[35]

Revolution at Delhi: Ajit again as viceroy, 1719-21

The year 1719 is remembered in the history of the Mughal Empire for the successive political revolutions that took place at Delhi, leading to the deposition and death of a number of feeble emperors by the all-powerful Saiyid brothers. The first emperor to be dethroned and to meet a violent death was Farrukh-siyar after a disgraceful reign of about six years (1713-19). He had long been plotting to shake off the yoke of the Saiyids, but his incapacity and lack of decision failed to attach any of the powerful nobles to his cause. He summoned his father-in-law, Ajit Singh, from Jodhpur, in the hope of securing Rajput support, but the Maharaja had definitely committed himself to the cause of his enemies. Matters reached a crisis towards the end of 1718 when the vazir, Saiyid Abdulla Khan, who had the title of Qutb-ul-Mulk, sent urgent messages to his brother Husain Ali Khan, who was then in the Deccan, that his power and his life were both in danger. The latter, thereupon, arrived with his troops at Delhi by forced marches, accompanied by a large army of Maratha cavalry which was sent under the Peshwa Balaji Vishvanath by the orders of Shahu Raja. After this, Farrukh-siyar's days were numbered. He was deposed and imprisoned in his palace (Feb., 1719) and put to death with revolting cruelty two months later. The Saiyids next put on the throne two young princes (Rafi-ud-darajjat and Rafi-ud-daula), both physical wrecks, whose combined reign lasted for about nine months. Maharaja Ajit Singh was now rewarded with the viceroyalty of Gujarat for his loyalty to the king-makers, and, till he should go there, Meher Ali Khan was appointed to act at Ahmadabad as his deputy.

34 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 23.
35 *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica for 1933-34* (Supplt.), 1937, pp. 41-42.

The names of the two puppet emperors Rafi-ud-darajjat and Rafi-ud-daulah would hardly be of much interest in the history of Gujarat but for the fact that the author of the *Mirat* has reproduced three Farmans issued in their names to the officers of the province, and which were evidently found by the historian in the records of the diwan's office at Ahmadabad. Though sent in the Emperor's name, they were all forwarded by Saiyid Abdulla Khan and the second was directly prompted by Maharaja Ajit Singh who was then at Delhi. Rafi-ud-darajjat was placed on the throne on Feb. 18, 1719 and his farman for Gujarat bears the same date (9th of Rabi II, H. 1131) with the seal and the full titles of Saiyid Abdulla, Qutb-ul-Mulk. It is addressed to Meher Ali Khan, the deputy of Ajit Singh in Gujarat, and, after referring to the fate of Farrukh-siyar, 'in consequence of his misdeeds,' it conveys the desire of the new ruler that the nazim and diwan of the province and their officials should perform the duties of their office with zeal for the welfare of the people and the good of the state, and that all jagirs should be continued to their holders, as formerly, without demanding any new sanads. The historian further informs us that coins were struck in the mint at Ahmadabad bearing the following legend according to instructions sent from the court: 'The King of Kings of the land and the sea, Rafi-ud-darajjat, had this coin struck in Hind with a thousand blessings.' On March 20, 1719, Nahar Khan, who had, as usual, been the intermediary between Ajit Singh and Qutb-ul-Mulk, was appointed Diwan of the province of Gujarat.[36]

Rafi-ud-darajjat's Farmans

Another farman sent to Gujarat, in the name of the same nominal Emperor, with the seal of Qutb-ul-mulk, was dated 21 March 1719 and addressed to Nahar Khan as the diwan of the province. It was to the effect that a request submitted by Raja Ajit Singh for the abolition of the jaziya tax had been received with a despatch from Umdat-ul-mulk, Bakhshi-ul-mamalik, Amir-ul-umara. These were the titles and offices of the all-powerful Saiyid Husain Ali originally conferred upon him by the Emperor Farrukh-siyar. The farman states that the Raja's request had been granted and accordingly orders the diwan that the tax collectors of the city of Ahmadabad and of various mahals under the subah of Gujarat should be stopped from demanding this tax and that they should not trouble any one on that account.[37]

The Jaziya Tax abolished, 1719

The fact that Ahmadabad has been variously described as *Dar-al-Khilafat* (the seat of the Caliphate) and *Dar-as-Saltanat* (the seat of the Empire) on some coins of Akbar's reign, has been already referred to in this work. But numismatists have come across a coin issued from the Ahmadabad mint which bears an appellation for this capital which is still more ar-

Ahmadabad, 'the Beauty of Cities'

[36] W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, 258 ; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 28-30.

[37] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 31.

resting and pleasing, to wit, *Zinat-ul-Bilad*, 'the Beauty of Cities'. Strangely enough, the coin with this laudatory epithet was issued during the brief and insignificant reign of the puppet Emperor Rafi-ud-darajjat, who held the throne for little over six months in the Hijri year 1131 (A.D. 1719), and of which reign only two rupees struck at the Ahmadabad mint are known so far to numismatists. Mr. Rodgers, who discovered the first, but an enigmatic specimen, wrote : '*Zinat-ul-Bilad* has no town's name attached to it, so the mint is not known,' and the coin is entered as 'unique' in the Lahore Museum Catalogue.[38] The identity of its mint-town thus remained a mystery, and the credit of discovering that it was Ahmadabad, belongs to the late Dr. Geo. P. Taylor, who found a duplicate rupee in this very city :

> 'Judge of my delight,' he says, 'when one day I picked up in the bazar a quite ordinary looking rupee, and read on its reverse this very title, while in the line above stood out, in letters each one perfectly clear and distinct, the word 'Ahmadabad.' So the mystery was thus in a moment cleared up, and the good old city, so unsparingly defamed by Jahangir, can after all lay claim to the proud title of the 'Beauty of Towns.' Indeed, this claim is now proven for all time, and established beyond possibility of appeal, by the mute evidence of this single unpretentious silver coin.'[39]

It is gratifying confirmation to find that the exact words of the couplet on this ruler's coins, as mentioned by the Persian historian in the *Mirat*, are reproduced on these two silver specimens. The distich on the obverse runs :

> *Rafi-al-Darajjat, Emperor of the sea and the land,*
> *Struck coin in India with a thousand blessings.*

The reverse of the coin found by Dr. Taylor furnishes the honorific epithet for this capital city. Read from below upwards, the legend runs, 'In the year 1 of the reign of tranquil prosperity: Struck at Ahmadabad, the Beauty of Towns.'[40]

Rafi-ud-darajjat died of consumption on or about 28 May 1719, and, agreeably to his last wishes, but more because it suited their purpose, the Saiyids raised his elder brother Prince Muhammad Rafi-ud-daulah to the throne. Farmans issued in his name and announcing the event were sent to all the provinces of the Empire, and one was received by Nahar Khan, the diwan of the Subah of Gujarat. It is a long document which, after stating that the new ruler had assumed the name and style of Shah Jahan (II) Badshah, gives the usual injunctions to the officials to protect the raiyat, to help the poor and needy, to provide for the safety of travellers, and to maintain law and order. It also conveys an order that new coins

Orders in the name of Rafi-ud-daulah, 1719

[38] Lahore Museum Catalogue, p. 2071, No. 4.

[39] G. P. Taylor, *Some Coins illustrating the History of Gujarat*, (Gujarat College Magazine, Jan., 1919, pp. 93-94.)

[40] *The Coins of Ahmadabad*, Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX (1902), 436-37; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 30.

were to be struck in the mint at Ahmadabad bearing the simple legend: 'The auspicious coin of Shah Jahan Badshah Ghazi.' Among other events of this period, we find that Ajit Singh was confirmed at Delhi in his office as Subahdar of Gujarat, and Nahar Khan, his diwan, was now given in addition the fauzdari of Dholka and Petlad. An order also arrived for the attachment of the residence of Jhaveri Kapurchand Bhansali, who was evidently not a *persona grata* with the Subahdar or his lieutenants. The Maharaja's daughter, the widow of the murdered Farrukh-siyar, had been restored to Ajit Singh and sent to Jodhpur, and orders were received from the court that the sum of 18,000 rupees per month, which had been fixed (no doubt by the Saiyids) for her allowance, should be forwarded to her from the royal treasury at Ahmadabad. In the previous reign, a sum of five lakhs of rupees had been sanctioned for being sent for distribution at the holy centres of Mecca and Medina, and of this amount three lakhs had already been given to Muhammad Hafiz Khan, the darogha at Surat, and orders now came for the remaining two lakhs to be granted to him.[41]

Early coinage of Muhammad Shah's reign

The puppet Emperor Rafi-ud-daulah's constitution had been enfeebled by addiction to opium, and when he died within three months of his accession, the Saiyids raised Prince Roshan Akhtar, a grandson of Bahadur Shah, to the throne, and proclaimed him Emperor under the title of Muhammad Shah (Sept., 18, 1719). The new ruler was only eighteen years of age, and, though little expected at the time, he reigned for the next thirty years till his death in 1748. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* states that, on the occasion of his accession, coins were struck for some time bearing the following legend : 'The monarch of the Age (*Badshah Zaman*), Muhammad Shah, caused coins to be struck in the world by the grace of God,' but that, shortly after, the inscription on the coinage was changed to 'Muhammad Shah *Badshah Ghazi*.'[42] This statement is supported by numismatic evidence. Muhammad Shah began to reign only some six weeks before the close of the year 1131 Hijri, and muhrs and rupees of the rare 'Badshah Zaman' type are known to have been issued from the Surat mint dated that year and the following. 'Before the close, however, of the first year of Muhammad Shah's reign,' says Dr. Taylor, 'this new-fangled legend, which had nowhere indeed won acceptance save at the Surat mint, was abandoned, and thereupon Surat, falling into line with the other imperial mints, began to issue coins bearing that 'Badshah Ghazi' inscription which remained till the close of Muhammad Shah's reign, some thirty years later, the norm for the imperial currency.'[43]

41 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 33-35.
42 ibid, 37-40.
43 Geo. P. Taylor, *The Coins of Surat*, J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXII, 265. The coin cabinet of this author had also nine silver rupees of this reign struck at the mint at Ahmadabad, bearing the legend 'Sikka mubarak Badshah Ghazi.' Only a few copper coins (Fulus) issued from this mint during this reign have come to light (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, 437).

Murder of Kapurchand Bhansali, 1720

After Muhammad Shah's enthronement on 18 Sept., 1719, Maharaja Ajit Singh retained the post of Subahdar of Gujarat to which he had been appointed by the Saiyid king-makers, but, as he continued to stay at Delhi, Meher Ali Khan functioned as the viceroy's deputy, and the accession of the new ruler was publicly announced at Ahmadabad by that officer and coins were struck and the *Khutba* read in the Emperor's name. In April, 1720, Anupsingh Bhandari arrived at the capital as the newly appointed deputy of the Maharaja, along with Nahar Khan and other officials. His administration at Ahmadabad was oppressive and money was extorted from the people by heavy fines on false charges. Kapurchand Bhansali, the wealthy magnate of the city, whom the author of the *Mirat* calls the Nagarsheth, constituted himself the champion of the oppressed, and did what he could to dissuade the Bhandari from this policy; but Ajit Singh's deputy, relying upon the Maharaja's friendship with the Saiyid brothers, flouted his advice. Kapurchand soon came to know that Anupsingh was planning to get him out of the way and he, therefore, engaged a body of 500 horse and foot for the protection of his person and property. This bodyguard accompanied him when he went out on foot ostensibly to offer prayers at the Jain temple in the suburb of Behrampur. With the help of his men, Kapurchand used to secure the release of all those citizens who happened to be taken into custody by the insolent and oppressive Marwari officials of the deputy-viceroy. Anupsingh at last procured the murder of the Nagarsheth with the help of a Muslim, who stabbed him to death with his knife (1720).[44]

APPENDIX

Mughal Viceroys of Gujarat from 1707 to 1730

1.	Ibrahim Khan	1707-08
2.	Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur Firuz Jung	1708-10
3.	Asaf-ud-daulah Asad Khan (by deputies)	1712
4.	Shahamat Khan (Amanat Khan)	1713
5.	Daud Khan Panni	1713-15
6.	Maharaja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur	1715-17
7.	Khan Dauran: Haider Quli Khan as deputy	1717-19
8.	Maharaja Ajit Singh (again) : Anupsingh as deputy	1719-21
9.	Haidar Quli Khan (Muiz-ud-daulah)	1721-22
10.	Nizam-ul-mulk : Hamid Khan as deputy	1723-24
11.	Sarbuland Khan (Mubariz-ul-mulk)	1725-30

[44] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 41, 44-45. In this year (1720) Maharaja Ajit Singh received orders to despatch a force of 10,000 horse to Surat to protect that town against Maratha invasions. Half this number was to be stationed in the city, while the remaining half was to be sent to guard the river fords and other passes within a radius of 15 kos from Surat (ibid, 43.)

CHAPTER XXXV

EARLY MARATHA INCURSIONS AND THE RISE OF PILAJI GAEKWAD

Haidar Quli Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk as Viceroys, 1721-23

FROM the standpoint of the Maratha conquest of Gujarat, the initiative for their infiltration into this province belongs to the family of the Dabhades of Talegaon which was well established in Baglan during the first decade of the 18th century. Khanderao Dabhade, one of the most famous of Raja Shahu's officers, had fought, along with the veteran Dhana Jadhav, at the battle of Ratanpur on the Narbada at the time of the first Maratha invasion of Gujarat in 1706. He had been assigned the district of Baglan in Khandesh for the collection of chauth and the exercise of his predatory activities, and between 1706 and 1716 he carried out several raids into south Gujarat, controlling the trade-route from Burhanpur to Surat with his block-houses and exacting payment from all caravans. In 1716, he defeated in Baglan a large army sent against him under Zulfiqar Khan by Saiyid Husain Ali, the King-maker, who was on his way to take charge of the government of the Deccan. After his return to Satara in this year, Khanderao was appointed by Raja Shahu to the high office of Senapati, or commander-in-chief, of the Maratha armies in place of Manaji More.[1] Though his service in the Deccan prevented him from visiting Gujarat after this year, he sent his officers, *viz.*, Kanthaji Kadam Bande, Damaji I Gaekwad, and especially the latter's nephew Pilaji, to carry out almost annual incursions into the province and to establish the Maratha claim to *chauth* in the Surat district. After Khanderao's retirement from active service about 1723, his son Trimbakrao played no important part in Gujarat till the great disaster at Dabhoi in 1730 when he was defeated by the Peshwa Baji Rao I and was killed in the battle. On the death of Trimbakrao, Umabai, the brave widow of Khanderao, upheld the authority and prerogatives of the Dabhades in Gujarat for many years, and, after the murder of Pilaji in 1732, she appointed Damaji II (1732-68) as her agent in Gujarat. But, before long, the whole power of the Dabhades passed into the latter's hands. The weak and dissolute character of Umabai's surviving sons spelled the doom of this once powerful family,

The Dabhades and the Gaekwads in Gujarat

1 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 388-9 ; Vol. VII (Baroda), 167.

and the credit of erecting an independent Hindu principality in Gujarat on the ruins of the Mughal power, which under more favourable circumstances might have belonged to the Dabhades, was secured by their protégés, the Gaekwads, who had risen to prominence in their service and under their patronage.

In some respects the most significant event of the year 1719, so far as it affected the future destinies of Gujarat, was not so much the rise or fall of the puppet rulers at Delhi, as the emergence into prominence of Pilaji Gaekwad, the nephew and adopted son of Damaji I, who, from this time to his death in 1732, became the most active and aggressive of the several Maratha leaders who ravaged this province, and who laid the foundations of the sovereign power of his family in Gujarat. He had been stationed by the Senapati Khanderao Dabhade in command of a detachment of horse at Navapur in Khandesh, but he was forced to relinquish this post on a representation made by Kanthaji that the place was within his sphere of activities. Pilaji, thereupon, fixed upon the hilly country in the neighbourhood of Songadh,[2] in the direct line between Khandesh and Surat, and here he resided as the representative of the Senapati. He also befriended the ruler of Rajpipla, and secured his consent to erect small forts of his own between Nandod and Sagbara, and attached to his cause the Bhils and Kolis of the neighbourhood. Finding henceforth the Surat district an easy prey, he began to make annual incursions to attack and ravage its villages. In 1719, the governor of this town, Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan, sent an army to check him under Saiyid Akil Khan and Muhammad Panah, but the latter was wounded and taken prisoner, and had to secure his freedom by payment of a ransom. Having secured from the Bhils the hill fort of Songadh, Pilaji now made it his headquarters and it thus became the cradle of the Gaekwad's power in Gujarat, and continued to be their chief seat till Damaji II made Patan his capital in 1766.[3]

Pilaji takes the fort of Songadh, 1719

2 Songadh town is about 40 miles to the east of Surat, on the western skirts of the Dang forest, on the Tapti Valley Railway. It must have been at one time a flourishing place as vast ruins may still be seen there. The fort is situated on a small hill.

3 Bombay Gazetteer, VII (Baroda), 168-69. According to Mr. G. S. Sardesai, the Maratha armies in their advance into Gujarat from the Deccan followed one or the other of four routes : (1) By way of Manmad and Chandor in Nasik district to West Khandesh, and thence through the Kondai Pass (10 m. to the east of the Chinchpada railway station on the Tapti-Valley Railway) into Gujarat along Navapur, Songadh and Vyara. (2) From Nasik to Peint and then through the Dharampur and Bansda States into Surat district. (3) From Junnar on the Deccan plateau by the Nana Ghat to Kalyan and Bhiwandi in the Konkan and then by way of the Bassein taluka and the present line of the Western Railway to Gandevi and Navsari in South Gujarat. (4) From the province of Malwa by way of Dohad, Godhra and Thasra into the Kaira District.

We have no definite information about Pilaji's activities between 1719 and 1723, but it appears that from his seat at Songadh he began to direct the operations of the three *pagas*[4] now entrusted to him by the Senapati, and that, either singly or in combination with Bande and Pawar, he continued to invade and to exact tribute from the Surat *athavisi*. Some reference has already been made to his alliance with the chief of Rajpipla. Now, or at a later date, he found friends in the Hindu Desais of Padra, Chhani and Bhayali, all in the Baroda district, who distrusted the Mughals and made common cause with the invaders. In 1724, Pilaji again defeated a force sent against him by Momin Khan, the mutasaddi or governor of Surat. In the same year, Trimbakrao Dabhade, the son of Khanderao, was active in the Surat district,[5] while Kanthaji ravaged the villages under Godhra and Dohad and exacted tribute. Maratha incursions may be said to have continued henceforth from year to year without a break till they had secured complete mastery over the entire province.

Maratha infiltrations, 1719-24

Before the Emperor Muhammad Shah had been many months on the throne as the protégé of the King-makers, a new and powerful factor appeared on the political stage at Delhi in the person of Nizam-ul-mulk who had for a time served as viceroy of the six Deccan provinces. As his career materially influenced the course of subsequent events, both at Delhi and in the Empire, including Gujarat, some remarks about his rise to the highest position in the Empire may be offered here. As the son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, he was at the head of the Persian or Mughal party of the nobles at the court and exercised considerable authority. The Saiyids were apprehensive of him both on account of his influence and his ambition, so that he was recalled from the Deccan and appointed as viceroy of Malwa in order that his movements could be more closely watched. Nizam-ul-mulk had probably no designs against the all-powerful brothers at this period, but he saw through their move to deprive him of power. He, therefore, while ostensibly proceeding to Malwa to take charge of his province, decided on the bold policy of marching to the Deccan where he had both friends and resources. On arrival at Sironj, he changed the direction of his march, crossed the Narbada with his troops, and advanced south to Burhanpur. Under orders from the Saiyids, Dilawar Ali Khan followed him in hopes of checking his advance, but he was defeated and slain in a battle near Burhanpur in Khandesh (June, 1720). The Saiyids next sent their nephew,

Rise of Nizam-ul-mulk, 1720

4 The Pagah was a body of Maratha cavalry (Bargirs), the horses of which were the property of the Chief. It was distinguished from the Sillidars, *i.e.*, men who provided their own horses.

5 V. G. Dighe, *The Peshwa Baji Rao* I, 26. After 1723, Khanderao was in poor health and did not take any active part in military affairs. He died in 1729, and his son Trimbakrao received from Shahu Raja the robes of his father's office as Senapati on 8 Jan. 1730 at Satara (G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 122).

Alam Ali Khan, who was deputy commander in the Deccan, with another army to arrest the Nizam's progress. But once again, in a pitched battle fought at Balapur in Berar (Aug., 1720),[6] the Nizam was victorious and Alam Ali Khan was defeated and slain.

The double victory of Nizam-ul-mulk over the Saiyids' armies shook to its foundations the prestige of the king-makers. It was now arranged that Saiyid Husain Ali Khan should proceed in person from Agra with his army against the Nizam, taking the Emperor with him (Aug., 1720).

Downfall of the Saiyids, 1720

But, during the march, a plot to remove him was secretly hatched by some nobles in the camp, and it is probable that the Emperor was also in the know. The lead was taken by Muhammad Amin Khan, the cousin of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was the head of the Mughal soldiery, and among others who took an active part in the plot was Haidar Quli Khan, the former governor of Surat. The imperial army had covered seventy miles on the way to Jaipur when the plot was put into execution, and Saiyid Husain Ali Khan was assassinated by a Kalmuk Tartar as he was returning to his camp in his palanquin after an interview with the Emperor (Sept., 1720). News of this tragedy was conveyed to Saiyid Abdulla Khan who was on his march from Agra to Delhi. Though half distracted with the shock, he made one last effort to retrieve the situation by putting another royal Prince on the throne and by enlisting an army with lavish expenditure from the royal treasury. Thus equipped, he advanced to meet the imperialists who were now returning in haste to Delhi with the Emperor. At a place not far from Bilochpur, a battle took place in which Saiyad Abdulla, who, dismounting from his elephant fought on foot with all the valour of a Barha Saiyid, was defeated and taken prisoner (Nov., 1720). The power of the family which had dominated the Mughal Empire for eight years thus definitely came to an end. A few months later, Nizam-ul-mulk, who was still in the Deccan, was appointed as vazir of the Empire by Muhammad Shah since he was now the ablest and most powerful noble in the Empire.

Maharaja Ajit Singh had for many years been on friendly terms and in close political alliance with the late king-makers, and it was not, therefore, likely that he or his diwan, Nahar Khan, would be allowed to retain longer their respective posts in Gujarat. Moreover, it must be noted that, during the second term of his viceroyalty, the Maharaja had governed through his deputies only and had not gone to Gujarat at all. In May, 1721, orders were issued from the court appointing Haidar Quli Khan, who had now received the title of Muiz-ud-daula, as

Ajit Singh removed, May, 1721

[6] At the battle of Balapur, Alam Ali Khan was supported by a large Maratha contingent of 12,000 horse under Khanderao Dabhade, the Senapati of Raja Shahu. During the engagement, Damaji I Gaekwad, one of the Senapati's officers, so distinguished himself by his bravery that he received from Shahu the title of *Samsher Bahadur* which is held by the Gaekwads of Baroda. Damaji died in 1721 (Bom. Gaztr. Vol. I, Part I, 389).

Subahdar of Gujarat in reward for his valuable services in securing the overthrow of the Saiyids.[7] He continued, however, at the court for another year, until his differences with Nizam-ul-mulk, the vazir, forced him to leave the imperial capital for Ahmadabad.

While Haidar Quli Khan remained at Delhi, a Gujarat noble, Maasum Quli Khan, a protégé of the new viceroy, was appointed to function as his deputy with the title of Shujaat Khan.

Flight of Anupsingh and the Marwadi officers

Orders were also sent to the effect that Anupsingh Bhandari and the diwan Nahar Khan were to be made prisoners and sent to the court. Upon this, there were tumults against the Marwadi officials at Ahmadabad, who were very unpopular, and these were fomented by Meher Ali Khan who was on bad terms with Ajit Singh's deputy. Anupsingh and other officials, thinking it inadvisable to leave the capital in the usual manner, owing to the danger of a mob attack, made an exit from the citadel to the banks of the Sabarmati through a window in the garden of the Bhadra, and so reached the Shahi Bagh on their way to the north. The rabble, thereupon, entered the citadel and destroyed whatever the Marwadis had not taken away, and a residence built by Anupsingh in the royal enclosure was pulled down at the suggestion of Meher Ali Khan. Shujaat Khan, the deputy viceroy, having reached the capital from Cambay, directed his attacks against Nahar Khan's house, and a fight took place between their adherents and relatives in which guns were freely used. Friends, however, effected a compromise under which Nahar Khan was allowed to leave the city on payment of one lakh of rupees, and he joined Anupsingh at Siddhpur. The government of the port of Surat had also been conferred on Haidar Quli Khan on his appointment as Subahdar, and he sent his private diwan, Raja Raghunathdas, to that place as his deputy. The latter, however, soon after returned to Ahmadabad, where in a street fight in the Karanj bazar between his retainers and those of the fauzdar of the suburbs, the Raja's nephew was killed.[8] These local fights in the capital by armed factions provided with guns must be regarded as a new and disturbing development, for it shows that respect for authority was being undermined and that the ordinary machinery for preserving the peace of the city was breaking down.

[7] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 49. Haidar Quli Khan had taken a leading part in the fierce conflict that raged in the imperial camp after the assassination of Husain Ali Khan. A month later, he took part in the battle with Saiyid Abdulla Khan, and was instrumental in taking him prisoner and bringing him before the Emperor. (W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 91, 102).

[8] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 49-54. During his stay at Ahmadabad (1721-22), Raja Raghunathdas constructed at the *Panchkuva* locality, outside the city walls, between the Kalupur and the Sarangpur gates, a step-well (*Bāvli*) for a charitable purpose to supply sweet drinking water to the people. (ibid, 59).

From this time forward, the members of the famous Babi family among the local nobility, which had long been settled in Gujarat, play an increasingly important part in the politics of the province right up to the close of Mughal rule. The head of the family at this date was Safdar Khan, the deputy governor of Godhra, whose forces had come into conflict with those of Haidar Quli Khan early in 1718 near Vatva when the latter was proceeding from Surat to Ahmadabad on being appointed deputy viceroy of the Subah. In 1721, Shujaat Khan, the newly appointed deputy viceroy, also a Gujarat noble, who had been on bad terms with Safdar Khan, wrote to Muiz-ud-daulah (Haidar Quli Khan) at Delhi stating that he had assumed charge of his office and proposing that the jagirs of Safdar Khan and his two sons, Salabat Muhammad Khan and Jawan Mard Khan (Sr.), should be transferred to himself and his brothers. At the same time, during a mulukgiri expedition, he extorted ten thousand rupees from the village of Kheda (Kaira) which was under Muhammad Babi, the son of Salabat Muhammad Khan. When information of the proposals sent by the deputy viceroy came to the knowledge of Salabat Muhammad Khan, he decided to proceed to Delhi to put his case before the Emperor and Muiz-ud-daulah, the Subahdar. He was well received by the latter, who was probably anxious to keep on good terms with the local nobility of the province, and who confirmed him and his father and brother in their jagirs, and further desired him to continue his stay at the imperial capital and to accompany him when he proceeded to Gujarat. In this same year (1721), Muhammad Bahadur Babi, the son of Salabat Khan, received the thanadari of Sadra and Virpur and was given a mansab of 500 and the title of Sher Khan on the recommendation of the Subahdar.[9] In the years that followed, Sher Khan played an active but shifting part in the confused politics at Ahmadabad and was also appointed fauzdar of Baroda and later as deputy governor of Junagadh where he established himself as the first independent Nawab on the collapse of Mughal authority in the peninsula.

Activities of the Babi family of Gujarat

The great Nizam-ul-mulk arrived at Delhi from the Deccan, and in Feb., 1722 assumed charge of his office as Prime Minister of the Empire. Haidar Quli Khan, who had himself aspired to this honour by virtue of his valuable services to Muhammad Shah against the Saiyids, now asked for and received from the Emperor permission to proceed in person to his charge in Gujarat and left the capital early in April, 1722.[10] Marching by way of Malwa, he arrived in the Thasra pargana of the present Kaira district where a tragic episode took place which was of evil omen for his adminis-

Haidar Quli Khan in Gujarat as viceroy, 1722

[9] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 52-53. In 1721, Raza Quli Khan, one of Shujaat Khan's brothers, received from the court a mansab of 2,500 and the title of Rustom Ali Khan. In 1724, he was appointed governor of Surat in place of Momin Khan, and he played a great part during the Civil War of 1725 and was killed at Vaso fighting against Hamid Khan's Maratha allies, Pilaji and Kanthaji.

[10] W. Irvine. *Later Mughals*, II, 127-28.

tration. At the village of Dabhali, mostly peopled by Muslims, some dispute arose between his troops and the villagers with the result that the village was surrounded and shots were fired. By an accident, a bullet struck and killed Alp Beg Khan, an officer of the Subahdar, who was seated on an elephant. Though it was believed that the shot had been fired by one of his own troops, Haidar Quli Khan became so incensed that he ordered the total destruction and burning of the village and the slaughter of every male member of its population, young or old. This inhuman order was carried out with revolting cruelty and not a man was left alive. After some further operations in the Chunval, the Subahdar entered Ahmadabad on July 3, 1722 in great military state with all his artillery and his elephants, and bearing in his train several trophies that had been secured from the famous Saiyids in the fateful year 1720. Shujaat Khan, who had been tribute-gathering in Kathiawar, soon after arrived at Sarkhej and later met the Subahdar who bestowed upon him, among other gifts, a palanquin in which the Amir-ul-umrah, Saiyid Husain Ali Khan, used to ride.[11]

Haidar Quli Khan's stay at Ahmadabad did not last for more than four or five months. It appears he was puffed up by the important part he had played in imperial affairs, and, being baulked of securing the highest office in the Empire, *viz.*, the Vazirate, he had some thoughts of establishing himself as an independent ruler in Gujarat. Some of his actions lend support to this conclusion. He confiscated jagirs bestowed by royal grants on the mansabdars, and on other officers and private persons in the province, and redistributed them to persons of his own choice. When complaints were received by the Emperor, orders were sent to the viceroy forbidding interference with jagir lands. But he paid no attention to them until his own assignments on lands not far from Delhi were resumed in retaliation for those he had unlawfully appropriated. Moreover, in disregard of all deference due to His Majesty's privileges, he took possession of several fine Arab horses, that had been purchased at Surat for the imperial stables, when they arrived at Ahmadabad on their way to the capital. Some of these he kept for himself and others he gave to his friends. Another act of presumption by the Subahdar was the grant of the honour to sit in a *palkhi* to some of the officers in his subah (a privilege enjoyed by royalty or the highest nobility). He also heard complaints seated in audience, and, when he rode out, caused the streets to be cleared and guarded as was done for the Emperor. To strengthen his position, he summoned a large number of Arabs, Habshis and Franks (Europeans) from the port of Surat and took them into his service. His actions and rash words, which showed an intention to throw off

He aims at Independence

11 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 55-57

imperial authority, were duly reported to the Emperor and naturally caused much resentment.[12]

After the rainy season was over, early in October 1722, Haidar Quli Khan left Ahmadabad for collecting *peshkash* from the rulers of Lunavada and Dungarpur and the chiefs of the Sabar Kantha. Later, when in the Patan district, having heard reports about the displeasure of the Emperor, he revoked many of his high-handed acts, and returning to Ahmadabad encamped at the Shahi Bagh awaiting developments. But measures had already been taken for his recall. The province of Gujarat was taken away from him on 14 October 1722 and conferred upon Nizam-ul-mulk. On Nov. 1, the Vazir was given the audience of leave-taking and he left his son Ghazi-ud-din Khan at the court as his deputy. Muiz-ud-daulah (Haidar Quli Khan) was now in a fright and sent off his son to work on the Emperor's mind. He realised that his troops and resources were no match for the powerful army and artillery with which Nizam-ul-mulk had left the capital to enforce his submission. Moreover, the nobles of the province, whose favour he had tried to secure, declined to support him on the plea that it was not in a private quarrel but in opposition to his sovereign that he wanted their assistance. In despair, he began to feign madness and declined to eat. His diwan, Raja Raghunathdas, and other well-wishers, managed, however, to send him off to the north by way of Udaipur territory.[13] He was, however, well received by the Emperor on arrival at the court early in 1723 and was appointed to the charge of the province of Ajmer in order to conduct the war against Maharaja Ajit Singh of Marwar who had revolted.

His recall in disgrace, 1722

Meanwhile, the Vazir of the Empire, on receiving the office of Subahdar of Gujarat, proceeded with his army at the end of 1722 to enforce his claims in view of the attitude of defiance which had been taken up by Haidar Quli Khan. Passing through Agra, the Nizam arrived at Dhar in Malwa on 13 Feb. 1723, and advanced as far as Jhalod,[14] where probably news that Haidar Quli Khan had quitted Ahmadabad reached him. This decided him not to proceed any further in person. He appointed his uncle Hamid Khan as his deputy in Gujarat, and retraced his steps to Malwa. At Sironj he left his second cousin as deputy governor of that province, along with his artillery and heavy baggage, and was back at Delhi in July 1723, when the Emperor sent Samsam-ud-daulah, Khan Dauran, to escort him to the presence. His unexpected return

Nizam-ul-mulk as viceroy, 1722-23

[12] W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 128. Among other events of this year, we may mention that Abdul Hamid Khan, the Chief Qazi of the Empire, died at Delhi on 23 Sept. 1722. His body was brought to Ahmadabad and buried in the garden laid out by his father Qazi Abdullah.

[13] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 59-60.

[14] Jhalod is now a town in the petty division of the same name in the Dohad taluka of the Panch Mahals district of Bombay State. It stands on the borders of the province of Gujarat on the road to Sarangpur in Malwa.

from the frontier of Gujarat disconcerted his political opponents. But the short period of six months during which he resumed his high office at the imperial capital was one of mortification and frustration for the Nizam. Finding himself baulked in his hopes of administrative reform, and disgusted with the corruption and debasing influences at the court, he tendered his resignation. This was accepted and permission was given to him to return to the Subahdari of the six Deccan provinces. Before his final departure in Dec. 1723, the title of Asaf Jah and the office of *Vakil-i-Mutalaq* were bestowed upon him.[15]

Some events of 1723: Hamid Khan as deputy

Before leaving the frontiers of Gujarat for Delhi, Nizam-ul-mulk had appointed, in Feb., 1723, as stated above, his uncle Hamid Khan as his deputy, and had ordered the very fertile parganas of Broach, Jambusar, Amod and Dholka to be included in his own jagirs. Hamid Khan marched from Jhalod by way of Dohad to Thasra where the two brothers Shujaat Khan and Rustam Ali Khan, both Gujarati nobles, came to offer him their respects After arrival at the Kankaria tank where he put up in Meher Ali Khan's garden, Hamid Khan entered the Bhadra citadel on 26 March and assumed the duties of the Nazim. Momin Khan[16] was confirmed as mutasaddi of Surat, an office which had also formerly been held by Haidar Quli Khan. The father of the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, who had for nearly five years been serving under Mubariz-ul-mulk in the Punjab and at Peshawar, having returned to Delhi, was given by the Emperor the title of Ali Muhammad Khan and permitted to return to Gujarat as Amin of the cloth market. At the end of 1723, under imperial orders, Shujaat Khan (the late deputy subahdar) and his brother Rustam Ali Khan proceeded with an army to Marwar to help in the operations against Ajit Singh, and these having come to a successful conclusion in 1724, they returned to Ahmadabad where special dresses of honour were sent to them from the court.[17]

15 When Nizam-ul-mulk was on his march to the Deccan, the court party made one more attempt to destroy his power, but he defeated Mubariz Khan, the governor of Haidarabad, who had been sent to oppose him, at Shakr Khara in the Buldena district (Oct. 1724), and finally reached his capital at Haidarabad. From this period we may date the independent sway of the Asaf Jahi dynasty in the Deccan and the foundation of the Haidarabad State which lasted for two centuries and a quarter.

16 As stated in the previous chapter, the first person with the title of Momin Khan who served in Gujarat was this Persian noble whose name was Mirza Abdul Husain Dehlami. His earliest appointment as governor of Surat was in 1715 when Daud Khan Panni was viceroy. Ten years later, in 1723-4, we find him again governor of Surat when an army sent by him against Pilaji was defeated. In 1724 he was appointed to the high office of Diwan of Gujarat. He died at Ahmadabad early in 1727 and his tomb is said to be at Cambay. (See pp. 389-90. Bombay Gazetteer, VI, 222 *n*).

17 *Mirat-i-Ahmadii*, II, 61-65.

Relations of Cutch with the Subah of Gujarat

The suzerainty of the Emperor Akbar over the peninsula of Cutch had been established soon after the Khan-i-Azam's conquest of Junagadh in 1592, and its Jadeja ruler, Rav Bharmal (1585-1631), had been rewarded with the pargana of Morbi for surrendering the person of the fugitive ex-Sultan Muzaffar III who had taken refuge with the Rav after his final defeat at Bhuchar Mori. Since that time, the rulers of Cutch had been the most important feudatory chiefs under the Mughal Subah of Gujarat, being free from attack, and bound only to supply a contingent of troops whenever called upon to do so. It has been stated in an earlier chapter of this book that, during the Emperor Jahangir's visit and long stay at the capital of Gujarat in 1618, Rav Bharmal, or Bharo, came to Ahmadabad to pay his respects, and presented the Emperor with 100 Cutch horses along with 100 gold muhrs and 2,000 rupees. At his departure, the old chief received from Jahangir suitable gifts, including two elephants and a sword with a diamond-mounted hilt. At this time his state was freed from any tribute on condition that the Rav should give Muslim pilgrims a passage to Mecca free of charge. This arrangement appears to have been adhered to by successive Subahdars of Gujarat for a hundred years. But in 1718, the viceroy, being probably pressed for funds on account of the decline in the Gujarat revenues, sent a military force to Cutch. The ruler at this time was Rav Desal I (1718-41), who, by his able management had greatly increased the revenues of Cutch and raised the country to a very prosperous condition. Desalji called his loyal Bhayads to his aid, and so impressed the Mughal official sent against him by his remonstrances, that the latter was forced to withdraw. It was now that the Rav, foreseeing future danger, set to work to build a fortification round Bhuj and spared neither expense nor trouble to secure this object. Three years later, in 1721, Shujaat Khan, the deputy-viceroy, functioning in the absence of Haidar Quli Khan, who was at Delhi, thought of sending another force against Cutch, upon which its ruler agreed to pay 6,75,000 mahmudis (about Rs. 2¼ lakhs). In 1729, the viceroy Sarbuland Khan (Mubariz-ul-mulk) led in person a powerful expedition through the Rann on an invasion of Bhuj, but had to withdraw almost in disgrace as Rav Desal collected all the fighting population of the country for the defence of his capital and adopted the 'scorched earth' policy with success.[18]

[18] Bombay Gazetteer, V, 138-39; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 53, 136-37.

CHAPTER XXXVI

HAMID KHAN'S REVOLT AND MARATHA TERROR IN NORTH GUJARAT, 1724-25

Tragic Episode of Rustam Ali Khan

AFTER the final departure of Nizam-ul-mulk from Delhi in December 1723, as viceroy of the Deccan, the government of Gujarat was conferred upon Mubariz-ul-mulk, Sarbuland Khan Bahadur, one of the greatest nobles of the Empire, who had recently been governor of Kabul. The Gujarati noble, Shujaat Khan,[1] was appointed again to function as his deputy at Ahmadabad, and his brother Rustam Ali Khan was at the same time appointed governor of Surat in place of Momin Khan Dehlami who now became the diwan of the Subah. These orders arrived at Ahmadabad in July-August, 1724. Ali Muhammad Khan, the father of the historian, was appointed fauzdar of the Haveli pargana at the capital. When Shujaat Khan called upon Hamid Khan, the uncle of Asaf Jah, to leave the Bhadra citadel at Ahmadabad, the latter asked to be allowed to stay on till the rains were over. But this request was refused and batteries were erected for his ejectment by force. For three days and nights a fight took place in the citadel when many houses in the Bhadra were damaged. At last, through the intervention of Safdar Khan Babi and his two sons, Salabat Muhammad Khan and Jawan Mard Khan, the strife was put to an end, and Hamid Khan quitted the city with his army and withdrew to Dohad. However, he had no intention of surrendering his power and was probably instigated in this by his nephew, the ex-viceroy Nizam-ul-mulk. This defiance of the commands of the central government now plunged Gujarat into civil war for a year (1724-25). Hamid Khan did not hesitate to secure the help of the Maratha leaders as allies, and with their help he was able to defeat and slay successively Shujaat Khan and his brothers Ibrahim Quli Khan and Rustam Ali Khan, three of the most valiant nobles in the history of the province. With these tragic events, which will require to be described in some detail, begins definitely the fall of Mughal rule in Gujarat.

Sarbuland Khan as viceroy: revolt of Hamid Khan, 1724

[1] Shujaat Khan (Muhammad Masum) and his brothers, all of them Gujarat nobles, had been the favourite officers of Haidar Quli Khan, who furthered their interests and obtained titles for them (W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 167).

Shujaat Khan defeated, December, 1724

At the end of the rainy season of 1724, Shujaat Khan proceeded with his army to collect the usual tribute from the Zamindars of the Sabar Kantha region, leaving his brother Ibrahim Quli Khan in charge of the capital. Meanwhile, Nizam-ul-mulk, who had been kept fully informed of events by his uncle, had come to an understanding with Kanthaji Kadam Bãnde, under which the latter was offered the chauth or one-fourth of the revenues of Gujarat if he would help to restore Hamid Khan. By virtue of this alliance, Kanthaji joined Hamid Khan with a force of 15,000 horsemen, while the ex-deputy opened communications with Safdar Khan Babi and other partisans in Ahmadabad. From Dohad the allies advanced to Kapadvanj, about 32 miles east of the capital. News of his unexpected approach having reached Shujaat Khan, he turned back by forced marches and arrived at Dabhoda, about nine *kos* from Ahmadabad. He had only a force of about 5,000 cavalry, and they were mostly Gujarat *Kasbatis*,[2] little seasoned in warfare. He neglected, moreover, to send out scouts to watch the movements of his opponents, with the result that, by the time he reached the village of Mota-Medra, four *kos* from the capital, he found his camp surrounded by the Maratha cavalry. His own men had been deserting in scattered groups to join their families in the city and there was no discipline in the camp or readiness for battle. Though his army had thus broken up, Shujaat Khan carried on an unequal struggle with the few troops that remained, and the two Muslim antagonists faced each other seated on their respective elephants (December, 1724). Hamid Khan was clad in full armour and had his canopied seat (*ambari*) protected by iron-work, but his brave opponent had no such protection and he was severely wounded. Thus disabled, he was surrounded by the Marathas who finished him off with their lances. His camp was plundered and his two sons were among the prisoners. The victor sent his opponent's head at night into the city to Safdar Khan Babi, who forwarded it to Ibrahim Quli Khan, the brother of the slain nobleman. After the victory, Hamid Khan encamped at the Shahi Bagh, and the Marathas, 'like a swarm of ants or locusts', dispersed all over the suburbs and the villages near the city in order to plunder, penetrating into places where even their very name had never been heard of before.[3]

[2] The Kasbatis (*i.e.* village landlords residing in towns) were at this period a numerous and warlike body of Muslims resident at Ahmadabad, Dholka, Viramgam, Kadi, Patan, Idar and other centres. They were divided into three classes, *viz.*, the Menas, Rahens and Parmars. The ancestors of the first two had come from Delhi as soldiers of fortune. The Parmar Kasbatis were the descendants of Rajputs who were settled at Botad as converts to Islam in the reign of Sultan Mahmud Begada. The Kasbatis of Dholka were favoured by the Maratha government as a counterpoise to the power of the Rajput grasias. Till the advent of British power, they continued as a bold and turbulent class of mercenary soldiers whose leaders commanded the services of a considerable body of horsemen, whom they hired out for military service to the neighbouring powers. (A.K. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, II, 63, 66; Bombay Gazetteer, IV, 147, 179-80).

[3] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 73-78; W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 170-73.

After the victory, Hamid Khan, in order to conceal his own perfidy, sent letters to his agent at the court to the effect that Shujaat Khan had been defeated and killed in battle by the Marathas under Kanthaji, and his army had been destroyed, and that he (Hamid Khan), being in the vicinity, had hastened to save the capital and ensure its safety. A dress of honour and some precious ear-jewels were, thereupon, sent by the Emperor to Hamid Khan in appreciation of the alleged services. But the truth became known shortly after when letters written by the viceroy's own representatives reached the court. On December 7, 1724, Hamid Khan entered Ahmadabad in great state accompanied by his Maratha allies who thus made their first appearance in this splendid and populous Muslim capital of which they were destined to be the masters thirty years later. The leading citizens of Ahmadabad, Muslim and Hindu, also came to offer their respects to Hamid Khan. The victor openly showed his revolt against imperial authority when he dismissed all the mutasaddis and talukdars in various *mahals* and appointed his own men. He also appropriated the crown (*khalsa*) lands and arrears of revenue, and took away the files of official records for many years past, so that the Diwan of the Subah was left with little to do. The historian adds that parties of the Maratha troops swarmed into all the streets and bazars of the city and busied themselves with making purchases and disposing of the goods they had plundered from Shujaat Khan's camp and at other places. Among these were sacred relics from the mausoleum of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu at Sarkhej. The decorated canopy over the saint's sarcophagus, the rich lamps, as also the beautiful brass screen of trellis-work (*jāli*) enclosing the grave, which had been torn up from its setting, were now all exposed for sale in the bazars of Ahmadabad.[4]

Hamid Khan's allies at Ahmadabad, 1724

The news of the terrible disaster that had overtaken the deputy viceroy near Ahmadabad must have soon reached his brother at Surat, for it was conveyed by the English factors to their superiors at Bombay. This will be seen from the following letter, dated December 18, 1724, from William Phipps, the Governor and President at Bombay, to John Courtney, the Chief of the Surat Factory:

Reference in the English Records

'We observe the account you give us of the engagement between the ganims[5] and the forces of Shujaat Khan near Ahmadabad; that the former, on the appearance of the horse under Hamid Khan, the late Governor of that city, desisted from fighting, and tamely permitted

[4] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 78-79.

[5] Ganim (from Arabic *ghanim*, a bandit or plunderer) was the name commonly used in Gujarat at this period to designate the Marathas who invaded the province year after year. We find it also in the text of the Gujarati instrument granted by the Mahajans of Ahmadabad to Khushalchand Nagarseth in 1725, the transcript of which has been given in the Appendix to this chapter. The English factors in Gujarat in their Letters and Diaries bodily adopted this word which they found in ordinary usage around them.

Shujaat Khan to be slain at the command of the other. Continue to advise us of all their proceedings, and how this action affects Rustom Ali Khan.'[6]

Kanthaji, who had been promised the chauth of all the parganas north of the Mahi river, now proceeded with his force to levy tribute from the town of Viramgam, which was at this time not protected by walls. As no opposition was possible, it was arranged, on the advice of Udaikaran, the Desai of that place, that the residents should buy off the enemy with a payment (*khandani*) of three and a half lakhs of rupees. Kanthaji's agents managed to collect this amount from the inhabitants with the utmost rapidity and harshness. The Desai had, however, with much foresight, secured from the people a contribution over and above what was required for the tribute, and with the help of this surplus a fortification was built round the town for its protection. The present town-walls of Viramgam may thus be regarded as erected soon after this period.[7]

Viramgam held to ramsom

The tragic news of the disaster that had overtaken his brother reached Ibrahim Quli Khan in his house in the Karanj Bazar at Ahmadabad. Safdar Khan Babi and Ali Muhammad Khan (Sr.) came to him and advised him to fly the same night to Cambay and thence to Surat, where his other brother Rustam Ali Khan was governor, and jointly with him to concert plans for opposing Hamid Khan. But the brave young man would not accept the advice. He was now invited by Hamid Khan to an interview, and had private news that the latter wanted to kill him. On 10 December 1724, bidding a long farewell to his household, and accompanied by a select party of some thirty followers, he proceeded to the Bhadra and entered Hamid Khan's residence, where he was soon despatched by the guards on duty. By Hamid Khan's orders, his body, with those of others who had been slain, was dragged to the Kotwal's office (*chabutra*) outside the Bhadra gate and there it remained exposed till permission to bury it was given. Several persons, believed to be partisans of the two brothers, were now arrested by the servants of Hamid Khan, and among these they brought up Khushalchand, the wealthy and influential Nagarsheth, who was, however, released. Hamid Khan next ordered the houses and the property of Shujaat Khan and his brother and all their relatives to be confiscated. He also appropriated to himself the money in the royal treasury and all the costly fabrics made in the royal factories. Moreover, imposts, unknown before, were levied on every class of people and every trade and handicraft, and were collected with great cruelty and rigidity. The author of the *Mirat* says that from this period the local term *vero* for these illegal

Ibrahim Quli Khan slain

[6] *Surat Factory Diary*, Letter from Bombay, 18 December, 1724. The language is clumsy, but seems to imply that Shujaat Khan s troops deserted him.

[7] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 78-79.

imposts became familiar in Gujarat, and that this policy was followed by successive nazims.[8]

Rustam Ali marches from Surat

Rustam Ali Khan, the governor of Surat and fauzdar of Baroda and Petlad, was conducting operations against the ravages of Pilaji Gaekwad in the villages when the terrible news of the death of his two brothers and the capture of the ladies of their families reached him. Rejecting the advice to await the departure of the Marathas from the province at the end of the fair season, he began to equip his artillery and to enlist troops for marching to the north to avenge his wrongs and to reassert imperial authority in the capital. It was, however, thought expedient to enter into an alliance with Pilaji and to arrange that they should meet formally after their respective armies had passed the Narbada. This was solemnly confirmed by oath under which Pilaji was to receive a lakh of rupees and other valuable presents in return for his help against Hamid Khan. Thereafter, the two armies advanced separately, and, after crossing the Mahi river, they encamped near the village of Adas,[9] destined to be famous in the history of Gujarat for the events that follow.

Battle of Adas on the Mahi, 1725

Meanwhile, Hamid Khan had also left Ahmadabad with his army and his Maratha ally Kanthaji after appointing Safdar Khan Babi to the charge of the city. On arrival at the Mahi he pitched his camp two *kos* away from that of Rustam Ali Khan and forwarded to Pilaji some letters which had been received from Asaf Jah in the Deccan. The effect was that the same night Pilaji met Hamid Khan secretly in his camp, and, with a duplicity not uncommon to the times, made common cause with the latter. The sharp battle that ensued the next day was fought out in the plain of Adas between Anand and the Mahi river. Rustam Ali Khan left all his heavy equipment in a small fort near the village, in charge of a body of Arab troops, and attacked his antagonist with such fury that Hamid Khan's army gave way and he was forced to seek safety in flight. Rustam Ali's troops plundered Hamid Khan's camp and released from chains the two sons of Shujaat Khan who had been taken prisoners near Ahmadabad. Neither Kanthaji nor Pilaji, both of whom were present near the site of the battle, took any part in the action, for it was naturally in their interest to see the two Muslim forces destroy each other in this unhappy civil strife. Kanthaji proceeded even to the length of plundering what was left of his ally Hamid Khan's camp and in carrying off all the tents and equipment. How completely this Mughal nobleman was now at the mercy of his ally may be realised from the fact that, after his flight from the field of battle, he

8 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 80-84; W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 173-75.

9 The village of Adas (or Aras), in the Anand division of Kaira district, is reached from Adas Road, a station seven miles south of Anand. The plain of Adas has been the scene of two other battles after that of 1725. These took place in February and May 1775 during the First Maratha War.

had to seek refuge in Kanthaji's camp, though he upbraided him for his treachery in standing idly by and even looting his camp. Kanthaji expressed his regret and ordered some of the elephants, horses and tents to be restored to Hamid Khan.[10]

In the light of the tragic situation that soon developed, Rustam Ali's best line of action after his brilliant victory was to march at once to Ahmadabad which was only forty miles away. This was the more necessary when he found, on return to his camp, that his ally Pilaji had plundered all his provisions, spiked the guns, burnt the gun-carriages, and carried off all the lead and the powder. Rustam Ali soon found himself hopelessly outnumbered. The news of the defeat and death of Shujaat Khan had quickly penetrated to the Deccan and the Peshwa's troops, led by Powar and Baji Bhivrao, had by this time arrived on the Mahi to augment the armies of Pilaji and Kanthaji. Rustam Ali, who had pitched his tents at the tank in the village of Adas, was completely surrounded by his enemies, his supplies were cut off, and for eight days and nights his force was subjected to heavy cannonading. At last, on 4 Feb., 1725, he decided to cut his way through this iron girdle at all costs, and starting with the remnant of his troops reached Napad[11] after immense difficulty. Holding the post of fauzdar of the Petlad pargana, Rustam Ali had considerable prestige in these parts, and the headman of the village of Vaso came forward with an offer of help if he recruited his forces there until the expected help from the capital should arrive. The news of this invitation having reached Hamid Khan and the Marathas, they gave out such dire threats that the headman and the villagers got alarmed, and evacuated the village after destroying everything in it, so that when Rustam Ali Khan's exhausted party reached Vaso (10 miles west of Nadiad) they found it deserted. Owing to casualties and daily desertions, his fine army had now been reduced to only four hundred horse and as many foot-soldiers.

The Marathas encircle Rustam Ali

The retreat from Adas brought no relief to the sorely pressed Mughal general, for the enemy followed in his wake and continued a withering fire on his camp. On 10 February 1725, Rustam Ali Khan had barely proceeded a mile beyond Vaso when further progress was rendered impossible. Mounting his horse with the few troops that were left, he rushed into the Maratha ranks and met a heroic death, being pierced by the arrows and lances of his opponents. The Deccanis severed his head from his body

He is slain at Vaso, 1725

[10] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 88-91.

[11] Napad is a large village in the Anand taluka of the Kaira District situated 14 miles west of Vasad Road. North of the village is a handsome pond, 500 yds. in circuit, said to have been built in the 16th century by a noble named Taj Khan Narpali, governor of Petlad, who is famous for the construction of the beautiful mausoleum of saint Shah Alam at Rasulabad near Ahmadabad in the reign of Sultan Bahadur Shah in 1531-2 (see Vol. I, 260-1). To the west of the tank is an Idgah with a flight of granite steps leading to the water. (Imperl. Gazettr., XVIII).

and brought it before Hamid Khan who sent it to Ahmadabad. One of the arms of the martyred general was cut off and sent by Pilaji to his headquarters at Songadh as a trophy of the victory. His body thus mutilated was buried at the village of Vaso.[12] According to Muslim concepts he had earned the status of a martyr (*shahid*) by his death in battle, and his tomb at this place soon became a centre of pilgrimage and remains so to this day. When news of this terrible tragedy reached Ahmadabad the next day, the citizens, high and low, were plunged into distress. Rustam Ali's head lay exposed for a day and a night at the Kotwal's office after which it was buried by the side of his brother Ibrahim Quli Khan. This grave, enclosed by a railing, may yet be seen within the Bhadra citadel of the capital not far from the river wall.

Hamid Khan again at the capital, 1725

Hamid Khan returned to Ahmadabad with the Marathas to whom he owed his victory over the imperialists. His allies, Kanthaji and Pilaji, followed in his wake, riding on elephants which had once belonged to Rustam Ali Khan. According to the agreement made, the chauth for the parganas to the north of the Mahi river was assigned to Kanthaji, and that to its south as far as Surat to Pilaji, and a fatal blow was thus inflicted on imperial authority in the province. Momin Khan,[13] the diwan of the province, presented the victor with an elephant and various silk stuffs. The measures now taken by Hamid Khan indicate his policy of asserting his independence of the Delhi authority. He took forcible possession of eighty thousand rupees from the treasury and of the cloths made specially for the Emperor which were in the charge of Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan. Moreover, he emptied all the royal factories, for which this city was famous, of their valuable stocks of rich fabrics. As the imperial records which he had secured during his previous visit had been lost or destroyed, he laid his hands on other documents of state accounts from the diwan's office. Large sums of money were again extorted with the utmost cruelty from the wealthy inhabitants of the capital. Two of the sons of the late Shujaat Khan were now removed by poison and a Gujarati Hindu named Murlidhar was appointed as his diwan.[14]

12 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 92-95. Vaso is now a flourishing town in the Petlad taluka of the Baroda District.

13 Momin Khan (Dehlami) died at Ahmadabad on April 27, 1727. His brother Abdul Gani Khan succeeded him as diwan of the province. (*Mirat*, II, 121, 124). His son-in-law, Mirza Muhammad Najm Sani, who received in 1729 the title of Momin Khan and in 1742 that of Najm-ud-daulah, became viceroy of the province from 1737 to his death in 1743 and was the founder of the ruling dynasty of Cambay. Najm Sani is also referred to by the author of the *Mirat* under the name of Fida-ud-din (pp. 108, 136).

14 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 96-97.

For the second time within the short space of three months, the Marathas overran the neighbourhood of the capital to plunder and to extort tribute. The metropolis of Ahmadabad, with the accumulated wealth of centuries, was fortunately spared the horrors of a sack, mainly by the generous efforts of Nagarsheth Khushalchand, as we shall presently relate. But the suburbs and the adjacent villages were in mortal fear of the excesses of the victorious soldiery, as appears from the statement of the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* who was resident in the city at this time:

Apprehensions of Maratha licence

> 'Meanwhile, the Marathas spread over the country in all directions, burning and plundering wherever they went. At Sarkhej, where is the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, the better class of the inhabitants immolated their wives and children in the mode known as *jauhar*, while many hundreds of high born women threw themselves into wells or ponds to avoid outrage. Thus too in the hamlet across the Sabarmati where Afghans lived, many women were slain by their relations.'[15]

After Hamid Khan's return to Ahmadabad, Trimbakrao Dabhade, the son of the Senapati, came up near the capital with a large army from the Deccan, and had an interview with him outside the walls on the banks of the Sabarmati. Thereafter, the three Maratha generals marched to Cambay, which they proceeded to invest. On 6 April, 1725, Daniel Innes, the English Agent at that town, writes that Pilaji and Kanthaji, encamped separately outside the walls, were ravaging the suburbs and had demanded from the citizens five lakhs of rupees as ransom. The next day he conveys the news that 'this town has been near sacked and burnt by Pilaji's forces, but we (*i.e.* the English factory) are likely to be safe.' He then describes an armed conflict between Pilaji and Kanthaji in front of Cambay city :

The Marathas before Cambay

> 'Before this happened, the town had sent a person to negotiate terms for them with Pilaji, through Kanthaji as mediator. The latter is appointed by Shahu Raja to this place and the adjacent for the collection of his ¼ part, and therefore, a sort of a protector. He sent the before-mentioned person to Pilaji with a pass directing him to hint that the place belonged to him (Kanthaji) and withal to offer him a present of 20,000 rupees to leave the place. Pilaji made him a prisoner, which Kanthaji so highly resented that we all saw from the walls a severe skirmish between them which ended by the flight of some thousands of Pilaji's forces two or three miles ; the report is that 1,500 or 2,000 men are killed on both sides.'[16]

[15] W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 184.

[16] In the same letter, Innes conveys the rumour that some of Hamid Khan's forces had deserted him and that he had lately received several invectives from his nephew, the Vazir, who had ordered him to repair immediately to Aurangabad.

The warring Maratha leaders, however, found it expedient to unite again, especially as an express letter arrived from Hamid Khan, who had left Ahmadabad, calling upon them to join him at Matar. On April 8, Innes reports, 'with inexpressible satisfaction,' that the Ganims had come to terms with the city which was to pay a ransom of Rs. 1,10,000 in a reasonable time. He adds that 'the same will hardly be felt and it will be accounted next to a miracle if the city is thus freed from them.' Three days later, he writes again on the subject and gives some interesting details:

Cambay held to ransom

'My last advise they (the Ganims) had agreed with the city for a lakh and ten thousand rupees, for the collection of which Kanthaji has sent his Diwan with a party of men into the city; the worst step that could be permitted; for the city is now entirely at their mercy, and I can make no judgment of its condition, as our lives and fortunes are dependent on the caprice of armed villains, (who) among the rest have cessed me 5,000 rupees. I have absolutely refused the payment, pleading our firman, etc., friendship with Sau Raj [Shahu Raja]; all which they laugh at and have renewed their threats.'[17]

In a postscript, Innes says that the demand on the English had been reduced to 3,000 rupees. The Marathas departed from Cambay on 15 April, having received the major portion of the ransom money, leaving only 200 men for the collection of the remaining 30,000 rupees, for the security of which the merchants had delivered them four hostages. As the result of the bold front assumed by its Chief, the English factory managed to escape with a small payment of only Rs. 500, though, when the menace was great, Innes had agreed to pay upto Rs. 2,000 to secure its safety. With the departure of the main Maratha army, the Agent felt more confident of his ability to oppose any exactions. 'Bairam has paid no more than 500 rupees,' he writes to Surat, 'and as the power is gone that forced it, he shan't pay a pice more, as I think a forced promise is not binding, and as for the 200 men that are here, I fear not their menaces.'[18]

Hamid Khan was sorely in need of resources to support his revolt. Barely had the Maratha leaders left Cambay, when his agents, backed by armed guards, arrived there to secure payment from the citizens by imposing a levy on every house. Some valuable information about these exactions, both here and in the capital of the province, is available in a letter dated 4 May 1725 from the English Agent at Cambay to Surat, which says :

Hamid Khan's exactions at Cambay

'Hamid Khan is not out of Ahmadabad, but the bazar news is that he intends with all the Ganims to leave these parts shortly. By his great oppressions, the shroffs and merchants at Ahmadabad are daily running away. He cesses the houses, and, as he catches a man,

17 Gense and Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, I, 5.

18 ibid, I, 6. Bairam mentioned in this letter was probably a Parsi of Cambay serving in the capacity of a broker to the English factory in that town.

according to his estate squeezes him. He has sent here (*i.e.* Cambay) 130 horse with two officers, whom he has given bills on the Government towards the payment of some of his troops for one lakh and fifty thousand rupees. To enable him to comply therewith, as the King's customs collected here are a trifle to that sum, every house is cessed at 12 rupees, and orders are given for seizing of about 50 of the head shroffs and merchants in the city to demand of them the advancing of the above sum, and on their refusal to send them to him, which occasioned a great many last night to run away.'[19]

Fifty more horse arrived soon after from Hamid Khan with the same object and the levy was reduced to five rupees per house, 'on which some of the merchants crept out of their holes.' A week later, Innes reports that Hamid Khan's agents had forced from the merchants of Cambay a promise for payment of 30,000 rupees 'to be collected in the same manner as the Ganims' extortions'.[20]

Tyranny at Ahmadabad

We have also evidence to show that Hamid Khan's rule at Ahmadabad, after his return in February, 1725, was a practical 'reign of terror'. Innes at Cambay, writing to Surat on 15 June 1725, after conveying the news received from the court that the King's party at the imperial capital had fought and killed 'Commandar' (Qamruddin) Khan the son of Chin Kilich Khan, as also Hamid Khan's son, in which conflict upwards of twenty-five thousand houses were burnt, proceeds to state:

'Hamid Khan at Ahmadabad has likewise poisoned the Bobby (Babi) and attempted the same, at the King's demand, on Momin Khan, who escaped by eating another betel he had ready. He has recalled his people from hence, that seized the houses, and has sent another officer with two hundred men. What his business is none knows. The whole town is alarmed, keeping their houses. The report continues of his departure in a short time, of which there is a necessity, for, if he stays much longer, these parts are threatened with famine next season as none of the poor people will till the ground while he stays.'[21]

Cambay further terrorised

Even as late as 18 July, 1725, some three months before Hamid Khan finally quitted the province, the people of Cambay had no peace from his harpies who were sent there to extort money. Innes writes again to J. Courtney on this date :

'A new Deputy Governor some days since arrived here. He was sent on his promising in 20 days to send to Ahmadabad 19,000 rupees,

19 Gense and Banaji, op cit., I, 7.

20 Hamid Khan's agents also demanded a thousand rupees from the English Factory at Cambay. At first, they were put off, and on their next attempt, Daniel Innes gave them a flat denial. Finding that all threats were in vain, they sealed up the Factory broker's warehouse. As the Resident suspected that the local governor wanted to get something out of the English for himself, he sent 'two cases of drams (spirits) in presents to such as it would go much further with than money,' with the result that the governor ordered the seals to be opened (*Surat Factory Diary*, Letter from Cambay, 15 June 1725).

21 *Surat Factory Diary*, Letter from Cambay, 15 June 1725.

on which the merchants hid themselves and retired to the neighbouring villages. Soon after his arrival, he beat a drum about the city warning the inhabitants to open their doors, or would force them to it by plundering the city. Yet for six days after his arrival not a man was to be seen in the streets. He has since caught a few Banias whom he keeps prisoners to get hold of the heads of them; so that at present there is no manner of business going on, but we have several rumours that Hamid Khan intends to depart.'[22]

Khushalchand's services to his city, 1725

A unique historical document, still preserved in the family papers of the direct line of the Nagarsheths of Ahmadabad, bears eloquent testimony to the fact that, when Hamid Khan returned to his capital on 19 February, 1725, after the defeat of Rustam Ali Khan, the city was saved from being looted by the forces of his Maratha allies by the intercession of Sheth Khushalchand, the then Nagarsheth of the city, who, with his own money and at the risk of his life, bought off the invaders, thus rendering a service to the inhabitants which deserves to be remembered. We may mention that Khushalchand was the grandson of the famous Jain magnate Shantidas Jawahari whose career during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan has been described in a previous chapter. The document is in the form of an Instrument executed in October, 1725 by the Mahajans or trade-guilds of Ahmadabad, offering to Sheth Khushalchand four annas on every hundred rupees' worth of goods on all commodities entering or leaving the city. The grant was to be perpetual in his family and was to be paid to his sons and heirs.

Text of the document

It may be noted that, as stated in the text of the Instrument, the grant to Sheth Khushalchand was also made on behalf of the Dutch, English and French merchants resident in Ahmadabad at this period, though there is no signature bearing the name of any member of these nationalities. A translation of this valuable document is given below. Being drafted by the mahajans of the city, the language of the text is naturally that of the market-place and could hardly be expected to be literary:

'In the Samvat year 1781 of the glorious King Vikram, Saka 1646, the 13th of the bright half of the month of Ashvina (October 8, 1725): To Shethji Khushalchandji son of Lakshmichandji: We, the signatories, the combined Mahajans of the city of Ahmadabad, (to wit)[23] xxx have resolved of our own free will and pleasure to the effect that, when during the rule of the Nawab Hamidkhanji, the armies of the marauders (*ganimani*) came to loot the city, Shethji Khushalchandji Lakshmi-

22 *Surat Factory Diary*, 2/612, Letter from Cambay, 18 July 1725.

23 The following names are at this place inserted in the body of the text: 'Sha Kishorchand Ranchhoddas, Sha Avchaldas Vallabhdas, Sha Kamalnendas Ganeshdas, Sha Gangadas Tapidas, Sha Bulakhidas Virjee, Sha Jaichand Valam, Bohora Mahmud Wahed, Miya Abubkr Shahbhaikhanjee; as also all wholesale dealers; and the Dutch, English and the French; as well as the Malan (?) and the middlemen; and Sha Velchand Jaikarna and Sha Kisor Kashi; and others, that is, all the Mahajans (trade-guilds) of the city of Ahmadabad.'

chandji saved us and the city from being plundered by spending money from his own resources and at the risk of his life; for which reason all the mahajans do resolve of our free will that on all goods stamped for the town duties, as also on all commodities, spices and silks entering into or leaving the city, we shall pay him at the rate of four annas for every hundred rupees' worth of goods, as also those (shall pay) who farm these taxes. This shall continue to be paid to the sons and descendants of the Shethji (Khushalchand) by our sons and heirs. He who breaks this written pledge belies his parentage. This is delivered in writing by all the mahajans conjointly of their free will and pleasure and we shall abide by it as we would by our fathers' word. The sun shall bear witness to this. Herewith our signatures.'

A reduced facsimile of this document is given as an illustration in this chapter. It is in the form of a long roll 42″ long and 8¼″ wide, and it is written in Old Gujarati of the first quarter of the 18th century, in bold letters. The text is followed by fifty-three names of signatories and witnesses, including both Hindus and Muslims. A transcript is given in an Appendix to this chapter.[24]

When was the sack averted?

It has been stated before that Nawab Hamid Khan, with the Maratha army and its leaders, returned to Ahmadabad in February 1725 immediately after the defeat and death of Rustam Ali Khan at Vaso. It must, therefore, have been in or about this month that Khushalchand, the Nagarsheth, saved the capital from being sacked by the Nawab's associates by expending his great wealth to buy them off.[25] The Marathas, however, penetrated unrestricted into the villages adjacent to the capital, and the graphic details which have been quoted about what took place at Sarkhej and in the village occupied by the Afghans, indicate to us the dangers which the citizens of Ahmadabad escaped in 1725 at the time. But it is not likely that Hamid Khan was in Ahmadabad when this Instrument was delivered to the Nagarsheth on 8 October 1725. It is clear from the language of the document and from other evidence that he had finally left the city a little before this date for Mahmudabad (Mehmdabad) to join his allies owing to the arrival of the advanced columns of the new viceroy Sarbuland Khan, who had been sent by the Emperor to take personal charge of his province and to drive the rebellious nobleman out. Hamid Khan now passes out of the

24 The document was many years ago kindly placed in the hands of the author by the late Sheth Kasturbhai Manibhai Premchand and his son Mr. Aroon in the interest of historical research.

25 The grant of four annas in every hundred rupees' worth of commodities which were subject to octroi duties at Ahmadabad continued to be enjoyed by Sheth Khushalchand and his heirs for nearly a century after this date. But, at the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century, some time after the city came into the possession of the British in 1817, on the fall of the last Peshwa Baji Rao II, the government of the East India Company commuted this payment for an annual political pension of Rs. 2,113 by an Order dated 25 July 1820, and this small amount is still received by the descendants of this historic family.

stage of Gujarat history, but he had set an evil example by his defiance of imperial authority and by plunging the country into civil war, in alliance with the Mughal's enemies, leading to the defeat of two armies and the death of three valiant nobles within the short period of less than three months.

The poet Shamal's epic on Rustam Ali, 1725

Besides the document described above, we have an important literary memorial of the tragic events in North Gujarat associated with Hamid Khan's revolt which evidently made a deep impression on the people of the capital. Shamal Bhatt, the famous Gujarati poet, who lived in a suburb of Ahmadabad, gave literary expression to the sentiments of the time in an historical epic which is known as 'The *Pāvāda* of Rustam Ali.'[26] The episodes during the civil strife, the alliances made with the Maratha leaders by the contesting nobles, and other details which are mentioned in the poem, agree generally with the information which is supplied in the pages of the *Mirat*. Shamal tells us that Pilaji, who had plighted his support to Rustam Ali, was won over by Hamid Khan, and looted his ally's camp at the battle of Adas. Referring to an earlier episode, the poet says that, when the news of the defeat and death of Shujaat Khan at the village of Muthia (December, 1724) arrived at Ahmadabad, his brother, Ibrahim Quli, ordered the twelve gates of the city to be closed and vowed revenge on Hamid Khan. But the latter managed to win over Sheth Khushalsha and with his help had the gates opened and so entered the Bhadra Citadel. We are also told that when, after the death of Rustam Ali at Vaso, Hamid Khan entered Ahmadabad for the second time (February, 1725), his Maratha allies, Kanthaji and Pilaji, claimed that they should be allowed to loot the city according to the promise given to them. There is also an important allusion in the poem to Hamid Khan's exactions at Ahmadabad, to the effect that he twice imposed a levy on all the Hindu castes in the city, and each time secured twelve rupees per head from the hapless population. The colophon of this most interesting historical composition says that it was completed by the Brahman Shamalji on the 13th of the dark half of Maghsar in the Samvat year 1781 (December 21, 1725).[27]

26 Shamal Bhatt was a resident of Begumpur, near Gomtipur, a suburb of Ahmadabad. The poem contains 361 couplets, and extracts from it will be found in Ratnamanirao Bhimrao's *Ahmadabad* (Guj.), 131-33, and in the descriptive catalogue entitled *List of the Manuscript Collection of the Forbes Gujarati Sabha* (Guj). Ed. by A. B. Jani (1923), pp. 199-200. In this poem Shamal refers to the Marathas as *Dakshini ganim*.

27 In arriving at the English date we have taken the Samvat year 1781 to begin with Chaitra. If we follow the usual calculation, the date would be Dec. 2, 1724, which is obviously impossible as Rustam Ali was alive at the time at Surat and the battle of Adas and his death at Vaso took place in Feb., 1725.

।। स्वस्ति श्री मन नृप विक्रमार्क समयातीत संवत् १७८१ वर्षे शाके १६४६ ।।
।। प्रवर्तमाने आश्विन मासे शुक्ल पक्षे त्रयोदशी १३ — — — शेठ जी ।।
।। खुस्यालचंदजी वि लखमीचंदजी जोग समस्त शेहेर अमदावाद ।।
।। ना महाजन समस्त मलिने राजी थईने राजीनामु करि आपु छे ।।
।। शाह कीसोरदास रणछोडदास शा. [illegible] वखतदास वत्सलदास ।।
।। शा. [illegible] गंगादास शा. [illegible] ।।
।। [illegible] तथा वोरा [illegible] ।।
।। [illegible] बकर [illegible] खान जी तथा सोदागर तथा [illegible] ।।
।। [illegible] तथा अंगरेज तथा फरासीस तथा [illegible] तथा [illegible] ।।
।। तियामा वेलचंद जेचंद तथा शा. किसोर [illegible] ।।
।। महाजन समस्त शेहेर अमदावाद ना मलिने राजी थईने राजी ।।
।। नामु करि आपु छे जे [illegible] हेमद खानजी ना अमलमा ।।
।। शीमनि फोजो शेहेर लूटवाने काजे आवि हती ते समे ।।
।। शेठ जी खुस्यालचंदजी लखमीचंदजीए पदर थी आपी ने ।।
।। [illegible] करि ने पोताना जीव [illegible] करि ने ।।
।। [illegible] शेहेर ने [illegible] छे ते वास्ते महाजन सम ।।
।। स्त मलि ने राजी थईने लखि आपु छु जे कोई माल कोठे छप ।।
।। [illegible] तथा [illegible] तथा [illegible] ।।
।। [illegible] तथा [illegible] जाय तेने पैसा शात एक ने सोएरा ।।
।। [illegible] शात आपि तथा जे कोई कोठीनो [illegible] ।।
।। रि ने आपे शेठ जी मजकूर ना पुत्र प्रपुत्रादिक ने आपा ।।
।। पुत्र प्रपुत्रादिक आपि जाय एसल [illegible] जे कोई फरे ते ।।
।। ते पोताना मा बाप थि फरे महाजन समस्त मलि ने राजी ।।
।। राजी सजावत थईने लखि आपु छे ए सही बाप ।।
।। [illegible] श्री सूर्य [illegible] श्री [illegible] ।।

[illegible] [illegible]

INSTRUMENT IN FAVOUR OF KHUSHALCHAND, THE NAGARSHETH, BY THE MAHAJANS OF AHMADABAD, 1725 (pp. 420-21)

APPENDIX

TRANSCRIPT OF THE GUJARATI TEXT OF THE INSTRUMENT DELIVERED TO SHETH KHUSHALCHAND LAKSHMICHAND IN 1725 BY THE MAHAJANS OF AHMADABAD.

શ્રી

સ્વર્સ્તિ શ્રીમનૃપવિક્રમાર્કર્ક શમયાતિત્ સંવત ૧૭૮૧ શાકે ૧૬૪૬
પ્રવર્ત્તમાને: અશ્વિન્ માસે શુક્લ પક્ષે ત્રયોદશી........શેઠજી
ખુસાલચંદજી વિ: લક્ષ્મીચંદજી જોગ લખિતંગ શેહેર અમદાવાદ
ના માહાજન સમસ્ત મલિને રાજી થઈને રાજીનાંમૂ કરિ આપૂ છે
સાહ: કીસોરદાસ રણછોડદાસ સા૦ અવચલદાસ વલ્લભદાસ
સા. કમલનેનદાસ ગણેશદાસ: સા૦ ગંગાદાસ તાપિદાસ સા૦ બલાખીદાસ
વિરજી: સા૦ જેયચંદ વલમ: તથા વોહોરા: મેહેમૂદ વાહદમીઅં:
અબૂઅકર: શાહભાઈ ષાંનજી: તથા: સોદાગર: તથા વલંદેજ:
તથા અંગરેજ: તથા ફરાશીસ: તથા મલાં તથા મારફતિયા
સા૦ વેલચંદ જેયકર્ણ: તથા સા૦ કિસોર કાશિ: વગેરે માહાજન
સમસ્ત શેહર અમદાવાદના મલિને રાજી થઈને રાજીનાંમૂ
કરિ આપૂ છે જે નબાપ: હેમદષાંનજીના અમલ મધ્યે ગનીમનિ
ફોજો શેહેર લૂટવાને કાજે આવિ હતિ તે સમા મ
ધ્યે શેઠજી પ ખુસાલચંદજી લક્ષ્મીચંદજીયે પઈસા પોતા-
ના ઘરથિ ખરચ કરિને પોતાના જીવસુધિ આધરિને અ-
મને તથા શેહરને લૂટાટુ રાક્ષુ છે તે વાસ્તી માહજન સમ-
સ્ત મલિને રાજી થઈને લખિ આપૂ છે: જે કોઈ માલ કોડે છપા-
વે તથા બાહારથિ વસ્તુવાંનુ તથા કિરઆનુ: તથા રેસમ આ-
મદનિ લાવે તથા લેઈ જાય તે રુપૈઆ શત એકને માલે રાં-
મ ચાર લેષે દર શત આપે તથા જે કોઈ કોઠાનો વ્યેપાર ક-
રે તે આપે શેઠજી મજકુરના પુત્રપુત્રાદિકને અમા-
રા પુત્રપુત્રાદિક આપે જાય એ લક્ષાથિ જે કોઈ ફરે તે-
તે પોતાના માઆપથિ ફરે માહાજન સમસ્ત મલિને શ-
રાજી રાજાવંત થઈને લખિ આપૂ છે એ લખુ બાપ-
ના બોલ સુ પાલીએ શ્રીસૂર્ય સાખ્ય શ્રી મંગલં-

૧ અત્ર મતુ	૧ અંત્ર સાખ્ય
૧ મી૦ અબદલ મીજીત અબદલ રહીમ	૧ સા. કમળાનણાદસ ગેણસદસ
૧ મી૦ અબદલ વાહદ અબદલ રહીમ	મત ઉપર લખવી
૧ મી૦ આદમભાઈ અબદલ રહીમ	૧ સા. આવીચળદાં વલામદા
૧ મી૦ ખાલકભાઈ હલમભાઈ	ઉપર લખ સહી
× × × ×	૧ સા. માણકચાદ દવરકદસ
	મતા ઉપર લખતા સહી
	× × × ×

CHAPTER XXXVII

SARBULAND KHAN'S RULE AND HIS CONCESSIONS TO BAJIRAO I, 1725-30

Sarbuland Khan in Gujarat: Maratha reverses, 1725-6

WHEN news of the disastrous defeat and death of Rustam Ali Khan at Vaso (Apr., 1725) reached the Emperor at Delhi, special orders were issued to Sarbuland Khan, who had been appointed viceroy in the previous year, to proceed at once to take charge of his province, in order to drive off the Marathas, and a sum of one crore of rupees was assigned from the imperial treasury to enable him to equip a powerful army for that purpose. Of this amount fifty lakhs were paid at once and the remainder was to be sent to him in monthly instalments of three lakhs of rupees. Collecting his forces, Sarbuland Khan proceeded by easy stages to assume his duties and reached Ahmadabad on December 1, 1725.[1] After his arrival, a force of 15,000 men was despatched against the Marathas under his eldest son, Khanazad Khan, and with him were sent Jawan Mard Khan Babi and other Gujarat nobles with their contingents. After holding a Maratha attack on himself during his advance to Dholka, Khanazad Khan defeated the enemy in a pitched battle at the village of Sojitra in the Petlad pargana (January, 1726). He then returned to the capital in obedience to his father's orders, and encamped at the village of Rakhyal, where some leaders of the Bahra Saiyids, who had arrived with their troops from the north, joined his army. News soon arrived that the Marathas had established an entrenched camp at Kapadvanj in concert with the Koli tribes of that district. Once again, Khanazad Khan took the field and played upon the enemy so effectively with his artillery that they retreated leaving the camp in his hands. The Mughal army pursued them in their flight until they retired across the Mahi and sought shelter in the hilly country of Ali-Mohan (Chhota Udaipur).[2] These were the last victories which

1 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 98, 102, 107.

2 ibid, II, 108-10; W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, 190-191. In his letter dated 29 Dec., 1725, Daniel Innes, writing from Cambay to John Courtney at Surat, says: 'This is to advise you that on the 29th instant, Sarbuland Khan's son arrived at the garden a mile from the town with about 35,000 horse and 15,000 foot. The day before, they had a small skirmish with the Ganims, and killed about 40 of them; and yesterday came into the town their Khan, the new Governor appointed by Sarbuland Khan.' (Gense and Banaji, op. cit., I, 8)

the imperialists were destined to win in the field over the Marathas who were soon to be masters of North Gujarat.

The tragic fate that now overwhelmed the ancient and prosperous town of Vadnagar illustrates by contrast what three other cities (Ahmadabad, Viramgam and Cambay) had barely managed to escape at this critical period. About the very time that the viceroy's son was chastising the enemy, the Peshwa's forces under Antaji and Bhaskar burst into North Gujarat from the direction of Idar and appeared before Vadnagar, famous for its wealthy bankers and merchants of the Nagar Brahman community who had business connections for vast amounts in all parts of this province and outside it. Though the town was fortified by a wall there were neither supplies nor any garrison for its defence. Urgent requests were made to the capital for troops, but none were sent. In this extremity the citizens saved themselves from being plundered by payment of a heavy tribute of four lakhs of rupees. Some time later, before they had recovered from this calamity, another Maratha army under Kanthaji found its way from Godhra to Idar and thence to Vadnagar. In this hour of gloom and dire distress the people sought safety in flight at night from their ancestral homes. The Marathas entered the town in the morning and plundered what the citizens had not been able to carry away. As the town had enjoyed great prosperity from olden times, much buried treasure and valuable effects were found. Not satisfied with this, they set fire to the town and many richly constructed buildings were destroyed. With anguish in their hearts, the owners dispersed, some to distant places like Mathura and Benares, while others sought a new domicile in the towns and villages of Gujarat. The accomplished author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, writing *c.* 1748-61, makes the following classical remarks on the fate of the town :

Tragic fate of Vadnager, 1726

> 'It has been a common saying among the people of this province that the city of Ahmadabad had two golden wings: one was Vadnagar and the other Umreth. This saying arose from the fact that, in both these towns, there were many wealthy and prosperous merchants whose wealth was estimated by lakhs. But owing to the vicissitudes of fortune, and successive calamities, both these towns have fallen low and are reduced to ruin and desolation, so that Ahmadabad is now like a bird bereft of wings and plumage.'[3]

Sarbuland Khan (Mubariz-ul-mulk) remained in Gujarat for the comparatively long period of five years (1726-30). He was an active soldier, but he failed in the main purpose for which he had been despatched to this province, and was unable to drive back the numerous bodies of Marathas which had overrun North Gujarat. Though he could have offered further resistance with the army which he had brought with him from Delhi, he

Grant of the chauth to Kanthaji confirmed

[3] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 111-12.

was somehow indisposed to continue the indefinite struggle, and showed himself ready to accept the offer, made by Kanthaji in 1726, through one Surat Singh, to come to terms. By an agreement now made, the *chauth* of all the parganas to the north of the Mahi river, with the exception of the capital and the Haveli (or home) pargana, was granted to Kanthaji. Formal deeds were drawn up, and orders addressed to all fauzdars and amils, directing them to admit the Maratha revenue collectors (*maccasdars*), were handed over to Kanthaji's agent. When news of this transaction reached the imperial court, the monthly subsidy of three lakhs of rupees which used to be sent to the viceroy was discontinued as no longer necessary.

The Peshwa's agents in Gujarat, 1726

The tragic events associated with the sack of Vadnagar show that another powerful Maratha element had now entered the chaotic field of Gujarat politics. The great Peshwa Baji Rao I, a bitter rival of the Senapati Dabhade at Shahu's court, was determined to undermine Trimbakrao's authority by securing for himself the lucrative rights over the *chauth* of Gujarat. In 1726, his agent Udaji Pawar entered Gujarat from Dhar in Malwa where he had his headquarters. The fauzdar of the ancient fortress-town of Dabhoi, who had been much harassed by Pilaji, took the side of Udaji and gave him shelter in his fort. In some subsequent fighting, the fauzdar was killed, and the town and fort of Dabhoi thus came for a time into Udaji's sole possession. Pilaji and Kanthaji, who resented the advent of the Peshwa's agent in what had hitherto been their special preserve, now united and laid siege to Dabhoi and foiled the attempt of the governor of Baroda, Sadr-ud-din Khan, to go to its help. In his distress, Udaji appealed to Sarbuland Khan who sent an army under Shaikh Allahyar Bakhshi and others to his aid. But its progress was hindered near Nadiad by the troops of Pilaji and Kanthaji with their guerilla tactics. Udaji and Sadr-ud-din Khan, finding their efforts to hold Dabhoi of no avail, at last abandoned the town and retired to Dhar, so that this ancient fortress, as also the fort and town of Baroda, were now occupied by Pilaji. At this time, Krishna, the adopted son of Kanthaji, managed to capture the lofty hill-fortress of Pavagadh and made it his headquarters.[5] In the following year (1727), Chimnaji Appa, the Peshwa's brother, entered the province with his troops and penetrated as far as Dholka, within 25 miles of the capital. His representatives were sent to negotiate with the viceroy about the chauth, but no terms could be settled.[6]

4 W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 193; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 114-15.

5 ibid, 194-96; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 118-24.

6 According to Maratha sources, a treaty was made on Feb. 20, 1727, though it could not be enforced owing to the opposition of Pilaji and Kanthaji. (V. G. Dighe, *Peshwa Baji Rao I and Maratha Expansion* (1944), p. 30 and *n*.)

The Peshwa was, however, determined to establish his claims in Gujarat, though he must have known that this attempt would be bitterly resented by the Dabhade family and its agents. Flushed with his successes in Malwa and the Deccan, he again sent his brother Chimnaji to Gujarat with a large army at the end of 1729. On December 23, the latter crossed the Narbada at the Baba Piara ford, and on January 1, 1730, he attacked the great hill-fort of Pavagadh, held by Kanthaji's garrison, which capitulated after a week. Chimnaji then advanced towards Petlad and Cambay, and, after exacting a ransom of two lakhs of rupees from the former town, he proceeded to sack Dholka. The following extract from Daniel Innes's letter from Cambay to Henry Lowther at Surat, dated 25 March 1730, shows that the methods of extortion adopted by the Peshwa's representative were on a par with those of Pilaji and Kanthaji, the agents of the Senapati:

Invasion of Chimnaji Appa, 1730

> 'The Ganims under Chimnaji Raja, it is said, before they left Petlad, got from the town near two lakhs of rupees; whence they moved off Dholka way, xxx which town they attacked; but meeting with some resistance, they have pillaged the greatest part of it; the loss sustained cannot as yet be known, but must be vastly great ; multitudes say a crore of rupees, others more moderate say half at least. This to be done, and so near the Nawab (*i.e.* Sarbuland Khan), makes it plain that he is far from having at heart the good or safety of Gujarat.'[7]

The powerful army with which Sarbuland Khan had entered Gujarat at the end of 1725 had mostly been dispersed by this time, and he had no resources left to carry on the struggle with the Marathas, especially as the destructive activities of Kanthaji and Pilaji had now been supplemented by the Peshwa's troops under Chimnaji Appa. With no help from Delhi, and in the vain hope that Baji Rao, with his superior authority, would be able to check the annual exactions of Dabhade's agents, the viceroy entered into a formal treaty with the Peshwa on 23 March 1730. He agreed to cede to Baji Rao the *sardeshmukhi*, or ten per cent., of the whole revenue, both from the land and customs, excepting that from the port of Surat and the district attached to it, together with the *chauth* from the same sources, and five per cent. of the revenues of the city of Ahmadabad. It was further stipulated that the Peshwa was to maintain 2,500 horse to keep peace in the province and that as few men as possible should be kept in the districts to collect the tribute, and no extra demands were to be made on the ryots. The Peshwa was, on behalf of Shahu Raja, to help to uphold imperial authority, and to prevent the Raja's subjects (*e.g.* Pilaji) from supporting disaffected Desais and zamindars and other disturbers of the public peace (such as Bhils and Kolis over whom Pilaji had so great

Treaty with the Peshwa, 1730

[7] Gense and Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, I, 10.

an influence). The treaty may be regarded as the culmination of various negotiations and abortive agreements between the viceroy and the Peshwa's agents between 1726 and 1729.[8] This diplomatic success of the Peshwa was destined, however, to lead, a year later, to armed strife between him and the Senapati in Gujarat, ending in the defeat and death of the latter, as will be related in the next chapter.

The viceroy's domestic policy

During the five years of his stay in Gujarat, Sarbuland Khan's domestic administration was very oppressive so that the inhabitants of the capital found but little benefit from the change of viceroys. In his very first year at Ahmadabad, the viceroy, yielding to the selfish designs of the Nagarsheth's enemies, put Sheth Khushalchand into custody, ignoring the signal services rendered by him to the city less than a year before. One Sheth Gangadas, the head of the silk merchants' *mahajan*, was nominated in his place. Khushalchand's enemies even offered Sarbuland Khan a sum of one lakh of rupees if he would subject the Nagarsheth to public degradation, expecting that the latter would commit suicide to escape such a fate. The viceroy sent for the veteran official, Ali Muhammad Khan (Sr.), and sought his advice, and ultimately released Khushalchand on payment of a sum of sixty thousand rupees.[9] This episode supplies an index to the policy of Mubariz-ul-mulk during the rest of his term of office. He was very lavish and careless in his expenditure, and, though the monthly subsidy of three lakhs of rupees, at first sent to him from the court, had been discontinued, he found it still necessary to maintain a large army. To meet his needs, the parganas were forced to pay revenues far in excess of their ability to do so, and illegal imposts (*vero*) were placed on the merchants and tradesmen of Ahmadabad. They were taxed, sometimes twice a year, on their income, or per head, or per house.

Campaigns in Kathiawar and Cutch, 1727-29

Mughal authority had not been seriously impaired in Kathiawar at this period, but the peninsula was very soon to be a happy hunting ground for the Maratha armies which had already penetrated its frontiers. Mubariz-ul-mulk was able, therefore, to continue for a time the practice of annual expeditions for the collection of tribute there. In 1726, the Chief of Wadhwan, Arjunsingh, was inclined to resist, but he was brought to submission and made to pay a fine of three lakhs in addition to the tribute. The Jam of Navanagar (also called Islamnagar) offered a tribute of the same amount through Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi, the governor of Viramgam. In the following year, the viceroy directed his march to Chhaya near Porbandar. Unwilling to meet the demand made on him, the Jethwa Chief, Khimoji, escaped by sea; but when

8 The details of this treaty are based on Maratha records. See Grant Duff, Ed. of 1921, I, 374; V. G. Dighe, *Peshwa Baji Rao I and Maratha Expansion* (1944), pp. 32-33 and notes; Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 392.

9 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 113-14.

Sarbuland Khan began to make arrangements to place a Mughal fauzdar with a garrison at Chhaya, the fugitive returned and was restored to his State on payment of 1,25,000 mahmudis (1727). On the return march to his capital, the viceroy married the daughter of Raj Pratapsingh of Halvad. In 1729, Mubariz-ul-mulk again proceeded to the peninsula and plundered the town of Madhavpur which the Chhaya ruler had secured by bribing the Desai of Mangrol. The ruler of Cutch now offered a tribute of ten lakhs of mahmudis, but this amount was considered insufficient. Undaunted by the difficulties in his way, the viceroy determined to proceed through the salty and barren *Rann* to enforce his demand. After much suffering from thirst on the journey, his army effected the crossing and laid siege to Bhuj. The Rao, while making offers of submission, burnt all the villages for some distance about the town, so as to deprive the besiegers of all grain and grass. His well-mounted cavalry similarly shut off all other sources of supply. In consequence, the artillery-bullocks and the baggage camels in the Mughal camp perished in large numbers. At this juncture, Sarbuland Khan received news that he had been removed from the government of Gujarat and his post given to Maharaja Abhaysingh of Marwar. He, therefore, raised the siege of Bhuj, and directed his return march through the narrowest part of the *Rann* to Radhanpur, and so arrived at Ahmadabad.[10]

Rising of the Bohras at Ahmadabad

In 1730, after their return from the Bhuj campaign, the soldiers broke out into mutiny for arrears of pay, and the viceroy decided to impose a levy on the capital to find the money, as had been done several times before. Of the total amount fixed for collection, two-thirds was to be paid by the Hindus and one-third by the Bohras, many of whom were Sunnis and very rich. The latter determined to resist the levy, ostensibly pleading their inability, but probably because they knew that Sarbuland Khan had been superseded. They expected that, under the circumstances, he would be afraid to provoke a riot, and so abandon the levy. A certain Shaikh Abdullah, an old Bohra, who had lived as a recluse for many years, now came forward to head the agitators and his speeches added fuel to the fire. The malcontents assembled in the Jami masjid where they were assured by this leader that heavenly hosts were coming to fight for them. The viceroy adopted at first conciliatory methods and sent a message that he had decided to remit the levy from the Bohras, and called upon them to disperse peacefully. But Shaikh Abdullah became more extreme in his attitude and demanded that the amount to be levied on the Hindus should also be given up and that the Subahdar should leave the city. Sarbuland Khan, thereupon, ordered his general, Allahyar, to march into the city with his troops, to close all the streets,

10 W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 193-4, 196, 200-01; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 116, 121-22, 136-38.

and to occupy the masjid. The soldiers were attacked on their way by the rioters with stones from the house-tops near the Maidan Shah. But they managed to reach the mosque where Shaikh Abdullah and other leaders were arrested after a scuffle in which some of the Bohras were killed. As a punishment, the impost to be levied from the community was doubled. This event took place on 19 July 1730, about three months before the viceroy's departure from Gujarat.[11]

Recall of Sarbuland Khan

Sarbuland Khan's reputation at court had declined considerably during the five years that he was away in Gujarat, and the Emperor's hope that he would stem the tide of Maratha invasion had not been realised. After the monthly subsidy to him of three lakhs had been stopped, complaints about the viceroy's high-handed conduct had begun to accumulate at Delhi, such as resumption of the jagirs of nobles residing in Delhi, the imposing of illegal fines and imposts, and other acts of oppression. Moreover, Khan Dauran (Samsam-ud-daulah), who was at this time the principal minister at the court, had become estranged from the viceroy, and it was also his opinion that the great Hindu Rajas of the Empire were the proper nobles who could effectually confront the onrush of the Marathas. For all these reasons, orders were issued for the recall of Mubariz-ul-mulk, and Maharaja Abhaysingh of Marwar, the eldest son of Ajit Singh, was appointed as viceroy of Gujarat. He was thus the third ruler of the Rathod dynasty to hold this imperial office.

Abhaysingh marches to Gujarat

Maharaja Abhaysingh left Delhi with the usual presents from the Emperor and was granted eighteen lakhs of rupees from the royal treasury for his expenses. Proceeding to his own capital at Jodhpur, he enlisted 20,000 well-trained Rathod cavalry from Marwar and Nagor. With this army, and accompanied by his younger brother Vakhatsingh, and his minister Ratansingh Bhandari, he advanced towards Gujarat. At Palanpur, he was joined by its hereditary governor, Karimdad Khan. When news of his arrival at Jalor reached Sarbuland Khan at Ahmadabad, he prepared to resist the Maharaja in spite of the fact that he had himself more than once desired to be relieved of his post. Collecting a large army and all his artillery, he crossed the river and encamped at Adalaj, near the fort of Kali, awaiting the approach of Abhaysingh's forces. A sharp battle took place between the two sides, accompanied by heavy cannonading, opposite the capital, in which Sarbuland Khan was defeated. By the intercession of friends, a reconciliation was effected, after which he rode over to the Maharaja's camp where the two nobles had a friendly meeting. It was also arranged that the ex-viceroy should leave for Delhi on receiving from his successor one lakh of rupees for the expenses of his journey (Oct., 1730).

11 W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 201-02; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 139-42.

A historically valuable letter sent by the Maharaja Abhaysingh from his camp before Ahmadabad to his vakil, Bhandari Amarsingh, at the imperial court, and dated 19 Oct., 1730,[12] has been found in the Jodhpur archives. It gives some important information on the complete defeat and collapse of Sarbuland Khan and the substantial rewards expected by the Maharaja for his services. We gather from it that, previous to his defeat, Sarbuland Khan had been very haughty, but, after the loss of his army, he sent his officers to Momin Khan to intercede for him. His request for a personal meeting with Abhaysingh being granted, he came to the latter's camp, when presents and turbans were exchanged in token of reconciliation. After giving these details, the Maharaja's letter directs the vakil to present 101 gold mohurs to the Emperor for the victory, and also, if he thought proper, to offer a golden key in token of the capture of the Bhadra citadel. The agent is also asked to approach the Vazir (Khan Dauran) for payment of the military expenses, and to remit the same immediately, as the army consisted of 30,000 horse and 10,000 foot, and the charges came to seven lakhs of rupees per month. As the ex-viceroy had appropriated all the revenues of the province, nothing was left in the treasury. The agent is further directed to ascertain if the Emperor still desired to put an end to the Miyan (Sarbuland Khan), and if so, a letter from His Majesty or his minister to that effect should be sent very soon, so that the instructions might be carried out before the recalled nobleman reached Udaipur.

Abhaysingh's letter to his vakil, 1730

Abhaysingh's letter further directs his representative to request from the Emperor special rewards in appreciation of the Maharaja's services. He must work to secure for his master the mansab of three thousand Sawars and an increase of his personal rank (*zat*) by 1000 to eight-*hazari*. If the Nawab (Khan Dauran) should object on the ground that no noble's mansab could be raised higher than 7,000, the vakil should remind him that formerly Maharaja Jaswantsingh held the rank of 9,000 *Zat*. He should further get his master's title raised to 'Maharajadhiraj', and secure an addition of 1000 in the mansab of his son (Vakhatsingh) with the title of 'Rajadhiraj'. This document is also interesting for the fact that at the top and along the margins are remarks in the Maharaja's own hand where he points out that, as it was not proper to kill a vanquished foe, he had spared the ex-viceroy's life. Then follow instructions about getting his personal rank and his son's increased on the lines stated above. The document bears the seal of the Maharaja which reads : 'By the grace of the Almighty goddess Hingalaj, glory be to the sovereign

Rewards expected from the Emperor

12 The Hindu date given in the document is the 4th day of the dark half of the month of Kartik, 1787 V. S.

ruler, king of kings, supreme prince, Maharaja Shri Abhaysingh Deva, who shines like the sun on the earth.'[13]

Turning now to other events in Gujarat and its peninsula at this period, we may mention that about the end of 1728, when the viceroy Sarbuland Khan was encamped at Chandola tank outside the capital, news arrived that Jawan Mard Khan Babi (Sr.), the son of Safdar Khan,[14] who was fauzdar of Petlad, had been wounded while leading an attack against the Kolis, and had died after returning to Petlad. His body was brought to Ahmadabad and buried in the maqbara of the Babis which was located near the Idgah of the capital city. The viceroy came to Salabat Muhammad Khan's tent to condole with him on the death of his brother, and at the latter's request, the two sons of the deceased noble were raised to honour. The elder, Kamal-ud-din Khan, was given a mansab with his father's title of Jawan Mard Khan. In the troubled years that followed, we find him playing a leading part in the political revolutions at the capital where he made himself the *de facto* viceroy from 1744 to 1753, and, on the downfall of Mughal rule in Gujarat, he carved out an independent principality for himself as the first Nawab of Radhanpur. His younger brother, Muhammad Anwar, also now received a mansab and the title of Safdar Khan.[15]

Rise of Jawan Mard Khan Babi (Jr.), 1728

In 1730, two years after the death of his brother, Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi died suddenly from cholera at Ahmadabad on the eve of proceeding to investigate the death of Udaikaran, the Desai of Viramgam, who had been murdered by a *kasbati* of that town. He was an astute politician and a bold military leader, and as governor of Viramgam (1725-30) he had exercised great influence in the affairs of Kathiawad. In 1727, Jam Tamachi of Navanagar, who had been deprived of his rights by his uncle Hardholji for ten years, was seated on the *gadi* principally with the help of Salabat Muhammad Khan, which was secured by Raja Pratapsinghji, the ruler of Halwad. While the Jhala ruler gave his own daughter in marriage to Subahdar Sarbuland Khan, he induced one of his cousins to offer his daughter to the Babi leader. In return for his services, Salabat Muhammad Khan also received from Jam Tamachi

Death of Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi, 1730

13 Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu's paper, *Maharaja Abhaysingh of Jodhpur and Sarbuland Khan of Gujarat*, printed in Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. XXIII, 1946, pp. 67-69.

14 The ancestor of the famous Babi family, named Sher Khan, first arrived in Gujarat during the reign of Shah Jahan when he was appointed *Thanadar* of Chunwal. His son Safdar Khan Babi led the Mughal army to the Narbada to oppose the invasion of Dhanaji Jadhav in 1706, but he was defeated at the battle of Ratanpur and taken prisoner along with his two sons Salabat Muhammad Khan and Jawan Mard Khan (Sr.). At a later period, he was the leading noble at Ahmadabad during the years 1717 to 1724. He died in 1725 (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 99)

15 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 131-32. For the genealogy of the Babi family in the 18th century, see Appendix to this chapter.

three villages.[16] In 1729, Asad Ali Khan, the fauzdar of Sorath, who was at Delhi, appointed Salabat Khan as his deputy. But as the latter could not be spared from Viramgam, where he held a key position, it being the point where the Marathas entered the peninsula, he sent his son Sher Khan to Junagadh as his Naib. After Salabat's death in 1730, Sher Khan was confirmed in his father's jagirs at Balasinor, Virpur and Gogha and succeeded to his political influence.[17] Twenty years later, he became the first independent Nawab of Junagadh.

Disintegration in the peninsula

Ever since the departure of Sardar Khan,[18] the fauzdar, from Junagadh in 1686, the authority of the powerful Mughal governors of the Sarkar of Sorath had been on the decline, but it was not till the 18th century was well advanced that disorder and disintegration became prevalent in the peninsula. The authority of the Fauzdar came in time to be confined to New Sorath,[19] and to such *thanas* or posts in the coast belt and elsewhere as remained loyal. By 1727, the fauzdar entirely lost control over several of the outlying military posts, so that the once official *thanadars* of Mangrol, Kutiana, Una-Delvada, Sutrapada, Somnath-Patan, and others in the centre of the province, had become independent of imperial authority. The difficulties of the Empire arising from the Maratha invasions of the province appear to have been welcomed by the Hindu princes and chiefs both on the mainland and in the peninsula. As already stated, the Raja of Rajpipla actively connived at Pilaji's inroads, while the ruling Chiefs and less powerful zamindars in Kathiawad took advantage of every sign of weakness to encroach on the crown lands. Among the foremost was Navanagar which was anxious to recover its former status. Then came the Jethwas of Chhaya,[20] who had commenced asserting their influence at Porbandar, where they had built a small fort on one pretext or another. By virtúe of the fact that Porbandar was located on the western coast-line, and thus a good deal isolated from Junagadh, the seat of the fauzdar, this encroachment was allowed to pass unchecked. The encroachments of the Gohel chief of Sihor in the south-east of the peninsula paved the way for the extensive sway of the Ravals of Bhavnagar.[21]

16 These were later sold to Gondal by his two younger sons, Diler Khan and Sher Zaman Khan, the future holders of the fertile taluka of Bantwa under Junagadh.

17 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 124, 143; Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, 468-69.

18 For memorials of Sardar Khan's long sway at Junagadh during the reign of Aurangzeb, see Chap. XVI of this volume.

19 Under 'New Sorath', Abul Fazl includes Junagadh with its suburban district and some ten other small parganas. Under 'Old Sorath' (also called Nagher), which covered the fertile region forming the coast belt, are mentioned Patan Somnath, Una, Delwada, Mangrol, Kodinar, Mul Mahadev, Chorwad, and Div. (Jarret's *Ain*, 244).

20 Chhaya, the former capital of the Jethwas, is situated only a mile and a half from Porbandar, and contains some interesting remains including its citadel.

21 Bombay Gazetteer, VIII (Kathiawad), 297-98, 302.

Foundation of Bhavnagar, 1723

Though the peninsula of Saurashtra boasts of some of the most ancient towns in Gujarat, such as Junagadh, Prabhas Patan, Mangrol, Dwarka, Than, Wadhwan, Sihor, etc., two of its present capital towns, *viz.*, Bhavnagar and Dhrangadhra, the seats of the famous Rajput clans of the Gohels and the Jhalas, were founded as late as the third decade of the 18th century, i.e., about the period when Sarbuland Khan was Subahdar. In 1722, Raval Bhavsinghji, the Gohel chief of Sihor, drove back the first Maratha inroad into the peninsula and saved the fort of Sihor from being taken.[22] Impressed by the danger he had run from having no means of escape, or anxious perhaps to have an outlet on the sea, this ruler removed his residence from Sihor to the small village of Vadva, situated on a creek of the Gulf of Cambay. Here in 1723 he founded the city of Bhavnagar which speedily became a port of importance, attracting to itself the trade previously monopolised by Cambay, Gogha and Surat.[23] Before his death in 1764, after a long and eventful reign of over half a century, Bhavsinghji had contrived to absorb most of the crown villages and *thanas* near Bhavnagar and Sihor, had wrested Sultanpur from the Koli pirates, and had raised the Gohels to a commanding position in the south-east of the peninsula.[24]

Dhrangadhra as the Jhala capital, 1730

Halwad had been the headquarters of the Rajput lords of Jhalawar for nearly two centuries and a half after the conquest and sack of Kuwa[25] by Sultan Mahmud Begada in 1488. In 1730, however, Raisinghji Jhala (1730-45) built a fort at Dhrangadhra, probably because of its situation near the main lines of traffic, and, in the thirty years that followed, it gradually supplanted Halwad[26] and became the capital of Jhalawad. During the Mughal period, the Jhala chief, by virtue of his proximity to Viramgam, was probably under greater control of the subahdar and of the governor of this town than the more distant chiefs of Navanagar and Sihor. For this reason, the rulers of Halwad had maintained, on the whole, friendly relations with the subahdar of the province, and had at times given them their daughters in marriage, e.g., to Daud Khan Panni in 1714 and to Sarbuland Khan, Mubariz-ul-mulk, in 1727.[27]

22 The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* makes no reference to this event. But, if we accept the authority of the writer in the Gazetteer, it must be considered the earliest Maratha raid in the peninsula. (Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, 361, 390).

23 In 1739, this ruler entered into a treaty with the Sidi Admiral of the Mughal fleet at Surat for mutual protection of trade and for the suppression of piracy.

24 In this manner, he acquired Loliyana, the most important of the Muslim posts in the south-east of the peninsula, where the frontier of the *sarkar* of Sorath was generally supposed to begin.

25 Kuva, now a small village, is situated to the north of Halwad and some ten miles distant from the Little Rann of Cutch.

26 A fine old palace built on the bank .of the Samatsar lake by Raj Jaswantsinghji in 1709 (later renovated in the middle of the 19th century), as also other interesting remains of its medieval history, such as temples and *sati* memorial stones, may yet be seen at Halwad.

27 During the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, the extensive Jhala dominion

It is an irony of history that peninsular Gujarat should have come during the last 200 years or so to be called Kathiawad after the Kathis, who constituted for a long period but a small and rather disreputable element in the heterogenous population of the country, though previously it was the name of a narrow tract where their main settlements were located. Throughout the Mughal period, as also under the Sultans, the peninsula was known as Sorath,[28] and the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* mentions 'Kathiawad' as only one of the sub-divisions of Sorath, along with Halar, Gohelwad, Babriawad, Chorwad, etc. But the Kathi marauders made themselves so prominent in the 18th century that gradually the name of their sub-division of the country came loosely and popularly to be applied to the entire peninsula. The Marathas, during their domination over the country, continued the usage, and during the British period it became its official designation as well. Since the formation of the Union of Saurashtra in 1948, the ancient name for the peninsula has been officially restored.

Extended denotation of 'Kathiawad'

APPENDIX

THE BABI FAMILY IN GUJARAT IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Safdar Khan
(fought at Ratanpur against Dhanaji Jadhav in 1706)
d. 1725

Salabat Muhammad Khan[29]
(Fauzdar of Viramgam)
d. 1730

Jawan Mard Khan (Sr.)[30]
(Fauzdar of Petlad)
d. 1728

Sons of Salabat Muhammad Khan:

Sher Khan Babi
1st Nawab of Junagadh
(entitled Bahadur Khan)
1748-58

Sons of Jawan Mard Khan (Sr.):

Kamal-ud-din Khan
(Jawan Mard Khan Jr.)
De facto viceroy, 1744-53
1st Nawab of Radhanpur

Zoravar Khan

Muhammad Anwar
(Safdar Khan)
d. 1750

Sons of Sher Khan Babi:

Sardar Muhammad Khan,
1st Nawab of Balasinor

Mahabat Khan I,
2nd Nawab of
Junagadh, 1758-75

in the north-east of the peninsula was, owing to internal factions, broken up into a number of separate states, *viz.*, Wankaner, Lakhtar, Limbdi, Wadhwan, Chuda, and Saela, all of which owed allegiance to the head of the clan at Halwad or Dhrangadhra.

28 As late as 1825, Diwan Ranchhodji Amarji of Junagadh, who wrote his history of the peninsula in Persian, styles his work '*Tarikh-i-Sorath*'.

29 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 143.

30 ibid, 132.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

SUBAHDARI OF MAHARAJA ABHAYSINGH AND HIS DEPUTY, 1730-37

Baroda and Viramgam pass to the Marathas

AFTER securing the departure of Sarbuland Khan from Ahmadabad, Maharaja Abhaysingh, while still encamped outside the walls of the capital, sent Ratansingh Bhandari into the city on 17th October 1730. Ten days later (Oct. 28), the Maharaja himself entered the Bhadra citadel in great state, accompanied by his brother Vakhatsingh, on the auspicious day of the Hindu festival of *Dhanteras*, and, after discharging some public business, returned to his camp. Rajput administration of the province, which now began, lasted for seven years, till the assumption of power by Momin Khan as viceroy in 1737; but the Maharaja himself left Ahmadabad in 1733, and, during the four years that followed, the government remained in the hands of his deputy, Ratansingh, whose oppressive measures at the capital were long remembered by the people.

Abhaysingh's entry into Ahmadabad

Among the officials of the Subah who arrived in 1730 in the train of Maharaja Abhaysingh from Delhi was Mirza Muhammad, Najm-i-Sani, the ex-fauzdar of Petlad, who had received in 1729 the title of Momin Khan, and who was now appointed governor of Cambay. He had left Gujarat a few months before, owing to differences with Sarbuland Khan, and was destined, after his return, to play for many years an important part in the troubled politics of the province, and to be appointed viceroy in 1737 after the expulsion of Ratansingh, the deputy of Abhaysingh. Ali Muhammad Khan (Sr.), the father of the historian and the Nestor of the previous two Subahdars, secured from the court permission to proceed to Mecca (1731) and his son was appointed as his deputy in the post of Amin of the cloth market at Ahmadabad.[1]

The task before Abhaysingh

The Maratha menace to the Mughal power in Gujarat was now reaching its climax, but if Khan Dauran and the other ministers of the Emperor Muhammad Shah hoped that, by sending out a great Rajput feudatory ruler as Subahdar of the province, they would be able to stem the rising tide of Maratha invasion, they were destined to be disappointed. During the

1 In 1733, the author of the *Mirat* was appointed news-recorder (*Wakai-Navis*) of the province, and this post gave him additional opportunity of chronicling the events, which he describes in great detail for the next twenty-eight years, until his history comes to a close in 1761. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 201-3)

three years that he remained in Gujarat, Maharaja Abhaysingh did his utmost to put an end to the annual predatory incursions of the Maratha leaders in search of tribute, using methods of diplomacy as well as war, as occasion required, and finally having resort even to assassination; but he failed to achieve his object. He was baffled by the guerilla tactics of his enemies, and the vastness of their numbers, as well as handicapped by his own exhausted resources and the non-arrival of the financial help which he expected from Delhi. He captured Baroda from the Marathas, but he failed to retain it, and that town and pargana now finally passed out of the hands of the Mughal. Similarly, when a large army of 30,000 horse under Khanderao's widow, Umabai, threatened the capital itself, he failed to force it to retreat or to engage it in a pitched battle, and he was compelled to buy off the spirited Umabai with the payment of a large subsidy. Utterly baffled, and anticipating that the province would be lost, he left Gujarat in 1733, three years after his arrival, entrusting the charge of his post to his deputy, Ratansingh Bhandari.

Dabhade-Peshwa rivalry

The agreement concluded between Chimnaji Appa, the Peshwa's brother, and the viceroy Sarbuland Khan, on 23 March 1730, was deeply resented by the Dabhades at the court of Satara who had hitherto taken the foremost part in the conquest of the province, and whose lieutenants, the Bāndes and the Gaekwads, had been entrusted with the duty of collecting the chauth in the districts north and south of the Mahi since the days of Hamid Khan. The Peshwa's intervention in Gujarat, and the diplomatic success gained by his brother, were, therefore, considered intolerable, for they affected both their prestige and their perquisites. All attempts of Baji Rao to induce them to agree to share the chauth of Malwa and Gujarat jointly with him were turned down. They insisted that the Peshwa should restrict himself to Malwa, which had been assigned to him by Raja Shahu as the field for his activities, and leave Gujarat to them. Old Khanderao Senapati, who had been an invalid for the last five or six years of his life, having died in September, 1729, his son Trimbakrao, who had long exercised his father's powers, had been invested with the Senapati's dignity on Jan. 8, 1730. Confronted with the loss of his authority over Gujarat, and with no hope of securing any redress at the court of Satara, where Baji Rao was all-powerful, Trimbakrao entered into negotiations with the Nizam for joint action against their common enemy. Asaf Jah was only too ready to accept an alliance which opened before him the prospects of throwing off the chauth imposed by the Peshwa on the six provinces of the Deccan, and he soon after marched from Aurangabad into Khandesh in order to watch the development of the struggle between the Peshwa and the Senapati. Trimbakrao having thus raised the standard of revolt, all the disaffected leaders who resented the Peshwa's supremacy—Pilaji Gaekwad, Kanthaji Kadam Bande, Udaji Pawar, Kanhoji Bhonsle and

others—rallied to his support, and soon a powerful confederate army was collected in Gujarat to resist the Peshwa in arms.[2]

Raja Shahu's efforts to prevent a conflict

Confronted with the threat of a serious military conflict between his dominating minister and his aggrieved Senapati, the Raja Shahu endeavoured in vain to effect a peaceful settlement. He sent his personal agents to Dabhade and his mother Umabai to advise them to accept a compromise, and he called upon Baji Rao to concede all the Senapati's demands. Neither party was, however, in a mood to surrender its claims. 'If Dabhade creates trouble for us,' wrote Chimnaji Appa, 'we are quite equal to stopping him from doing mischief.' On the other hand, the Senapati declared to the Raja's agent his determination not to give away an inch of the lands which he held. When Shahu learned that Trimbakrao had leagued himself with Nizam-ul-mulk, he wrote to him a strong letter of remonstrance. The warning of his sovereign, however, remained unheeded. So also, Shahu's orders to the Peshwa to proceed to Gujarat and bring Dabhade to his presence at Satara, hoping to win over the latter by persuasive means, failed to materialise.[3] Trimbakrao persisted in a policy which was to cost him his life and to spell the political downfall of his famous family which had won a high reputation in Maharashtra.[4]

Baji Rao's convention with Abhaysingh, 1731

To oppose the secret alliance between the Senapati and the Nizam, Baji Rao and his brother took the field in Oct., 1730, and advanced from the Deccan with final instructions from Raja Shahu to compel Dabhade to repair to Satara for a personal interview. According to the *Mirat*, on arrival near Baroda, Baji Rao wrote a letter to Maharaja Abhaysingh, who deputed the fauzdar of Broach to meet him on the Mahi. Thereafter, the Peshwa and his brother advanced to Ahmadabad and encamped at the Chandola tank. Negotiations were carried on through Ratansingh Bhandari, and a meeting took place at the Shahi Bagh between Baji Rao and Abhaysingh when terms of an agreement were settled (Feb., 1731). The following brief reference to them is found in a letter from Daniel Innes at Cambay, dated 7 April 1731.

> 'The former [Chimnaji] has agreed with the Maharaja [Abhaysingh] for 13 lakhs of rupees, the quarter part for all Gujarat, six of which the Maharaja paid him down, the remainder to be paid on his leaving these parts ; but conditionally no other Ganim power, besides Chimnaji, shall enter into Gujarat; which Chimnaji promised to hinder, should Kanthaji's or Pilaji's forces attempt it.'[5]

It was also arranged between the Maharaja and the Peshwa that the viceroy should supply a body of Rajputs to join Baji Rao's forces in

[2] V. G. Dighe, *Peshwa Baji Rao I and Maratha Expansion* (1944), 33-36.

[3] G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 124-25.

[4] There is enough evidence to show that the Senapati's revolt was directed not against Shahu Raja but against the Peshwa's growing power and intervention. For some sober comments on the contest, see V. G. Dighe, op. cit., 39-40.

[5] Gense and Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, I, 10.

order to secure Baroda from Pilaji. This being done, the combined army reached Baroda but found its fort ably defended by the Gaekwad's general. At the same time, the Peshwa's spies arrived with the great news that Nizam-ul-mulk with his army was in full march towards Gujarat and had arrived on the Narbada.[6] The Peshwa, thereupon, raised the siege and gave the Rajput troops leave to return to Ahmadabad.

Bali Rao's victory at Dabhoi, Apr. 1, 1731

The army collected by the Senapati's confederates in Gujarat and Malwa was estimated at 35,000 men. Trimbakrao had arrived in Gujarat with 10,000 horse to join them, declaring that his object was to rescue Shahu Raja from the thraldom in which he was being kept by the Brahmans. The contingent sent by the Nizam appears to have been comparatively small, but its presence enabled Baji Rao to represent Dabhade as a rebel who had leagued himself with a foreign enemy to enslave Maratha freedom. After the ineffective attempt to take Baroda, the Peshwa's forces encountered the Senapati and his confederates at the village of Bhilapur, between Baroda and Dabhoi, and the great fight that took place here on April 1, 1731 is generally known as the battle of Dabhoi. Baji Rao's army, though inferior in numbers, was relatively far more efficient, and routed the large but undisciplined bodies of Bhils and Kolis who had enlisted under Kanthaji and Pilaji. Dabhade's Maratha veterans, however, who had served under his father Khanderao, offered a stubborn resistance, being animated by the valour of Trimbakrao himself, who, seated on his elephant, with its legs chained, offered an easy target to the Peshwa's marksmen, while the Peshwa led the charge on horseback. As the Senapati refused to surrender, Baji Rao's troops closed in upon him, and he was killed by a bullet shot, after which his troops broke and fled.[7] Pilaji Gaekwad escaped wounded from the battlefield and one of his sons was among the slain. The Peshwa's victory in this civil struggle was complete; and the Dabhades, who had hitherto played a leading part in Maratha history, now began to lose that prestige and influence at the court which they had enjoyed for so long.[8]

6 After his arrival at Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh, the Nizam wrote to Muhammad Khan Bangash, the governor of Malwa, to meet him on the Narbada for concerting common action jointly with Senapati Dabhade against the Peshwa in Gujarat. The meeting took place near the ferry at Akbarpur in the last week of March, 1731. But the disastrous defeat of the Senapati at Dabhoi on 1st April broke up the combination, and the Nizam shortly after retired to the Deccan by the Tapti valley (W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 251; Yusuf H. Khan, *Nizam-ul-mulk, Asaf Jah, I*, 196-97).

7 It was reported later that the shot that killed Trimbakrao was fired by his maternal uncle, Bhausingh Thoke of Abhone, who had probably been seduced by the Peshwa (Sardesai, op. cit., 128 *n*).

8 G. S Sardesai, *New History*, II, 128; V. G. Dighe, *Peshwa Baji Rao*, 38-39; Kinkaid and Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, II, 190-92; *Historical Selections from Baroda State Records*, I, Nos 12 and 13.

The accounts of this important battle, which have so far been available from Marathi sources, are largely confirmed by a letter, dated 7 April 1731, from Daniel Innes at Cambay to the Chief of the factory at Surat, to which reference has been made above. It may be pointed out that, though this letter mentions Chimnaji Appa as leader of the Peshwa's army, there is little doubt that Baji Rao himself was present at this battle :

Reference in the English recods

> 'Chimna Raja [Chimnaji Appa] has lately had a very considerable advantage over the joint forces of Pilaji and Kanthaji. xxx Some days since, they came to an engagement within 3 or 4 miles of Baroda, wherein Chimnaji had the advantage. Kanthaji fled, Pilaji is wounded and run into Dabhoi Fort with 2 or 3,000 men. Trimbakrao, a great general, killed; Pilaji's son killed; 4 or 5,000 men are killed of Kanthaji and Pilaji; and Chimnaji is said to have lost 1,000 men. 17 elephants, it is said, Chimnaji has taken with 10 camels of treasure, and four or five thousand horses without their riders, with their tents and baggage.'

Another interesting fact, brought out in the same letter, is that Muslim troops sent by the Nizam also fought in the ranks of Dabhade's confederate army:

> 'The nephew of Chin Kilich Khan [the Nizam] who, it is said, commanded 5,000 Moormen, belonging to Chin Kilich Khan, in the laskar of Kanthaji and Pilaji, is said likewise to be killed. Udaji Pawar, a commander of 15,000 horse, is taken prisoner xxx Chimnaji's forces have surrounded Dabhoi Fort that Pilaji is in. What makes the action greater is that Chimnaji had but 15,000 or 16,000 horse, and the joint forces of Pilaji and Kanthaji are said to have been upwards of 50,000.'[9]

A dramatic episode that took place in the royal palace at Satara, bearing on the death of Trimbakrao, has been related by Mr. G. S. Sardesai, and deserves to be mentioned. Shahu Raja was shocked and distressed at the death of his brave commander, while Umabai, heart-broken at the loss of her son, demanded retribution against the Peshwa. Shahu immediately proceeded to Talegaon to meet the bereaved mother and brought her to Satara in order to offer her consolation and confront her with Baji Rao. He summoned them both to his presence in the Durbar, desired Baji Rao to prostrate himself before Umabai, and giving her a sword asked her to sever his head if that would placate her. Khande-

Dramatic scene in Shahu's Durbar

9 Gense and Banaji, op. cit., 11. The name of 'Chimna Raja' (who accompanied his brother) was more familiar to the English merchants than that of the Peshwa owing to the former's activities in Gujarat in the time of Sarbuland Khan when he sacked Dholka (1727). Similarly, Kanthaji and Pilaji are described in the quotation as the leaders of the confederate army, and not the Senapati Dabhade, whose lieutenants they were, because their plundering activities during the previous decade had made a deep impression on the English, while their Chief, being generally in the Deccan, was little known.

rao's widow was mollified when the Peshwa humbly begged her pardon and offered her all possible compensation for her loss.[10] The Raja next conferred the office of the Senapati on her younger son Yeshwantrao, who, however, proved completely incompetent for the post, 'so that the Dabhades soon sank into nonentity notwithstanding every effort on the part of Shahu, until the day of his death, to resuscitate the declining fortunes of that house.' During the next twenty years, however, Damaji Gaekwad, after Pilaji's murder in 1732, served Umabai ably as her lieutenant in Gujarat, and, though actual power was in his hands, he remained loyal to her till her death in 1753.[11]

Abhaysingh's letter to the Delhi court, April, 1731

An interesting letter, dated 10 April 1731, written by the Maharaja Abhaysingh from Ahmadabad to his vakil, Bhandari Amarsingh, at Delhi, has been discovered in the Jodhpur archives, and it helps to throw some further light on the events described above subsequent to Baji Rao's arrival in Gujarat.[12] The viceroy directs his agent to bring certain facts relating to his policy towards the contending Marathas to the notice of the Emperor through the Nawab (Khan Dauran, Samsam-ud-daulah), who was the principal minister at the court of Muhammad Shah. Being written only nine days after the victory of the Peshwa near Dabhoi, the references to the battle in this letter are of special importance. We gather that the viceroy's troops fought in the ranks of the Peshwa's army just as those of the Nizam took part with the forces of the Senapati. The letter says that Trimbakrao Dabhade and Mominyar Khan, the Nizam's commander, had both been killed; Udaji Pawar and Pilaji's son were taken prisoners; Kanthaji had fled to the Nizam; while Pilaji had retired to Dabhoi and his brother to Baroda. The Maharaja specially desires that the Nawab should move the Emperor to issue orders to the Nizam not to harbour Kanthaji or Pilaji or any other of the confederate leaders. He asserts that the army of the Nizam had been destroyed. It is clear from the letter that, following upon his interview with Baji Rao at the Shahi Bagh in Feb., 1731, and the agreement there reached, the Maharaja entertained great hopes of the advantages to be gained from the Peshwa's friendship. Though the bitter struggle near Dabhoi was essentially a civil war among the Marathas in Gujarat, and though the Peshwa had certainly not fought with the Senapati in defence of imperial interests, Abhaysingh writes to his agent that 'this time Baji Rao has rendered meritorious services to the Emperor,' and he recommends that a robe of honour, a farman, and an elephant should be bestowed by the Emperor

10 G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 128-29.

11 As late as 1751, when the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, after defeating Damaji near Satara, held him prisoner, and demanded one half of all his conquests in Gujarat, Damaji exclaimed, 'Gujarat belongs to Umabai Dabhade. I am only her servant. She has to decide the point.' (Sardesai, op. cit., II, 310).

12 A full translation of the letter by Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu has been published in *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol XVI, 1939, pp 211-14.

upon him, as also on the Raja Shahu, and a robe of honour on 'Chimna'.[18] He adds that, after explaining everything to the Nawab, the agent should also arrange for the bestowal of a *Mansab* on Baji Rao.

The Maharaja explains his diplomacy

In continuation of his long letter, Maharaja Abhaysingh complains that, though he had been sent to Gujarat with a mission (to drive out the Marathas), the Nawab had done little or nothing to help him with men or money. Even the military action against Sarbuland Khan, his predecessor, had been carried through at his own expense. Without money, the province of Gujarat would be lost to the Emperor as there were no sources of revenue left. He points out that his diplomacy had been little appreciated by the Nawab (Khan Dauran). Confronted with great concentrations of the forces of the enemy (i.e. Kanthaji and Pilaji), who had been joined by the Nizam, he had entered into an alliance with Baji Rao, and had won him over to the Emperor's side and supplied him with artillery and troops in order to meet the danger. He had thus created a split among the Marathas and managed to crush the enemy. But, instead of appreciating the Peshwa's services, the Nawab had written to him to punish Baji Rao and to drive him away and give him no help whatever. The Nawab was thus acting on the advice of the Nizam. Was it right to do so when the task of defending the province had been entrusted to him? 'Only consider', adds the Maharaja, 'that though Kantha and Pilu had usurped the land of Gujarat for the last eight years, he (the Nawab) favours them and gives no weight to winning over Baji Rao to the side of the Emperor. x x x If he does not care to support us, we are not prepared to keep the province. What advantage can one have in Gujarat these days? On the contrary, though we have to bear all the expenses from the revenue of Marwar, yet the Nawab has neither done anything for our own Jagir nor for that of the Rajadhiraj [the heir-apparent, Vakhatsinghji].'

Comments on the policy

There is little doubt that the Maharaja honestly believed that, by winning over the Peshwa to his side against the Dabhade and the Nizam, he would put a check to the Maratha menace to Gujarat which, as he correctly puts it, had been in existence for eight years, i.e. ever since 1722. But, though he paid the immense subsidy of 13 lakhs of rupees to the Peshwa, if we accept the information conveyed by the English agent at Cambay on 7 April, 1731, the Maharaja's expectation that the province would be preserved for the Emperor by Baji Rao against the other Maratha leaders was not realised. During the decade that followed, we do not again hear of Baji Rao or his brother taking any part in Gujarat affairs, but we find both Umabai and Pilaji's son, Damaji, actively engaged in their annual incursions in the province with more devastating effect than ever before. It is probable that the final departure of the

18 In this letter the Maratha leaders Kanthaji, Pilaji and Chimnaji Appa are referred to as Kantha, Pilu, and Chimna.

Maharaja from Gujarat two years later, in 1733, was due in part to the failure of his policy. It was perhaps also due to the inability of Khan Dauran to send him the financial help that he so urgently insists on in his letter, and without which, he says in his autograph remarks, 'the affairs of the province could not be managed even for a single day.' 'We believe', he adds, 'that what the Almighty desires will happen, but the Emperor will lose the province.' The Maharaja further instructs his agent that, if the Nawab would not comply with the request about the money, he should come away immediately.

After receiving news of the Peshwa's victory, Asaf Jah advanced from Nandurbar up to the neighbourhood of Surat, and attacked the retiring Maratha army under Baji Rao near Kadod, capturing some of its baggage.[14] He then encamped at the village of Kamrej on the Tapti, some ten miles above Surat, where the rival mutasaddis of this port waited on him and submitted their claims. It may be recalled that the parganas of Broach, Jambusar, Maqbulabad (Amod) and Dholka, which had originally been granted to Nizam-ul-mulk as jagir, when he was made viceroy in 1723, were still held by him. For this reason, Abdulla Beg, who had been appoined governor of Broach in the time of Sarbuland Khan, and who probably was disinclined to serve under Abhaysingh, now waited on Asaf Jah and asked to be allowed to hold Broach as his deputy. This request was granted and he was then ennobled by the Emperor with the title of Nek Alam Khan.[15] During the period of political disintegration that followed, this noble was able to maintain his hold on Broach against the Marathas, and his son Nek Alam Khan II became the first independent Nawab of Broach (1739-1754).

Broach under Nek Alam Khan

After the death of Trimbakrao Dabhade at the battle of Dabhoi, Baji Rao I did not think it politic to allow bitter memories to survive and adopted every means of conciliation in his power. He appointed the youthful Yeshwantrao Dabhade as Senapati to take the place of his father, and, as he was a minor, Pilaji was nominated as his mutaliq, with the title of *Sena Khas Khel* (Commander of the Special Guard),[16] in addition to that

Murder of Pilaji at Dakor, 1732

14 In a Persian letter written by Asaf Jah to one Abdul Nabi Khan (Apr. 1731), the Nizam gives an account of his attack on the retiring army of Baji Rao. He says that, on leaving the ferry at Akbarpur near Mandu, he marched to Nandurbar, where he left his light guns, and by rapid marches he reached the environs of Surat. The Maratha army, having crossed the Narbada, plundered the pargana of Ankleshwar, and was taken unawares at night after the Nizam had passed Kathor (Kadod). It fled and was pursued by the Muslim troops who made spoil of their property, while the Bhils and Kolis further harassed the retreating army. (G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 129-31).

15 *Mirat-Ahmadi*, II, 166-67.

16 *Sena Khas Khel* came to be henceforth the distinctive title of the Gaekwad, and each succeeding head of the house had to purchase investiture under this title from the Poona Darbar before ascending the *gadi*.

of *Samsher Bahadur* which he had inherited from his uncle Damaji I. By virtue of his influence with the Bhil tribes dwelling on the eastern frontier fo the province, Pilaji had long been a thorn in the side of the Mughal viceroys. By his hold of Songadh fort, and his recent acquisition of Baroda and of the fortress of Dabhoi, he had made himself still more formidable. Finding all efforts to repress his energies unavailing, Maharaja Abhaysingh determined to get rid of him by foul means. On the arrival of Pilaji with a great army at Dakor,[17] to collect the chauth, the viceroy sent some Marwadi emissaries ostensibly to carry on negotiations with the Maratha leader for a settlement. They conferred with him for a couple of days and had frequent interviews to disarm suspicion. Late one evening, after taking leave of Pilaji, one of them returned on the pretext that he had something confidential to communicate to him, and, affecting to whisper in Pilaji's ear, stabbed him to death (March, 1732).[18] The assassin was immediately slain by the guards, and the body of their murdered leader was carried hurriedly across the Mahi and cremated in the village of Savli.[19] A small and unpretentious temple, at one corner of the tank at Savli, was built later to commemorate the historic site where the last funeral rites were performed for the founder of the Gaekwad's house in Gujarat, whose military activities during a period of twelve years were destined to establish an independent Hindu principality in this province.

Abhaysingh's letter on the subject, March, 1732

Pilaji's murder by the emissaries of Maharaja Abhaysingh took place probably a few days before 26 March, 1732, on which date the Maharaja wrote a letter to Bhandari Amarsingh, his vakil at the imperial court, to bring this and other news to the notice of the powerful Nawab, Khan Dauran, the chief minister. This letter, after stating that, 'by the grace of the goddess (Hingalaj), Pilu has been killed,' proceeds to give details of what took place before and after that event. It says that Pilu (Pilaji), having crossed the Mahi with a large contingent, he (the subahdar) had marched from Chandola[20] and encamped at Bareja, at which place Pilaji's envoys came to negotiate with him, through whom he commanded the invader to vacate Baroda and Dabhoi, which were Mughal posts, and to accept imperial service. But Pilaji did not pay heed to these orders and declared that Baroda belonged to his chief (Dabhade), and that three Mughal viceroys had come and gone, including Sarbuland

17 Dakor is a large town in the Thasra taluka of the Kaira District, 9 miles north-east of Anand. It is a famous place of Hindu pilgrimage, over one lakh of pilgrims attending the annual festival of Ranchhodji at the temple there which is the chief object of interest in the place.

18 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 175-76.

19 Savli is now the headquarters of the taluka of the same name in the Baroda District. In the immediate vicinity of the town are large tanks and shady trees, and at no great distance is the wild *mehwasi* country of ravines and jungles bordering on the Mahi river.

20 Chandola Tank, to the south-east of the city of Ahmadabad, was the usual camping ground for troops before starting on a campaign.

Khan, who had been obliged to pay 'chauth' and to go back. 'We, therefore, thought,' continues the Maharaja, 'that without doing away with him we cannot take Baroda, as he would never fight a pitched battle'; adding that the Marathas used to hang on the flanks of the Mughal army and barely allowed it to march three miles in a day. After the Mughal vanguard had advanced from Bareja to Kheda Harala, Pilaji quitted Bhalej, which was 40 miles from Kheda, and entered a village of the Thakor of Dakor. In order to make him halt there, the Subahdar sent three emissaries to enter into negotiations with Pilaji, and they effected Pilaji's murder.[21] In the wake of these emissaries, on 23 March 1732, a contingent of two thousand selected cavalry of proved valour was despatched, evidently to take advantage of the confusion following upon the foul deed, and it fell upon the Maratha camp about two hours after it was dark. Pilu's brother, along with five or seven persons of note, were killed in his camp. Five hundred Marathas fell on the spot, and others, including a large number of Kolis, were massacred at various imperial outposts. A great amount of booty was taken, including 700 horses and a large number of heavy fire-locks. The letter says that the Maharaja was now marching towards Baroda. All this news was to be conveyed to the Emperor.[22]

After Pilaji's death, the Marathas in great confusion abandoned the town of Baroda and retired to the strong fortress of Dabhoi. Maharaja Abhaysingh took full advantage of the situation, and, marching with his army, occupied Baroda and placed it in charge of Sher Khan Babi. He next laid siege to Dabhoi, but failed to capture this ancient fortress as it was impossible to secure fodder for his animals or grain for his troops. He gave up the siege of Dabhoi and retired to Baroda, suffering heavy loss in baggage-animals owing to unseasonable rains, and subsequently returned to Ahmadabad (1732).

Baroda abandoned, 1732

Pilaji's son, Damaji II, succeeded to his father's position in Gujarat, and, during a remarkable military career of 36 years (1732-68), he built up the imposing fabric of the Gaekwad's sovereign rule in the province. In 1733, Umabai,[23] widow of Khanderao Senapati, accompanied by Kanthaji Kadam and the Gaekwad, appeared with an army of 30,000 troops before Ahmadabad, and encamped at the Shah Wadi about three miles

Umabai at the gates of Ahmadabad, 1733

21 The names of these emissaries are given as Pancholi Ramanand, Bhandari Ajab Singh and Inda Lakhdhir, son of Jaitsingh.

22 Paper entitled *Another Letter of Maharaja Abhaysingh about the Murder of Pilaji Gaekwad* by Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Jodhpur, in Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 6th Session, 1943, pp. 281-84.

23 From 1730 onwards, right up to her death in 1753, we have documents in the *Peshwa Dafter* relating to the activities of Umabai, the spirited wife of Khanderao Dabhade, who had wielded great influence in politics in her husband's lifetime, and who, after his death in 1729, strove hard to maintain her rights in Gujarat and to uphold the military power of the Dabhades against the Peshwa. (*Selections*, XII, Nos. 18, 37, 49, 51-52, 57-58, 65, 80-84, 105, 109).

from the Jamalpur gate of the city. The formidable walls, built by the great Sultans of Gujarat in the course of the 15th century, now served as an effective protection for the citizens of the capital; but Maharaja Abhaysingh could make only very inadequate dispositions for the safety of the flourishing and populous suburbs. Momin Khan and Jawan Mard Khan were summoned and sent to guard the Shahi Bagh locality in the north. Ratansingh Bhandari was posted to the south-west at the village of Behrampur near the Khan Jahan gate, and Jivraj Bhandari was stationed with a troop near Rajpur-Hirpur for the protection of the suburbs to the east and south-east. Being unfamiliar with the Maratha method of warfare, Jivraj allowed himself to be drawn out by a body of the enemy, which made a pretence of retreat, and he was soon after totally surrounded by a large army and killed with many of his men. Though Ratansingh was encamped with his troops not far off, he did nothing to go to his support, owing to jealousy. Under his orders, Momin Khan and Jawan Mard Khan made a long march from the Shahi Bagh locality to Shah Alam's Rauza, but, after some cannonading from the walled enclosure of Rasulabad, they retired at night leaving the suburb at the mercy of the enemy. Maharaja Abhaysingh, finding his garrisons harassed and hard pressed, sent envoys to Umabai's camp to arrange for a truce, in terms of which the latter retired on being promised a ransom of 80,000 rupees over and above the chauth and sardeshmukhi of the province. Jawan Mard Khan was named as surety for this payment and was appointed governor of Viramgam, from the revenues of which pargana he was to collect the amount and forward it to Umabai.[24] Shortly after, the Maharaja left Ahmadabad for Delhi.

Suburb of Rasulabad laid waste

At the time of Umabai's invasion, the people resident in the suburbs to the south-east of Ahmadabad had not forgotten their sufferings at the hands of the Marathas during the time of Hamid Khan in 1725 and they were naturally anxious to seek the protection of the city. But they were by force prevented from doing so by Jivraj Bhandari who was confident in his ability to withstand the enemy. After his defeat and death, large crowds, carrying their children and what goods they could manage, left their homes and took refuge within the city walls. It was on this occasion that the Marathas plundered and destroyed the then flourishing suburb of Rasulabad, with its fine houses and beautiful gardens, which had grown up during the previous three centuries round the hallowed seat and mausoleum of saint Shah Alam. The descendants of the saint, the Saiyids[25] in charge of this and the associated group of monuments, offered a brave but vain resistance, and they had ultimately to abandon everything to the mercy of the invaders and to seek safety in flight. For seven days and nights Rasulabad was plundered and its houses broken

24 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 192-95, 197.

25 These have been known as the 'Shahi' Saiyids at Ahmadabad as distinguished from the 'Qutbi' Saiyids attached to the shrine of saint Qutb-ul-alam at Vatva.

into, dug up, and set on fire, and the Kolis completed at night what the Deccanis had left over by day. Besides the houses of the Saiyids, the valuable library and the costly equipments attached to the great Rauza were destroyed or plundered. From this time the suburb of Rasulabad, and other smaller hamlets having connection with the Rauza, became depopulated.[26]

It has been stated above that, after the murder of Pilaji in 1732, Abhaysingh sent his army against Baroda and took the place which was then made over to the charge of Sher Khan Babi.

Baroda recovered by the Gaikwad, 1734

But the success of the Maharaja went no further than this. He failed to take Dabhoi, and even the restored Mughal authority over Baroda lasted for less than two years. In 1734, when Sher Khan was absent at his jagir in Balasinor,[27] Pilaji's old ally, the Desai of Padra,[28] who distrusted the Rajputs, raised the Bhils and Kolis all over the country, and effectually threw the Mughals into confusion. He also invited Mahadji, the brother of Pilaji, who held the pargana of Jambusar, to attack and take Baroda, and for this purpose Damaji also sent help from Songadh. Sher Khan, who had advanced with his troops from Balasinor to support the garrison at Baroda, was attacked and repulsed by the Marathas after he had crossed the Mahi. Momin Khan, who had also been directed by the deputy-viceroy, Ratansingh, to proceed to the relief of Baroda, arrived far too late to render any help, and returned to Cambay. The Marathas pressed the siege of Baroda with vigour, so that the Mughal garrison, finding no help available, submitted, and handed over both the fort and the town.[29] From this year Baroda remained in the hands of the Gaekwads till the recent merger. In 1764, Damaji made it his headquarters, and, by virtue of its position as the capital of a powerful Maratha state for nearly 200 years, it became one of the foremost and most progressive cities in the province.

How completely Damaji's authority was established in Baroda by 1736, within four years of Pilaji's foul murder, may be seen from the fact that the imposing pavilion, known as the Mandvi

The Mandvi pavilion at Baroda, 1736

gate, built during the Mughal period, was restored and conserved in this year under his orders. An inscription in Sanskrit, incised on a stone tablet fixed into one of the walls of this structure, states : 'This beautiful *mandapa* (pavilion), which was pleasing to every one, was, under the orders of Damaji, well made

[26] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 196-97.

[27] Balasinor (Vadasinor) was till recently a small Muslim state in the Rewa Kantha Agency with its capital of the same name situated 41 miles east of Ahmadabad on the Shedhi river. The Nawab belongs to the famous Babi family.

[28] Padra is the chief town in the taluka of the same : ituated 14 miles from the city of Baroda. The Desais of the to\ vith the rising power of Pilaji Gaekwad against Muslim rule.

[29] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 206-07; A. K. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, II, 11.

(*i.e.* conserved) by that wise and brave governor of Baroda,[30] Malhar,[31] *the ocean of kindness for the world, in the* Vikram year 1792 (A.D. 1736)'.[32] The turrets erected on the roof of the pavilion, which do not add to the beauty of the structure, are of a later date, and were probably constructed during the 19th century, as may be concluded from the following account of the city and the pavilion given by James Forbes about 1780 :

'The town (that is the city within the walls) is intersected by two spacious streets dividing it into four equal parts, meeting in the centre at a market-place containing a square pavilion with three bold arches on each side, and a flat roof adorned with seats and fountains. This is a Moghul building, as is everything else that has the smallest claim to grandeur and elegance. The Maratha structures are mean and shabby. None more so than the darbar lately finished by Fatehsing.'[33]

Marathi inscription at Dabhoi, 1734

A long and interesting inscription in Marathi located at Dabhoi shows clearly that, some time prior to 1734, this ancient fortress-town on the eastern frontiers of Gujarat had passed definitely into the hands of the Gaekwad. It appears from the context that the inscription-slabs were originally fixed at the Burhanpur gate of the town, though they are now built into a niche on the north side of the Hira gate. The epigraph states that it was inserted 'by an officer of Damaji, Samsher Bahadur, the son of Pilaji,' and that he carried out many renovations in the fort and the town. It gives an excellent topographical account of Dabhoi, its many Hindu shrines, its gates and bastions, and other interesting objects. There is special mention of the large tank or reservoir in the town, which, having fallen into a dilapidated condition, had been repaired. We also gather from this record that, on the site of the present Muslim tomb, known as Mama (of Mai) Dokri's, stood originally a Hindu temple sacred to Shiva, and that it was a place for detecting crime before the temple was displaced by a Muslim tomb. The stone ring preserved in the grounds of the tomb is still pointed out as having been used for ordeals to determine guilt or innocence by subjecting the suspected person to the test of passing through it. The epigraph shows that Dabhoi was, on the whole, in a flourishing condition at this period. The Samvat date is equivalent to February 14, 1734.[34] It is probably the earliest Marathi inscription of such an extensive character to be found in Gujarat.

30 The town is mentioned in the epigraph as Vatapattana (i.e. Vatapadra), which is the ancient name of the place. This Sanskrit form was changed in Prakrit into Vadodara, and later into Barodra and Baroda.

31 Malhar (or Maloji) is identified with Mahadji, the brother of Pilaji Gaekwad who in 1734 re-captured Baroda from the garrison of Sher Khan Babi.

32 Annual Report of the Director of Archaeology, Baroda State, 1934-35, p. 22; also Dr. Hirananda Shastri, *Ancient Vijnaptipatras*, 7.

33 James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, II, 282.

34 Hirananda Shastri, *The Ruins of Dabhoi or Darbhavati in Baroda State* (1940), pp. 18-23.



Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India

THE MANSAROVAR AT VIRAMGAM, THE SITE OF THE BATTLE BETWEEN RATANSINGH BHANDARI AND THE MARATHAS (p. 452)



MUGHAL PAVILION AT THE MANDVI GATE AT BARODA RESTORED BY DAMAJI GAEKWAD IN 1736 (The Tower is modern) (p. 447)

We shall now proceed to review several political and military events in Gujarat associated with the period of Ratansingh's rule as deputy subahdar of the province from 1733 to 1737 after the departure of the Maharaja. Jawan Mard Khan Babi, at this time fauzdar of Viramgam, was one of the most ambitious and resourceful of the Gujarat nobles from this period for the next twenty years. In 1734, he resolved to secure possession of the Idar pargana, which had at one time been held by him as jagir, but which Maharaja Abhaysingh as viceroy had transferred to his own brothers, Anandsingh and Raesingh, to satisfy their claims. To effect his object, the Babi noble secured the help of Agraji, the Koli chief of Katosan, and Amraji, the chief of Ilol, both in the Sabar Kantha district, on promise of giving them a share in the booty. Their combined forces encamped in a great plain six miles distant from Idar. It happened that at this time two Maratha generals, Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindhia, sent by the Peshwa, were proceeding as usual to Malwa by way of the Dohad taluka. Messages for help were accordingly sent to them by Anandsingh and his brother, and it was readily granted. Though Jawan Mard Khan had received information of this alliance, he was sceptical about its truth till he found himself surrounded on all sides by a great mass of the Deccanis, with absolutely no hope of opposing them effectively. Being personally brave, he and a select body of his companions put on saffron clothes, in the fashion of the Rajputs, and prepared to perform *jauhar* and to perish fighting the enemy. Some Brahmans sent by the Maratha generals as emissaries, however, persuaded him to come to terms, and, in the negotiations that followed, he was permitted to withdraw on promise of giving a ransom of one lakh and seventy-five thousand rupees. His brother Zorawar Khan, his peshkar Ajabsingh, and his Koli allies Agra and Amra, were delivered up as hostages to the Marathas until the payment was effected.[35]

Failure of the Babi chief to capture Idar, 1734

With the transfer, in 1731, of the jagir of Idar by the Maharaja Abhaysingh to his brothers, Anandsingh and Raesingh, no doubt under imperial sanction, dates the establishment at this ancient town of the later Rathor dynasty whose sway lasted for the next two hundred years, till the recent merger.[36] Throughout this long period, it remained closely associated with the parent house of Jodhpur, so that one of its members was elected Maharaja of that state in the 19th century. It was during Anandsingh's

Later Rathor dynasty at Idar

[35] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 213-16.

[36] The early Rathor dynasty of the Ravs of Idar held sway for nearly five centuries, from the beginning of the 13th (c. 1215) to the end of the 17th century. After successive Muslim invasions from the time of Prince Murad's viceroyalty onwards to 1718 (during which their capital was lost and recovered nearly half a dozen times and occupied by Muslim garrisons and a Fauzdar for varying periods), they were unable to keep their hold on Idar and retired to the neighbouring state of Pol which the last Rav captured and where his successors ruled till recent years. From 1731 a new Rathor dynasty began to rule at Idar under Anandsingh and his successors as stated in the text.

rule (1731-42) that Damaji Gaekwad appears to have secured half the share of the Idar revenue as tribute. In 1742, the Rehwar Rajputs attacked and took Idar, killing the chief, Raja Anandsingh. On hearing of this disaster, his brother Raesingh, taking leave of the viceroy, Momin Khan I, under whom he was serving, went to Idar. He drove out the Rehwars, killing a thousand Kasbatis who had supported them, and placing Shivsingh, his late brother's son, who was only six years old, on the throne, himself acted as minister. From this date till his death eight years later, in 1750, Raja Raesingh was closely associated with the various struggles for power between the Muslim nobles and the Marathas. After 1750, Raja Shivsingh enjoyed a long reign of some forty years at Idar till his death in 1791.[37]

Sohrab Khan of Surat in the peninsula

After the death of the valiant Rustam Ali Khan, the governor of Surat, in 1725, fighting against Hamid Khan and the Marathas, his son, Sohrab Khan, succeeded him as mutasaddi at Surat, and held an uneasy tenure of power there upto 1732. In this year, he was overthrown by the joint forces of Teg Beg Khan and Mulla Muhammad Ali, backed by Henry Lowther, the Chief of the English factory, and he escaped by night to the fort of Athva.[38] Thence he crossed over by sea to Bhavnagar, where the ruler, Bhavsingji of Sihor, gave him protection in his new capital. Sohrab Khan had a powerful nobleman as his patron at the Delhi court in the person of Burhan-ul-mulk, through whose influence he secured the jagir of the port of Gogha (which had been confirmed by the viceroy to Sher Khan Babi), and was later appointed the deputy governor of Junagadh. Sohrab Khan next secured in 1734 from the court, with the help of the same patron, the office of governor of the Viramgam pargana, which had this year been included in the khalsa mahals or crown lands, and he busied himself with preparations to proceed there.[39] This last appointment provoked the apprehensions and opposition of Ratansingh Bhandari, who realised that it was time to call a halt to Sohrab Khan's growing ambition and influence in the peninsula. Through the agency of Khan Dauran, the Amir-ul-umara, he managed to get Sohrab Khan's appointment cancelled and secured a sanad granting him full authority over the Viramgam pargana. Burhan-ul-mulk was roused to anger at the court, and he sent advice to Sohrab Khan to ignore the sanad and to proceed with his army to take possession of the pargana. Collecting some 3,000 troops, and appointing Sadik

37 Bombay Gazetteer, V, 406, 409. For a detailed account of the rule of Raja Anandsingh and his brother Raja Raesingh at Idar, see the *Ras Mala* (Oxford Ed.), II, 125n, 124-33.

38 An account of Sohrab Khan's rule as governor of Surat (1725-32), and of the circumstances under which he was expelled, will be given in the chapters on Surat history in Vol. III of this work. Teg Beg Khan was the first independent Nawab of Surat from 1732 to 1747. In 1735 he entered into a famous Settlement with Damaji about the latter's claims on the Surat *Athavisi*.

39 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 191, 204-05, 219-20.

Ali Khan as his deputy at Junagadh, Sohrab Khan advanced to Dhandhuka on his way to take charge of Viramgam, which was also then known as the Jhalawar pargana.

Ratansingh Bhandari decided to oppose Sohrab Khan's advance. Recalling his Rajput troops from the districts, and enlisting Muslims, he advanced from Ahmadabad to Dholka and then to Koth. He had sent orders to Momin Khan at Cambay, as also to Sher Khan and Safdar Khan Babi, to join him with their contingents, and they arrived when he was encamped ten miles distant from his opponent. On reaching the village of Damoli, six miles from Dhandhuka, the Bhandari sent these Muslim nobles to Sohrab Khan to persuade him to come to an amicable settlement until final orders could be secured from the Emperor. These overtures were, however, construed as prompted by weakness, and were refused. After cannonading between the two camps had continued for three days, Ratansingh, whose army consisted of 7,000 horse and foot, made secret arrangements on the night of September 28, 1734 for delivering the attack. At day break, his army fell upon the camp of Sohrab Khan, many of whose troops had gone to Dhandhuka or were scattered about. In this crisis, their young leader showed all the valour of his family, but his small party was surrounded by the Rajputs and he was fatally wounded. One of his officers, Muhammad Quli Khan, who had arrived at Dhandhuka from Gogha with reinforcements, took charge of the dying general in the hope of conveying him to Sihor, but Sohrab Khan expired in a couple of hours and his body was taken for burial to that place. His army, realising that all was lost, fled from the camp, which was in a few hours plundered by the Rajputs. While Ratansingh with his officers was investigating the situation, suspecting some stratagem, and searching for the body of Sohrab Khan, a horseman came up in full career and inflicted two serious wounds on him with his sword. The man was quickly despatched by those present but his identity was never ascertained. For nearly two months after this, Ratansingh remained in his tents near Dhandhuka until his wounds had healed.[40]

He is killed near Dhandhuka, 1734

In 1735, yet another Maratha commander appeared in Gujarat in the person of Rangoji, who was destined to play a most prominent part in the distracted politics of the province for the next fourteen years, till 1749. Umabai Dabhade had now appointed Damaji as her agent for the collection of the chauth of the parganas north of the Mahi, to the exclusion of Kanthaji, who had done so for many years, and Damaji assigned this function to Rangoji as his deputy.[41] In this year, Ratansingh Bhan-

Damaji occupies Viramgam, 1735

40 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 221-26.

41 On Rangoji's arrival at the Mahi river, he was opposed by Kanthaji, but he inflicted on the latter a signal defeat near the village of Anand-Mogri, 25 miles S. E. of Kaira. Kanthaji had at this time become a partisan of the Peshwa and was opposed to the family of the Senapati.

dari appointed a Marwari as the fauzdar of Viramgam in place of Sher Khan Babi who was transferred. But Bhavsingh, the hereditary Desai of this pargana, distrusting Rajput rule, sent a secret message to Damaji at Dholka inviting him to take possession of Viramgam. Nothing could have suited the Gaekwad's designs better, so that, on his arrival at this town with an army, he was admitted within the walls by Bhavsingh, while the Muslim Kasbatis were driven out.[42] Soon after, Damaji, placing a Maratha garrison in the town, left for collection of tribute in Saurashtra. After his departure, Rangoji, who had been plundering with impunity the villages between Dholka and the capital, being hard pressed by Ratansingh, adopted guerilla tactics, and later sought the protection of the walls of Viramgam, where he soon found himself actively engaged in the defence of the town against the deputy viceroy.[43]

Ratansingh lays siege to Viramgam, 1735

The siege of Viramgam, to the conduct of which Ratansingh Bhandari proceeded at the end of the rainy season of 1735, is an important episode in the history of this ancient town. Rangoji had taken steps to strengthen its bastions and defences, and had erected a battery on the site of the Idgah, which stood on rising ground outside the walls adjoining the ancient tank known as Mansarovar.[44] Ratansingh arrived before Viramgam with his army and began the investment on October 6, 1735 from his camp at the Gangasar tank. As many Rajputs were killed or wounded by the guns from the powerful battery planted on the Idgah, he made a dash against it and captured it. A number of the Marathas in charge of it were slain while others were drowned in the Mansar lake during their flight. The besiegers also erected batteries and laid mines under the walls to blow them up. While the siege was in progress, the Marathas sent out a body of 500 cavalry at mid-day to make a surprise attack on Ratansingh's headquarters, expecting that many of the men would be off duty. The deputy-viceroy had to make a precipitate flight, and to conceal himself in one of the numerous small shrines which surround the Mansar tank, and so escaped being captured. The siege of Viram-

42 Bhavsingh's family, Kadva-Kanbis by caste, is said to have come from Champaner, probably during its decline in the 16th century, and settling at Viramgam first as headmen or Patels, and afterwards, under Aurangzeb, as Desais, raised it to wealth and importance. In 1740, the Marathas bestowed on Bhavsingh the town of Patdi on the Rann, with 19 villages and the salt revenue, on condition of his giving up all claim to Viramgam. The family ruled at Patdi for over 200 years till the recent mergers (Bombay Gazetteer, IV (Ahmedabad), 348 and *n*, 354*n*)

43 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 227-31. In this year, the Marathas also took possession of Kapadwanj, in the present Kaira district.

44 The construction about A.D. 1090 of the large artificial lake, known as the Manasarovar or Mansar Talav, at Viramgam, is attributed to Miyanal Devi, the mother of Siddh Raj, King of Anhilvad (1094-1143), when she was regent during her son's minority. The lake is irregular in shape and is entirely surrounded by a *ghat*, or flight of stone steps, leading down to the water. It is bordered by an immense number of small shrines, each with its spire, which originally must have numbered 520, and of which about 350 are still left. They are, with one or two exceptions, very small, partly dedicated to Vaishnav and partly to Shiva (J. Burgess, *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, II, 91). See also Bombay Gazetteer, IV, 356.

gam had lasted for about a month, and the Bhandari was planning to blow up the walls and bastions with gunpowder, when reports arrived from Momin Khan to the effect that Prataprao, the brother of Damaji, had arrived in Gujarat with a body of ten thousand horse. Ratansingh, therefore, decided to abandon the siege of Viramgam, and returned with his artillery and all his equipment to the capital. From this date, this ancient town, which commanded the road to the peninsula, was for ever lost to the Mughal power.[45]

Kanthaji's loot at Danta, 1736

In 1736, Kanthaji Kadam Bande, in company with Malhar Rao Holkar, penetrated as far as Danta[46] by way of Idar. Many of the wealthy residents of Vadnagar had taken refuge here in their flight after the capture and sack of their town by the Marathas in 1726. These, as also the Brahmans of the town, now fled into the hills and recesses near Danta to escape the clutches of Kanthaji. The latter, however, managed through his spies to secure information about their haunts, and, raiding them, secured from the fugitives no less than ten lakhs of rupees. He next arrived near Palanpur, where the ruler, Pahar Khan Jalori, was made to purchase security on payment of a lakh as tribute. The Marathas then proceeded into Marwar territory by way of Bhinmal.[47]

Maratha domination established

By the period that we have now reached, some thirty years after the first invasion of Gujarat by Dhanaji Jadhav in 1706, the Maratha invaders of this province had become the dominating factor in its economy. Their early inroads had been mostly confined to the Surat district, but after 1724 their incursions became bolder and more frequent, until by 1736 they had extended their exactions to North Gujarat and established their claim to chauth over all the parganas of the province north and south of the Mahi river. To the claims of the Dabhades and the Gaekwads, those of the Peshwa had been added, so that we can imagine what little must have been left of the annual produce to the cultivator after meeting the demands of the Mughal officials. But this was not all. After their alliance with Hamid Khan in 1724, the policy of the Marathas had been concentrated on obtaining ransom from the many flourishing cities of Gujarat to stay them from sacking these centres. In 1725, the Nagarsheth Khushalchand had saved Ahmadabad from being exposed to a sack by buying off the enemy, while a year later the wealthy town

45 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 231-33.

46 Danta (now in the Banas Kantha District of Bombay State) was, till recently, a large State, taking rank next after Idar, and bordering on Sirohi and Palanpur. The country is very wild and hilly. The famous shrine of Amba Bhavani is located in its territory, in the Arasur hills at the S. W. end of the Aravali range. (Bombay Gazetteer, V, 413, 432-3). Besides this temple, there are two other famous shrines in this area, *viz.*, that of Khed Brahma in the hills near Pol, and that of Samlaji, dedicated to Shri Krishna, on the Meswa river.

47 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 235-36.

of Vadnagar had been despoiled and burnt. During the years that followed, the Marathas came into possession of Dabhoi, Baroda, Viramgam, Petlad and Kapadvanj. If Mughal rule did not collapse at this period, it was because the Muslims still held possession of the great capital, with its formidable defences, as also the seaports of Broach, Surat and Cambay. To the capture of Ahmadabad, therefore, the Maratha leaders now directed their attention, and the opportunity was provided by fatal divisions and rival ambitions among the Mughal nobles, for in 1736 Ratansingh Bhandari, the deputy-viceroy, refused to obey imperial orders to hand over charge of the province to Momin Khan, who had been appointed by the Emperor as successor to Maharaja Abhaysingh as Subahdar of Gujarat.

APPENDIX

Mughal Viceroys of Gujarat from 1730 to 1758

1.	Maharaja Abhaysingh of Jodhpur: Ratansingh Bhandari as deputy	1730-37
2.	Momin Khan I, Najm-Sani, Najm-ud-daulah	1737-43
3.	Fida-ud-din and Muftakhir Khan (Ag.)	1743
4.	Jawan Mard Khan Babi (*de facto*)	1743-53
	Maratha rule at Ahmadabad	1753-56
5.	Momin Khan II, Nawab of Cambay	1756-58

CHAPTER XXXIX

DOMESTIC EVENTS UNDER MAHARAJA ABHAY-SINGH AND HIS DEPUTY, 1730-36

Siege of Ahmadabad by Momin Khan I and Damaji, 1736-37

TURNING now to a brief review of Maharaja Abhaysingh's domestic policy, it may be stated that, in 1730, the departure of Sarbuland Khan had been hailed with great satisfaction by the people of the capital who had suffered under his tyrannical regime. The Hindus, in particular, rejoiced that his successor as viceroy was one of their own religion. 'They compared Abhaysingh and his brother, says the author of the *Mirat*, 'with Ram and Lakshman and recited songs in their honour.' He adds that under the Maharaja's rule the prestige of Islam declined, cows were forbidden to be slaughtered, and temples came again into honour. At the time of the *Holi* festival it became the practice to ill-treat the Muslims. A few months, however, of the rule of the Maharaja and his minister Ratansingh Bhandari[1] sufficed to disillusion the Hindus who found that his Marwari officials had no scruples about exacting money from rich and poor, Hindus and Muslims alike, 'and they began to pray for divine mercy on the former tyrant.' Many respectable families left the city and went to settle in other places. The power of the Muslim officers in charge of several civil departments at Ahmadabad was taken away from them and handed over to men from Marwar. As the result of a similar change in the control of the mint at Ahmadabad, more copper alloy was inserted in the coinage to increase the revenue from the mint, so that gold muhrs and silver rupees lost their reputation for standard weight and the debased coins were not accepted in circulation outside the limits of the capital.[2]

Abhaysingh's domestic policy

It has been stated in the last chapter that Sarbuland Khan, after removing the Nagarsheth Khushalchand, had appointed Sheth Gangadas, the head of the silk merchants' *mahajan*, to his dignity. On the arrival of Abhaysingh at the capital, Gangadas arranged, according to Rajput custom, to secure a written guarantee from him for his own safety and

Blow to the silk industry at the capital

1 Bhandari means the Treasurer, *i.e.*, the person in charge of the *bhandar*, or treasure-house, of the State.

2 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 172-73.

protection, and, for this purpose Sardar Abhaekaran, the son of the great Rathor Durgadas, who was the chief of the feudal nobility of Marwar, was named as his surety. Some time later, the Maharaja decided to mulct Gangadas of a heavy sum of money. His trusted deputy, Ratansingh Bhandari, and Momin Khan, therefore, concocted a false farman from the Emperor for the arrest of Gangadas and for putting him in chains for having co-operated with Sarbuland Khan in his exactions. When the Sheth claimed the viceroy's protection in terms of the guarantee, he was told that no such bond could prevail against the express orders of the Emperor. He and his relations and the leading members of his trade were thereupon taken into custody, and their shops and factories, full of rich and costly fabrics, were put under seal. It was only after a ransom of nine lakhs of rupees had been secured that they were released. This heavy exaction led to the closing down of a large number of silk factories in the city involving loss of employment and ruin to many skilled artificers and craftsmen. The flourishing silk-manufacturing industry of Ahmadabad, whose products were in demand all over India, and were exported by land and sea to the countries of the Middle East, to Abyssinia and to Europe, was henceforth on the decline, and its powerful *mahajan* soon after ceased to exist as a separate guild.[3]

Condition of this industry in 1817

How immensely flourishing were the silk-manufactures of Ahmadabad, and how great the exports must have been during the 17th century and the first quarter of the 18th, may be realised from the fact that, nearly a century after the decline of the industry had begun, when the British came in possession of the city at the end of 1817, these manufactures still enjoyed a high reputation for excellence. John A. Dunlop, the first British Collector of Ahmadabad, in a letter to the Bombay Government, dated 5 March 1818, refers to 'the splendid mausoleums and monuments which so forcibly attract our attention' as proofs of 'a taste for magnificence among the despotic Princes who ruled over it.' After pointing out that 'we know by experience that encouragement is uniformly afforded by the rulers to manufacturing industry where such a taste prevails,' he adds:

'We may infer with confidence that such was the effect then, and that the manufactures of Ahmadabad undoubtedly were liberally encouraged by the Mahomedan Princes, and soon increased so much as to supply many foreign markets, superceding the products of other places wherever they came. This observation applies principally to the silk-manufactures. *** The same manufactures still exist and the same superiority is acknowledged to this day. Workmen who have been driven from the city by oppression have been unable to produce equal goods elsewhere; the principal superiority is said to be in the

3 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 170-71. For a very interesting account in Gujarati of the superb excellence and the rich variety of the former silk and gold-thread manufactures of Ahmadabad, see Ratnamanirao Bhimrao's *Ahmadabad*, Chap. 35, pp. 505-22.

colour. I cannot determine the cause, but the workmen attribute it to some peculiar property of the water used with the dye.'[4]

The year 1732 saw another severe famine in Gujarat which contaminated the atmosphere and led to a terrible pestilence in the capital. Thousands of people at Ahmadabad were carried off by an infectious fever which lasted for two or three days and was characterised by bubos in the groins.

Plague at Ahmadabad, 1732

According to the graphic account of this calamity given in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, people had no time to cover with a sheet the bodies of those who perished, and no undertaker could be found to offer his services. The corpses of those who left no relatives or friends were dragged through the streets and lanes of the city to the sands of the Sabarmati where they were disposed of by dogs and ravens. The historian says that he had seen with his own eyes two bodies put on one bier being carried on the shoulders of two men instead of four. The laments of the afflicted people, he adds, rose to high heaven. The famished dwellers from the suburbs and the adjacent villages left their homes and crowded in vast numbers to the city, bringing with them their children, boys and girls, who were sold in the bazars for a rupee or two. The Marwadis took advantage of this heavy affliction to reduce to slavery many well-born and respectable Muslim women by the offer of a loaf of bread. According to the *Mirat*, they were made to renounce Islam and converted to Hinduism and were despatched in batches to Marwar. The Rajputs used to assert with pride that this was a return for the large number of their countrymen who had been made captives at Jodhpur and converted to Islam in the course of the long wars during the reign of Aurangzeb.[5]

In this year, Sheth Khushalchand Jhaveri, the hereditary Nagarsheth of Ahmadabad, who had for some years past been residing in Delhi, owing to the exactions of Sarbuland Khan, returned to Ahmadabad in the company of Raja Vakhatchand, the viceroy's brother, who was on his way back from Nagor.

Khushalchand returns from Delhi, 1732

Khushalchand brought with him an imperial *Parwana*, bearing the seal of Samsam-ud-daulah (Khan Dauran), the Amir-ul-umrah of the Empire, and addressed to Abhaysingh, the viceroy. The text of this interesting document is reproduced by the author of the *Mirat*, as no doubt found by him in the state records in the diwan's office. The Maharaja, who is described as 'the best among the Rajas of Hindustan,' is informed that Khushalchand, the son of Shantidas,[6] had been appointed by the Emperor as Nagarsheth of

[4] B. K. Boman-Behram, *Rise of Municipal Government in the City of Ahmedabad*, 1937, p. 13. This work, based entirely on the documents in the Bombay Record Office, gives a vivid idea of the deplorable political and social condition of this great city at the beginning of the British period of its history.

[5] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 178-79. There was a similar pestilence at Ahmadabad eighty years later, in 1812, about which full details are available.

[6] This is a slip as Khushalchand was not the son but the grandson of Shantidas Jawahari of Shah Jahan's reign.

Ahmadabad, and had been presented with a dress of honour, a ruby and ear-rings, and instructed to return to Ahmadabad. The viceroy should, therefore, order his officials to allow him to carry out the duties pertaining to his office so that the welfare of the people and the prosperity of the city may be ensured. The document is dated the 5th of Rabi-ul-akhir in the fifteenth year of the accession (Sept. 14, 1732).[7]

Within two years of Sheth Khushalchand's return to Ahmadabad from Delhi, his relations with Ratansingh Bhandari became acutely strained. This was due to the activities of the Bohra leader Ahmad, who had some years before been instrumental in getting Sheth Gangadas heavily mulcted, and had, thereafter, actively helped and co-operated with the deputy-viceroy in his illegal fines and exactions. Khushalchand found that he had no authority left as the Nagarsheth, and there were frequent disputes between him and Ahmad in the matter of the levying and collection of these fines. On the Bohra leader carrying his complaints to Ratansingh, the latter began to consider how to imprison and humiliate the bold Jain magnate. Khushalchand, however, relying on the support secretly promised by Momin Khan and Jawan Mard Khan, took up a defiant attitude and prepared to fight. He also engaged Arabs for the protection of the Jhaveriwada in the city and of his own residence there. The Bhandari summoned a meeting of the officials and the leading merchants at which Ahmad and other inspired individuals put up several charges against the Nagarsheth. As Ratansingh was afraid of the consequences of putting Khushalchand under custody, he sent him a deputation of officials to convey to him orders to leave the city immediately. The Nagarsheth's well-wishers among these, including the Hindu peshkars of Momin Khan and Jawan Mard Khan, as also the future author of the *Mirat*, advised him to go away and bide his time and not to rely on the help of the Muslim nobles mentioned above. Khushalchand, thereupon, the same night, left for Pethapur[8] and then for Vasna, where he secured the help of the Koli chiefs, and he later sought refuge at Junagadh. We find him, however, back at Ahmadabad in 1736.[9]

Sheth Khushalchand again in exile, 1734

On his return to Ahmadabad after the abortive siege of Viramgam, Ratansingh Bhandari redoubled his efforts at imposing fines and exactions on the people in order to recoup the expenditure incurred thereon. Rich and poor alike were so oppressed that many sought an opportunity to leave the capital and to abandon their ancestral homes. A veteran

Death of Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan

7 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 193-94.

8 Pethapur and Vasna were till recently small states in the Sabar Kantha Agency on the bank of the river.

9 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 210-12.

official, named Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan, who had held many high posts in the province from the time of Aurangzeb onwards, and who had gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca at the time of Hamid Khan's revolt, returned to Surat in this year where he died shortly after (1736). His nephew brought his remains, with the Bhandari's permission, to Ahmadabad to be buried in the courtyard of the madrasah which had been built by this nobleman. As the Shaikh had a reputation for considerable wealth, Ratansingh tried in all possible ways to find out and secure what he had left. When an inventory of the Shaikh's property showed neither money nor gold or silver, but only copper vessels, chinaware and library books, he ordered a couple of his houses to be dug up to find buried treasure. When this also revealed nothing, the nephew was confined and made to pay ten thousand rupees and the property was handed over to him to meet this amount from the proceeds of its sale.[10]

Decline of Abhaysingh's prestige at the Court, 1736

The domestic tyranny of the Bhandari at the capital, particularly against the Banyas, was in full operation during the first half of 1736 notwithstanding the fact that he had put up inscribed tablets of stone in the Manek Chok at the capital in which the people were given a solemn assurance that they would not be troubled any more. But, in direct violation of these pledges, taxes and levies were imposed under various pretexts, such as a census of the entire population, or of the various communities, or of all the castes.[11] So long as Maharaja Abhaysingh enjoyed the support of Samsam-ud-daulah (Khan Dauran), who held the dignity of the Amir-ul-umara at the capital, the wealthy and influential Gujarati shroffs and merchants resident at Delhi were unable to make any move to secure redress for the wrongs done to their countrymen. But when, before the middle of this year, they noticed an estrangement between the two, they closed their firms and all business in token of a *hartal*, and waited in a body at the court to ventilate their grievances. About this time, letters also arrived from Momin Khan of Cambay for the Amir-ul-umara about Ratansingh's tyranny. He was informed in reply that, if he could undertake to discharge the responsibilities of the office of the Nazim of Gujarat, the Khan would arrange to secure the necessary imperial farman to that effect. Momin Khan consulted Jawan Mard Khan Babi who was at Vadnagar, and, having secured his co-operation against the Rajputs, he wrote back to convey the assurance required, and desired that the Babi leader may be appointed governor of Patan and thus attached to his side. Two farmans were accordingly received at Cambay from the court. That relating to Jawan Mard Khan was duly forwarded to him by Momin Khan,

10 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 234-35.

11 The Brahmans of the 'eighty-four castes' raised a tumult and some broke their own heads and others prepared to commit suicide with a knife or dagger. Apprehending a revolt of the entire population, the tax laid on the Brahmans was withdrawn.

on receipt of which the former marched at once with his troops to Patan and secured control of that town.[12]

The other imperial farman, mentioned above, was to the effect that frequent reports had reached the court about the tyrannical measures of the deputy of Abhaysingh at Ahmadabad—the confiscation of people's goods, the digging up of houses for buried treasure, and the oppression of the rich. Though the Maharaja had been frequently called upon by the Emperor to take necessary action to stop such practices, the evil had not been remedied. Abhaysingh had, therefore, been transferred, and Momin Khan[13] was instructed to administer the affairs of the province until a new viceroy was appointed, and to take steps to remove the Bhandari from the capital. The farman was dated the 10th of Muharram in the 18th year of the accession (10 May 1736). Momin Khan had copies made of this document, and these were forwarded to the Diwan, the Qazi, and other royal officers at Ahmadabad with a request to inform the Bhandari of its arrival. He then busied himself with enlisting troops and collecting military equipment.

Farman for Momin Khan. 1736

It is a signal proof of the political anarchy that was now in operation in Gujarat that, in order to expel the deputy of an imperial viceroy, Momin Khan now entered into an alliance with the Maratha invaders. He summoned Rangoji, who was encamped near Petlad, and by unusual concessions secured his military help against the Bhandari. Under the arangements now entered into, Momin Khan granted to the Gaekwad half the revenues of the entire Subah of Gujarat, excepting only the city of Ahmadabad, the Haveli or home pargana, and the town and port of Cambay. His peshkar, Vajeram, was sent, along with an agent of Rangoji, to Damaji Gaekwad at Songadh to secure confirmation of this covenant and to make due provision for an adequate force of Maratha cavalry and infantry. Having completed all arrangements, Momin Khan left Cambay and was joined at Sojitra by Jawan Mard Khan Babi and his forces.[14] After being held up at Kaira by the heavy rains, the allied army arrived at the Kankaria tank, outside Ahmadabad, at the end of August 1736, when officers were appointed to direct the siege operations in the area of the walls covered by the Kalupur, Sarangpur and Astodya gates.[15] The line

His alliance with Rangoji and march to the capital

12 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 240-42.

13 Momin Khan was Subahdar from 1737 to 1743 and received, before his death in 1743, the title of Najm-ud-daulah (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 335). His son, Momin Khan II, was the last Mughal viceroy of Ahmadabad, and he became the first independent Nawab of Cambay (1747-83).

14 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 243-44, 246.

15 Momin Khan also took possession of the small fort at Nayanpur, outside the Raepur gate, which was the seat of the fauzdars of the suburbs, and which had now been vacated by the Rajputs.

between the Jamalpur gate and the banks of the Sabarmati was assigned to Rangoji and to Momin Khan's nephew jointly.[16] The Bhandari also took effective measures to defend the capital with the help of his Rathod troops. Some of the gates of the city were bricked up and huge stones were collected for being hurled on the besiegers.[17] For the first time in history, the formidable city-walls of Ahmadabad, begun by Sultan Ahmad Shah in 1411 and completed by his grandson in 1484, were destined to undergo an investment which no enemy had ventured to attempt during the three centuries and a quarter that had elapsed since the foundation of the city. Moreover, it was altogether a unique situation to see this great Mughal capital being held by the Rajputs against a combined investing army of Muslims and Marathas.

Ratansingh's position anomalous

Ratansingh Bhandari's position at Ahmadabad was in some respects similar to that of Hamid Khan, the Nizam's deputy, twelve years before, for, in holding out at the capital against the nobleman appointed to succeed him, he was guilty of defying imperial authority. We find, however, that there were some extenuating circumstances in his case. Abhaysingh had been informed by his deputy about the farman received by Momin Khan and about the latter's arrival at Kaira with some powerful artillery and a large army. Taking offence at his supersession, the Maharaja had left the court, but the nobles, being apprehensive that he might go to Ahmadabad and raise an insurrection, sent one of their number to invite him to return. He was then ostensibly confirmed by the Emperor in his appointment as Subahdar of Gujarat and was assured that orders had been despatched to Momin Khan to withdraw to Cambay. While these dispositions were formally announced at the court, secret orders were sent by Khan Dauran (Samsam-ud-daulah) to Momin Khan to the effect that he should not slacken his efforts to march on Ahmadabad, which Ratansingh, by the directions of his master, refused to surrender.[18]

Siege of Ahmadabad

The memorable siege of Ahmadabad by Momin Khan and Rangoji lasted for nine months, from the end of August, 1736 to the end of May, 1737, during which period the Rathod defenders showed considerable capacity and resourcefulness. They manned the walls by day and guarded them by torches at night, and laboured to remove or render ineffective the

[16] See Map of the City of Ahmadabad, Vol. I, p. 78 of this work.

[17] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 247-49.

[18] ibid. 249-50. It is possible that these conflicting orders were the outcome of the rivalry of the two powerful parties at the Mughal court, one of which was led by the Amir-ul-Umara (Khan Dauran) while the head of the other was the vazir Qamar-ud-din Khan, generally known as Itmad-ud-daulah and Vazir-ul-Mamalik.

mines laid under them. The Bhandari, being apprehensive that the besiegers would take advantage of the masjids and other structures beyond the walls to plant their batteries upon, had the buildings outside the Sarangpur gate destroyed. He also sent his men to demolish the stone masjid built here by Afzal Khan Bimbani[19] during the Saltanat period, but Malek Chhamu, who was in charge of the attack on this side, having received information, anticipated the Rajputs and secured control of the mosque. The siege, however, did not paralyse all business activities. The tradesmen and merchants had large stocks of varieties of cloth and other manufactures ready for sale in markets all over India and for export to other parts. They paid heavy duties demanded by the Bhandari for permission to remove their goods outside the city-gates, while Momin Khan's officials demanded another ten per cent. duty before they would permit the articles to pass.[20]

Attempts to starve the city into surrender

Momin Khan next devoted his attention to starving the garrison into surrender by cutting off supplies of grain and foodstuffs for the citizens, as also of fodder for horses and camels. This was, however, not an easy task as the walls covered a vast circumference of six miles with twelve gates. It was found also that the Kolis of the district, regardless of life, and under cover of the night, introduced grain and fodder into the city from the direction of the Shahi Bagh, so that a special body of troops was appointed to check their activities. Within a month after the investment, the cost of grass sufficient to feed a horse rose to two rupees per load. The siege naturally soon involved great distress and suffering for the inhabitants of the capital, and they collected in crowds with their families at the gates of the city in order to retire to the suburbs. The houses in the suburbs, which gave shelter to this large body of immigrants, were still in good condition and had not become dilapidated as they were to be some years later. After the departure of the residents from their homes in the capital, the Marwadis entered them freely and possessed themselves of anything of value they could find, while the Kolis despoiled the houses at night.[21]

Damaji before Ahmadabad

Damajirao Gaekwad had previously sent one Kanhoji Nagher, with 2,000 Maratha cavalry and infantry, to reinforce Rangoji's forces before the capital, and he himself left Songadh with a powerful army and advanced towards Ahmadabad at the end of the year. On receiving news of his arrival at Nadiad, Momin Khan sent his peshkar, Vajeram, to welcome him and to arrange for an interview. Thereafter, when Damaji was

19 For the career of Afzal Khan Bimbani, and the construction of the masjid by this famous Gujarati nobleman of the reign of Sultan Mahmud III (1538-54), see Vol. I of this history, 433-34, 439. This masjid was demolished by fire by Momin Khan II during a later siege of the capital by the Marathas.

20 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 251.

21 ibid, 252-54

encamped in the village of Isanpur, five miles from the city, Momin Khan proceeded to give him a visit accompanied by all his leading officers (20 December, 1736).[22] The news of Damaji's arrival was no doubt most unwelcome for the Bhandari, who, after holding a consultation with his nobles, sent a trusty messenger to the Gaekwad offering him half the share of the revenues of the entire province, without excluding Ahmadabad and the Haveli pargana or the port of Cambay, if he would change sides. Damaji informed Momin Khan of the tempting terms offered, and the latter, in order to retain his ally, had perforce to agree to make the same concessions and to grant away those rights which had been specially reserved in his treaty with Rangoji. He, however, offered to Damaji the undivided control of the pargana of Viramgam in exchange for the half share of the revenues of Cambay, and this was accepted.[23] The ambition of Momin Khan to be subahdar, and his alliance with the Marathas on such disastrous terms to secure his objective, gave the final death-blow to the expiring Mughal power in Gujarat. Its immediate result, as will be seen, was to hand over political authority over one-half of the city of Ahmadabad to the Marathas. Damaji established his camp near the tomb of Shah Bhikan,[24] to the south of the city, and the next day he rode on horseback, inspecting the walls by the riverside, to the holy site of Dudheswar on the Sabarmati, where he took a bath and distributed a thousand rupees in charity (*dakshina*) to the Brahmans. He remained encamped near Ahmadabad for two months, after which he proceeded to the peninsula for the annual mulukgiri expedition.[25]

Apprehensions of a sack

During these months the difficulties of Ratansingh in the capital were daily increasing. With Momin Khan in charge of a besieging force of 50,000 men, apart from the large army of his Maratha allies, the attack on a limited portion of the walls became more difficult to withstand. Even the river gates, which had hitherto not been bricked up, because of the need for water supply, were now blocked by the Bhandari's orders. On the other side, the troops under Rangoji destroyed all the houses and shops which at that time stood outside the Jamalpur gate in order to bring the trenches and batteries right up to the walls, where the moat had already been filled up. The Deccanis now redoubled their efforts, and these appeared so likely to succeed that even Momin Khan was in dread about the fate of the inhabitants if the Marathas forced their way in through a breach in the walls and gave up the city to plunder.[26]

22 At the interview, Damaji presented Momin Khan with two horses, a string of pearls and five pieces of cloth. When parting, the two leaders exchanged their turbans.

23 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 270-71.

24 The tomb of Shah Bhikan (the son of the saint Shah Alam) stood on the banks of the Sabarmati beyond the Jamalpur gate to the south of the city. It was destroyed by floods in the last century.

25 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 271-72.

26 ibid., 272-74.

By the middle of March, 1737, famine conditions began to prevail in the capital: 'grain rose to two *sers* in the rupee and grass began to be sold at the price of saffron.' Many of the residents, who had so far stayed on, in spite of all privations, in order to safeguard their property or for other reasons, now began to migrate from the city. The great capital, once so populous and full of activity, began to present a deserted appearance. Among those who now left the city were Ali Muhammad Khan (Sr.) and his son, the historian. They had already sent away the ladies of their family to Cambay and so were free from anxiety on their behalf. But, as conditions in the capital were getting critical, both father and son decided also to leave. To do so openly might possibly expose them to rudeness and ill-treatment at the hands of the Bhandari's guards stationed at the gates. So, both escaped from the city at midnight, on 15 March 1737, by way of the Raykhad gate on the river, which was very close to their residence, and with which they had been in a manner specially connected.[27]

Exodus from the city

By this time the wall between the Astodya gate and the 'closed' (Mahudha) gate had been reduced to a mass of rubble and it was decided at a council of war held by Momin Khan and Rangoji with their officers to deliver an assault. The Mughal and Hindustani soldiers, who were specially selected to take part in it, were placed under two valiant Saiyids, while the Marathas were led by one Sardar Baburao. Protected by a heavy barrage of artillery, the assault began, but the troops were met with a withering fire from the guns and muskets of the Rajputs who had taken up their position behind the windows of the high houses which adjoined the wall. In this action, the two Muslim champions referred to above as also the Maratha leader Baburao were killed.[28] After heavy loss the assaulting party had ultimately to withdraw and the attempt failed.[29]

The allies' assault fails

For six weeks more, till the middle of May, Ratansingh stood out, during which period Momin Khan redoubled his efforts to cut off all supplies for man or beast. The Rajputs were at last forced, for lack of provisions, to abandon the defence. At a consultation with his officers, the Bhandari pointed out that for full nine months they had put into effect every possible method for the defence of the city, during which period the Maharaja had sent them no help whatever in men or money and had merely issued orders. Moreover, the rainy season was at hand. On 18 May 1737, therefore, Ratansingh decided to open negotiations

The Bhandari surrenders, May, 18, 1737

27 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 282-84

28 Qaiyum Ali Khan and Abul Qasim, the two Saiyids, were buried in the dargah of Ibrahim Shahid near the fort at Nayanpur outside the Raipur gate. Baburao's body was cremated and his wife became a *sati* and perished with him in the flames (*Mirat*, 288).

29 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 284-88.

with Momin Khan offering to withdraw on receiving a lump sum for the payment of the troops and facilities for conveying his baggage. It was settled that he was to receive one lakh of rupees in cash, and that Fida-ud-din Khan and Muhammad Momin Khan (the cousin and nephew respectively of the victorious noble) should remain with the Bhandari as sureties. As one half of the city was now to be transferred to the Marathas, by virtue of the treaty with Damaji, the latter was equally to meet half the charges in these arrangements. The Bhandari handed over what was left of the large number of guns which had been originally collected in the time of Mubariz-ul-mulk, some of which had already been sent to Jodhpur by the Maharaja. On May 25, 1737, Ratansingh left the capital by the Delhi gate, and the two Kotwals, or police chiefs, appointed by Momin Khan and Rangoji respectively, entered the same night, and proceeding to take measures to protect the city, threw open the Raipur and the Astodya gates for the free entry of the people. 'The Bhandari,' says the Persian historian, 'taking with him all the wealth that he had been able to extort from the citizens, and carrying on his head the curses and the maledictions of the people over whom he had for so long tyrannised, turned his wicked face in the direction of Marwar.' Momin Khan sent a detailed account of these events to his patron, the Amir-ul-umara (Samsam-ud-daulah), with a present for the Emperor. The citizens returned with satisfaction to their homes, though many of them were sad at the destruction of their property or the loss of all their buried treasures.[30]

Reference in Surat Chief's letter

The following extract from a letter, dated 4 June 1737, written by James Hope, Chief of the English factory at Surat, to John Horne, Governor and President of the Council at Bombay, confirms the Persian account about the surrender of Ahmadabad, and it shows how exact is the Hijri date for the event given by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi:*

> 'The surrender of Ahmadabad to Momin Khan is no longer disputed, whose officers took possession the 26th ultimo; and the same evening Mar Raja's [Maharaja's] people marched out; which change gives the merchants of this city great hopes that its trade will soon be revived; and we shall be glad of the opportunity to confirm hereafter such agreeable news.'[31]

30 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 288-90. The Persian account of this siege covers nearly fifty closely printed pages. There are three documents in the *Peshwa Daftar* which refer to the siege of Ahmadabad by Momin Khan in 1736 with the help of Damaji Gaekwad (Selections, XII, Nos. 88, 96, 98).

31 Gense and Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, I, 26.

CHAPTER XL

MOMIN KHAN I, NAJM-UD-DAULA, AS VICEROY, 1737-43

Joint rule of Mughal and Maratha at Ahmadabad (1737-53)

WITH the departure of Ratansingh Bhandari from Ahmadabad on May 25, 1737, the victorious Momin Khan became viceroy, both *de jure* and *de facto*, and governed the province with tact and firmness for the next seven years, till his death in this city in Feb., 1743. He must be regarded as the last effective viceroy of the province in view of the feeble and disputed rule of his successors under ever increasing difficulties and civil contests.[1] On 2 June 1737, a day fixed as auspicious by the astrologers, Momin Khan left his quarters in the small fort of Nayanpur, with Fida-ud-din Khan and Jawan Mard Khan, all seated on huge elephants, and, accompanied by the principal civil and military officers, he entered the city by the Raipur gate. Proceeding to the Jami Masjid, the Friday prayers were offered and the *khutba* was read in the Emperor's name, after which the viceroy entered the Bhadra citadel. Fida-ud-din Khan was appointed as deputy of the Nazim. The leading Shaikhs and Saiyids of the city, the royal officials, and the heads of various trades and guilds, came with presents and offered him their good wishes.

Momin Khan enters the capital

Rangoji had gone away at the end of the siege to meet his chief Damaji, but after accompanying the latter as far as the Mahi river, he returned to Dholka. Fida-ud-din was sent by the viceroy to escort him, and he entered the capital at the head of the Maratha army, which was gaily equipped, and took up his residence at the mansion of Rustam Ali Khan on the riverside which had been assigned for his use. It appears that, in terms of the treaty made with Damaji, not only the revenues but also the government of the capital was to be equally divided between Momin Khan and the Gaekwad. For this purpose, the southern half

Joint rule at Ahmadabad

1 The genealogical table of the first two Nawabs of Cambay is given below :

Mirza Muhammad, Najm-i-Sani, Momin Khan I, Najm-ud-daulah, governor of Cambay, 1730-37; viceroy of Gujarat, 1737-43, d. 21 Feb. 1743.	=	Aulia Begum, d. of Mirza Abdul Husain, Momin Khan Dehlami, governor of Surat, 1723-24, and Diwan of Gujarat, 1724-27. d. 27 April 1727.

Muftakhir Khan, Nur-ud-din Muhammad, Momin Khan II, governor of Cambay from 1748; captures Ahmadabad, 1756-8; Nawab of Cambay, 1758-88

(*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 62, 66, 67, 121.)

of the city now passed to Rangoji, along with the control over six of the gates (*viz.*, the Raykhad and the Khan Jahan on the river, the Jamalpur and the 'closed gate' to the south, and the Astodya and Raipur to the east) and Maratha guards were posted over them. At the same time, Rangoji's *thanadars* took their seats side by side with the Nazim's officers in all the wards of the city, and at all the 'chaklas' and the bazars (*e.g.* the zaveri bazar, the *pān* market, the ghee-kanta, the vegetable market, etc.), to take note of the revenues received and to secure one half of the same. From this time, the terms 'Mughal' and 'Maratha' shares became familiar to the people of Gujarat. For the next sixteen years, Ahmadabad was under joint rule till 1753, when the city was captured after a siege by the combined forces of the Peshwa and the Gaekwad.[2]

Riots against the Marathas

"The Deccanis", says the Persian historian, "had never in their wildest fancies imagined that such a happy day would dawn on them, and romping about they began to rub their eyes and to exclaim: 'O Lord! is all this that we see a reality or only a dream.'" In the pride of power, they began to appropriate for their use any fine house that they saw, and in consequence disputes arose with their owners, which spread to other localities, and developed into a furious riot in which firearms were freely used on both sides and several men were killed. For three days and nights the armed strife continued before peace was restored. Momin Khan refrained scrupulously from taking any action during the strife, though no doubt he was secretly pleased that the arrogance of his allies had received a blow. He sent Fida-ud-din Khan and others to Rangoji, who too had wisely kept aloof from the riots, to bring to his knowledge that the Muslim citizens were mostly ex-soldiers, whether Gujaratis or foreigners, and that they would be found ready to defend by arms their self-respect and their rights, and this should be borne in mind by Rangoji's followers. Evidently, the number of the Marathas in the city was not very large, for it was now decided to occupy only some of the houses situated near that in which Rangoji was resident, and also to give up control of the other gates except two only, *viz.*, the Jamalpur and the Khan Jahan gates.[3] Similar disputes, ending in reconciliations, took place both in the capital and in the parganas on various occasions between this date and 1742, but, on the whole, harmonious relations prevailed so long as Momin Khan lived. The viceroy and the Gaekwad's deputy respected each other, and it was invariably the policy of the former, realising probably the limitations of his power, to conciliate his ally and to yield to all reasonable demands rather than to drive Rangoji into hostilities.

[2] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 290-91.

[3] ibid, 291-92.

The news of the departure of Ratansingh and the arrival of Momin Khan soon spread all over the country, and those who had left the capital to escape the exactions of the Marwadi officials or the privations of the siege, and had taken refuge in the suburbs and the villages or in the adjacent parganas, or had migrated even as far as Cambay or Surat, were prompted by their attachment to the city to return from all quarters.[4] They came back full of joy and in great hope that, after this relief, there would be no more suffering and no more sorrow for them, quite unconscious of the miseries and travail they were yet destined to undergo. The author of the *Mirat* remarks that, in spite of successive political calamities to which Ahmadabad had been exposed, the refugees continued to be attracted back to the capital every time. The chief reason for this partiality, he points out, was the fact that the majority of them were expert silk-weavers and embroiderers by profession, and that the climate and water of Ahmadabad were found to be better suited for these manufactures than those of other places. In brilliance and lustre, the velvets, *mashrus* and *alechas* made at Ahmadabad were unsurpassed and they could not be produced elsewhere of the same excellence.[5]

Return of the refugees

At the end of the rainy season, Momin Khan left the capital with his army for the annual collection of tribute, and encamped on Sept. 15, 1737 at the garden of Muhammad Amin Khan on the Sabarmati. On arrival at Adalaj, Jawan Mard Khan from Patan and Sher Khan Babi from Balasinor joined him with their contingents, and so also did Rangoji with a body of 2,000 Maratha horse and foot, though he soon left the camp to collect his tribute separately from Viramgam and Sorath. After securing the revenues from the Vijapur pargana, the viceroy proceeded towards Idar. The zamindars of Mohanpur and Ranasan in the Sabar Kantha district paid the usual tribute, as also did those of Mansa and Varsoda. The two brothers of Maharaja Abhaysingh, *viz.*, Raja Anandsingh and Raja Raesingh, who held the Idar pargana, arrived in Momin Khan's camp, and after matters about tributary payment had been settled, the elder brother returned to Idar while Raesingh attached himself to the viceroy's camp.[6]

Mulukgiri campaign, 1737

4 The author of the *Mirat* improvises some verses bearing on love for one's country which are worth quoting and deserve comparison with similar sentiments by Walter Scott and others in various languages:

'Love for one's motherland is more exalted than even the mighty sway of Solomon;
The thorns that grow in ones country are dearer than scented flowers elsewhere;
Though Joseph held sway over Egypt (*Misr*), he used to say that he would prefer to live as a beggar in his native land of Cannan.' (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 295).

5 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 295-96.

6 ibid, 301-03.

Domestic incidents

Meanwhile, Fida-ud-din, as deputy for the viceroy, and Ramaji, as agent for Rangoji, were in charge of affairs at the capital. Ramaji, having scrutinised the accounts connected with the extensive lands and villages held by the Shah Alam Saiyids as endowments for the Rauzas under their charge, had made demands for certain payments. As a protest, the Saiyids and their followers assembled at the Jami Masjid one Friday and prevented the recital of the prayers (*namaz*) and the *khutba*. In order that matters might not develop further, Fida-ud-din assured them that he would prevent any unusual demands being made on them.[7] After his victory over Ratansingh, a farman had been sent from the court, with the seal of the Amir-ul-umara, to congratulate Momin Khan on his recovering Ahmadabad from him. Some months later, in April, 1738, the *gurzbardar*, or imperial messenger, arrived on the outskirts of the city with honours and presents from the court, and, according to the standing etiquette, the viceroy proceeded to the Farman Wadi[8] to receive him and the gifts with due ceremonial. His mansab was now raised to 4,000 *zat* and 2,000 *sawar* and he received the title of Bahadur. Among the presents sent for the viceroy were a special dress of honour, a jewelled aigrette, a sword with an ornamented clasp, an elephant and a silk-fringed palanquin.[9]

Written settlement with Damaji

In 1738, Momin Khan reimposed the detested *vero* at Ahmadabad, and extorted from the citizens one lakh of rupees with the help of cruel tax-collectors, so that the joy of the people at returning to their homes after so much suffering was soon turned into distress. Under the agreement made with the Marathas, the latter were entitled to a half share in all fines and imposts. But Rangoji complained that he had not received the full amount due to him, and his special agents demanded the same from many of the citizens with threats and force. There was an outcry against this double imposition, and civil strife between the Muslims and the Deccanis broke out at the capital, when batteries were erected, and for twenty days the city was given over to terror and destruction. To prevent such disputes in future, Rangoji demanded and secured from the viceroy a written agreement on the subject of the Maratha rights. An exact copy of this document has been reproduced by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, bearing Momin Khan's assent to each clause in his own hand.

7 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 299, 305.

8 According to the *Mirat*, the Farman Wadi was located on the other side of the Sabarmati, half a *kos* from the city on the west. The garden had a rampart wall with a gate and a small mansion which was in ruins by 1761. (Supplt. to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 21). It was the usual practice for the viceroys to proceed with their officers to the Farman Wadi to receive, with due honour and ceremony, all Farmans sent from the Imperial court, from the messenger who halted at this place. They then returned to the city, generally seated on an elephant, with the document tied to their head.

9 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 299, 305.

By these terms (1) an absolutely equal division was to be made of all revenues received from the city and the suburbs; (2) the Marathas should have the right to enter and leave the city, subject to the same privileges and restraints as the Muslims, and the viceroy's guards were not to be placed at the Jamalpur and Khan Jahan gates; (3) according to practice, merchants and artisans should be allowed to enter the Maratha sector of the city freely and there should be no prohibition from the Nazim's officers; (4) an equal number of men of the two Governments should sit in the Panditkhana (court of justice) and all sureties and deeds of bailment were to be executed in their presence; (5) officers of both sides should sit jointly in the criminal and fiscal courts, and if any person was to be summoned, both sides should send a police officer to call him; and (6) if it should happen that a great part of the Maratha troops was withdrawn for a mulukgiri expedition, the Muslims should not take advantage of their absence to entertain ambitious designs; and should there be any disputes in the districts, they were not to be made the ground of a quarrel with the Maratha Agent in Ahmadabad. In conclusion, it was laid down that Fida-ud-din Khan (the viceroy's cousin) and four other Muslim nobles, named in the document, were to stand security for the fulfilment of the Articles. The historian adds that the treaty was only in force for a short period, and that the document soon became a dead letter.[10]

Nadir Shah's invasion of India, 1739

The year 1739 opened disastrously for the Mughal Empire for it witnessed the invasion of Nadir Shah, 'the greatest Asiatic conqueror of the age,' who, after a series of brilliant victories over the Afghans, had been acknowledged as Shah of Persia in 1736 and had assumed the crown in succession to the last feeble ruler of the Safawi dynasty. His next ambition was the invasion of the Mughal Empire, taking advantage of some real and pretended grounds for offence. After the conquest of Afghanistan from its Mughal governor at the end of 1738, he entered the Punjab, which soon fell at his feet with the capture of Lahore (Jan., 1739). The utter military incapacity of the Empire was the result of twenty years of incompetent sway by Muhammad Shah, and, though the veteran Nizam-ul-mulk, now greatly advanced in years, was at the capital, he was helpless to prevent the collapse. The hastily collected Mughal army, which had been joined in person by the Emperor, was defeated with great slaughter on the plains of Karnāl, 75 miles north of Delhi (13 Feb., 1739). Among the casualities was Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, the Amir-ul-umara, and head of the powerful 'Hindustani' party at the court, who commanded one wing of the army. After this disaster, the Emperor was invited to his camp by Nadir Shah, when he became practically a prisoner in the latter's camp, and the two monarchs entered Delhi along with the Persian army (9 March). A

10 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 307-10.

false rumour that Nadir Shah was dead led the inhabitants of the capital to rise in a furious tumult when they attacked and killed several hundreds of the Qizilbash soldiery who were taken unawares when moving about the streets of Delhi. Nadir Shah took a terrible revenge and ordered a general massacre in certain wards of the city where the rabble had been specially active against the Persians. For five hours, on March 11, his troops indulged in an orgy of blood and arson, respecting neither age nor rank, until their hand was stayed by their master's orders at the entreaties of Muhammad Shah. The total number that perished in this holocaust is estimated at not less than 8,000 persons. After a stay of 57 days at Delhi, Nadir Shah departed for his country on 5 May 1739,[11] carrying away with him not only the accumulated treasures of the Mughal Emperors, but also a vast ransom exacted with great cruelty from the citizens of Delhi. The total value of his spoils, which included the famous Peacock Throne and the Kohinoor Diamond, was estimated by his Secretary at fifteen crores of rupees. Before his departure from Delhi, Nadir Shah held a grand darbar, at which the Emperor and the principal nobles were summoned, and with his own hands he placed the crown of Hindustan on the head of Muhammad Shah and enjoined all the nobles and officers to obey his farmans and to regard him henceforth again as their ruler.

Coins struck at Ahmadabad in the invader's name

During the period of two months that Nadir Shah stayed at the Mughal capital, he was the *de facto* Emperor (*Shah-in-Shah*) and the authority of Muhammad Shah was in abeyance. Coins were struck and the khutba read all over the Empire in the name of the conqueror.[12] Specimens of these unique coins struck in the mint at Ahmadabad have been found by numismatists, though for a long time they were puzzled as to how coins came to be minted in this town in Nadir's name since he had never conquered the province or been anywhere near its capital. We give below some interesting remarks on the subject by Dr. Geo. P. Taylor, a distinguished authority, in his paper entitled *On some Coins illustrating the History of Gujarat*, read before the students of the Gujarat College at Ahmadabad in 1919:

'Let me now invite your attention to a rupee bearing so recent a date as A.H. 1152, or A.D. 1739. When first I saw that coin in one of the shops in the bazar it was black as coal, but examination on the spot with my pocket-lens revealed the fact that the inscription was an unusual one. Hence, purchasing the coin, I took it home with me. On washing it with soap and water, and rubbing it with a soft cloth, the following brief inscription on the reverse soon admitted of decipherment:

'God preserve the Kingdom: minted at Ahmedabad in the year 1152.'

'Now Muhammad Shah was, of course, the Emperor from 1131

[11] The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (p. 314) gives the 20th Safar, H. 1152, *i.e.*, 18 May 1739, which presumably refers to Nadir's final departure from the soil of Hindustan.

[12] W. Irvine's *Later Mughals*, II, 373.

till 1161 Hijri, yet this legend was certainly different from any found on his rupees. Who then might this ruler be that could in 1152 have his coins struck in Ahmadabad? A little further gentle coaxing with the soap won from the obverse side its secret, and this is what it read:

'*The King of Kings, Nadir, Sahib Qiran, is a Sultan over the Sultans of the world.*'

'Now coins struck in Persia by Nadir Quli, the founder of the Afsharid Dynasty, bear precisely this legend; and the Hijri year 1152, or 1739-40 of the Christian Era, is the very year in which that monarch swooped down on Hindustan with his destroying host returning only after the terrible massacre in the streets of Delhi and his fifty-eight days' stay. On his homeward journey the invader proceeded, it is true, through the province of Sind, but, after exacting from its chief a large tribute, he led his troops through the north-western passes en route for Qandahar It nowhere appears, however, that Nadir Shah marched in the direction of Ahmadabad; and it thus becomes an interesting problem to account for the issue of rupees in his name struck, if the legend tell truly, in this city.'[13]

Testimony of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*

The problem that puzzled Dr. Taylor and other numismatists has, however, been solved by historical material subsequently brought to light, for we know that it was by the invader's orders when resident at Delhi that coins were struck in his name in the provinces of the Empire. The author of the *Mirat* specifically says: 'So long as Nadir Shah remained at the imperial city, dirhams and dinars bearing the following verses were struck in several cities of Hindustan.' He then reproduces the legends on the two sides, which are exactly as found by Dr. Taylor on the coin which he describes, and he adds that similar rupees and muhrs were issued from the mint at Ahmadabad on the 16th day of the sacred month of Muharram in the Hijri year 1152 (April 14, 1739).[14] After Nadir Shah's departure from Delhi, Muhammad Shah resumed his sovereignty and the fact was proclaimed to all the provinces. On receiving a farman announcing the event, Momin Khan proceeded for prayers to the Jami Masjid at Ahmadabad where the *khutba* was recited in the name of the Mughal Emperor. Coins were also again struck in his name in the local mint and those issued in the name of Nadir Shah, which were not in any large number, were melted.[15]

13 Vide *Gujarat College Magazine*, January, 1919, pp. 77-78. Also *The Coins of Ahmadabad*, J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 438. Mr. Alfred Master, I.C.S., basing his inference largely on the fact that the Ahmadabad coins of Nadir Shah were, as to style and workmanship, very similar to the other pieces issued in the name of this foreign invader, concludes that all these coins, whatever the mint-names they bear, were struck at one and the same place, and that place was Delhi (*Numis. Suppl.*, XXII). The reference given from the *Mirat* in the text disproves this inference.

14 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 311.

15 ibid, 314.

Collapse of the Portuguese 'Province of the North'

During the years 1738-39, soon after the Marathas under Damaji Gaekwad and his lieutenant Rangoji had established the system of joint rule at Ahmadabad, which was an index of their growing domination over the province, the armies of the same nation under Baji Rao I and his brother acquired the major portion of the Portuguese possessions in the coastal districts of South Gujarat and the North Konkan. The capture of Salsette Island and the great siege of Bassein, as also the absorption of a large part of the jurisdiction of Daman, constitute thus only another aspect of the gradual establishment of Maratha rule over the province of Gujarat, and the history of these events should be studied in that context. Mughal control had never extended over these outlying coastal districts which had passed into the hands of the Portuguese during the 16th century when Gujarat was still under the rule of its independent Sultans. The isolated attempts made against Daman and Bassein, during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, had proved failures, largely because the Mughals had no naval power. But, what the might of these Emperors had failed to achieve, was left for the Marathas to secure under their great military leader Baji Rao I. The subject of the collapse of the Portuguese 'Province of the North,' which included the jurisdictions of Bassein, Daman and Div, is sufficiently important to demand treatment in detail, and will be reviewed in the section devoted to the Portuguese in Gujarat in the next volume.

Early career of Sher Khan Babi, 1730-48

After the death of Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi, his son Sher Khan had an even more eventful and chequered career than his father from 1730 to his death in 1758, and, on the downfall of imperial authority in the province, he became the first independent Nawab of Junagadh, where a long line of his descendants held sway for two centuries, till 1948. Like his cousin, Jawan Mard Khan Babi, we find Sher Khan associated with every important political development in the province. Both had large hereditary jagirs which supplied them with resources to maintain a considerable body of Arab and other mercenary soldiers, and both took sides with the Marathas or with Momin Khan's successors or with the nominal viceroy Fakhr-ud-daula as it suited their interests. Sher Khan had inherited from his father the jagirs of Balasinor on the mainland and Gogha in the peninsula, and he often retired to the former when hard pressed by his opponents. When Maharaja Abhaysingh took Baroda after Pilaji's murder in 1732, he appointed Sher Khan as its fauzdar, but two years later, taking advantage of Sher Khan's absence, Damaji's brother recovered the town (1734). In the same year, Sher Khan lost, for a time, his jagir at Gogha which was granted by the Emperor to Sohrab Khan, the ex-governor of Surat. Sher Khan kept neutral when Momin Khan, in alliance with Rangoji, laid siege to Ahmadabad in 1736-7 to expel Ratansingh Bhandari. In 1737, Momin Khan, after he had established his authority as viceroy, appointed Sher

Khan as the deputy fauzdar of Sorath District, considering him the only noble competent to hold his own against the increasing menace from the Marathas in the peninsula. During the next seven years (1737-43), Sher Khan established his authority firmly at Junagadh and kept off Maratha attacks by his conciliatory policy towards Rangoji, who had acquired Borsad which commanded the road to the peninsula from the south.[16] From 1743 to 1748, however, we find him actively involved in the chaotic politics of north Gujarat following upon Momin Khan's death, while still retaining his hold over Junagadh, as will be seen in the following chapters.

The Desai of Viramgam becomes ruler of Patdi, 1740

In 1740, when Momin Khan was at Cambay to attend to his interests at that port,[17] Rangoji arrived at Petlad from one of his frequent visits to the Deccan and resumed his office as Damaji's deputy in the capital. Some outstanding differences between him and the viceroy were settled at a meeting when Momin Khan was encamped at the Narangsar tank outside the walls of Cambay. In this year, Bhausingh, the Desai of Viramgam, finding the Deccani garrison troublesome, engaged a body of Arabs and Rohillas and expelled the Marathas. The gates were shut and provisions and war materials were collected for its defence against a siege. Rangoji and the viceroy, having agreed to a joint investment of Viramgam, proceeded with their forces to that town and the siege began. After a month's progress, Momin Khan left the scene for a tribute-collecting expedition and Rangoji had to carry on the operations alone. Meanwhile, the Arab and Rohilla mercenaries of the Desai made demands for the arrears of their pay, and Bhausingh, being unable to satisfy them immediately, and fearing their desertion, thought it advisable to arrive at some understanding with Rangoji. Under the arrangement made, the fort of Patdi on the borders of the Rann of Cutch, and several villages attached to it, were handed over to him while the town of Viramgam with the rest of the pargana was restored to the Marathas.[18] From this year, therefore, began the rule at Patdi of the patidar family of the Desais of the Viramgam pargana which lasted for about 210 years till the recent mergers.[19]

Siege of Broach by Damaji

In 1741, Damaji Gaekwad's growing power in Gujarat was attested by his investment of the Fort of Broach. When returning to Songadh from his annual *mulukgiri* expedition into Kathiawar, he decided to take possession of the town and fort of Broach, which it had been the ambition of his father Pilaji to capture. This place was included in the jagir of Nizam-

16 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 303-04. The Fauzdars of Sorath Sarkar appear during these years to have been absentees, generally residing at Delhi.

17 The revenues from the port of Cambay being found to have declined considerably, Momin Khan appointed Ismail Muhammad Khan, the brother of the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, as superintendent of the *furza* or customs-house there.

18 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 321-22.

19 Patdi was till recently a small State of the fourth class in the Jhalawar division of Kathiawar, holding 8 villages in Kathiawar and 16 villages in the Viramgam taluka of the Ahmadabad district. The town of Patdi, with a strong castle, is situated in the taluka 58 miles west of Ahmadabad.

ul-mulk, and was held on his behalf by Nawab Nek Alam Khan II (son of Abdulla Beg) as governor, who wrote to his superior for help and made a vigorous defence. Damaji invested the town for three months, but its strong natural position on the top of a hill, with the wide Narbada on one side, made it formidable against attacks. At the end of this period, and in consequence of letters received from the Nizam, Damaji, who probably wished to keep on good terms with Asaf Jah, raised the siege and marched away.[20] In the years that followed, Nek Alam Khan established his independent authority at Broach during the collapse of Mughal rule in the province. His successors held sway as Nawabs of Broach for only a generation, for in 1772 the town was taken by a British expeditionary force sent from Bombay. By the terms of the Treaty of Salbai, however, Broach was handed over in 1783 to Mahadji Sindia in appreciation of his services during the First Maratha War. We find in the English Records (for 1772) the following reference to Damaji's attack on Broach at this period (1741) and the establishment of the Gaekwad's share in the revenues collected from this town and its district:

> 'Upon Nadir Shah's entering India and taking Delhi, the Mogul Power thereby struck, and the whole country thrown into confusion, the Marathas under Damaji (Pilaji being dead), taking advantage of the times, assembled a pretty numerous army and besieged Broach for about three months. When Nizam-ul-mulk, to put a final stop to those depredations dispatched Daula Khan to come to a final treaty with Damaji, when matters were accommodated, and an agreement entered into that, for the future, the Marathas should receive from the districts 6/10th and the Government of Broach 4/10. This is now about 30 years ago. Ever since which time the revenues have been collected in these proportions.'[21]

Damaji's share in the revenues of Broach

We may refer here to some information gathered in 1816 by Captain James Carnac, the British Resident at Baroda, about the origin and nature of the Gaekwad's right to share in the revenues of Broach and its district. According to it, Damaji was anxious to reduce the town of Broach in order to obtain the advantage of having a footing in a port of so much consequence. Broach had at this time been assigned as a jagir by the Emperor to Asaf Jah, and was protected by a garrison under the command of Nek Alam Khan, who defended the town against a three months' siege by Damaji's forces, which was ended by the Narbada overflowing its banks and washing away Damaji's boats. The latter would, however, have renewed the attack, had not Asaf Jah sent an agent to negotiate a settlement. This mission terminated by the Gaekwad being admitted to a participation equal to 3/5 of the revenues and customs of Broach and to half the revenues of Jambusar, Dehejbara

20 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 324-25. Damaji's power at this period was none the less that he was still the agent of Umabai, the late Senapati's widow, for, after Trimbakrao's death, her son Yeshwantrao, as he grew up, proved incompetent for his station.

21 Gense and Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, I, 41.

and Koral parganas. This arrangement about the districts was subsequently substituted by another which yielded the Gaekwad 2/3 of the revenues. At a later date, on the partition of Gujarat between the Gaekwad and the Peshwa (1752), Broach and its pargana fell to the former and Jambusar, Dehejbara, etc., to the latter.[22] It will be seen that this account is substantially in agreement with the information derived from earlier historical sources.

Titles for the viceroy, 1742

In the last year of his life and rule (1742-43), Momin Khan, when encamped near Petlad, received an imperial farman conferring upon him fresh titles and honours which must have been highly gratifying to the viceroy, though he was not destined to enjoy them for more than a few months. The farman was to the effect that, as a special mark of the imperial favour, the titles of Najm-ud-daulah and Dilawar Jang had been conferred upon him, and he was made a mansabdar of 6,000 *zat* and 6,000 *sawar*. The document was dated the 11th of the month of the second Rabi in the twenty-fifth year of the accession (4 June, 1742). At this time Momin Khan paid a formal visit to Rangoji, who had arrived near by, and they settled amicably outstanding matters which had led to hostile acts on both sides. He also inspected the small fort at Borsad[23] which had recently been constructed by the Gaekwad's deputy to serve as a basis for his operations in these parts. The viceroy then proceeded to Cambay where he was laid up for six weeks with a severe illness which was destined to prove fatal after some months.[24]

Najm-ud-daulah in Kathiawar

On partial recovery from his illness, Najm-ud-daulah (to give Momin Khan his new title) left Cambay for Vaso where, as arranged, Rangoji joined him with his forces in order to conduct a joint expedition into Saurashtra. On reaching Dholka they halted for a month to carry out the revenue *jamabandi* of that taluka. The next stage was at Limbdi, then under the Viramgam pargana, where Rangoji had to leave on receiving an urgent summons from Damaji. Najm-ud-daulah then advanced into Gohelwar for tribute. It may be noted that since the year 1730 the Mughal viceroys had enough to do to maintain their position on the mainland and had practically abandoned to the Gaekwad their ancient right of collecting tribute from the chiefs of the peninsula. The

22 Gense and Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, IX, 266.

23 Borsad is a town in the present Kaira district, 12 miles west of the Vasad railway station and 24 miles N. E. of the port of Cambay. It is protected by a double line of fortifications, of which the inner is in fair preservation. The small fort was built by Rangoji in 1741 when he fixed his headquarters here. It was pretty constantly the scene of fighting till in 1748, after a siege of five months, Khanderao Gaekwad took the town from Rangoji and his ally Raja Raisingh of Idar. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 333, 452-53).

24 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 335-37. In this year (1742), Vajeram, the peshkar of Najm-ud-daulah, constructed for the public benefit a *wav* at Ahmadabad between the Jamalpur gate and the 'closed' gate, where sweet water was available owing to the proximity of the moat in the same manner as near the Panch Kuva gate.

viceroy encamped at Loliana on Oct. 19, 1742, and when at the port of Gogha, which was under Cambay, he arranged for tribute from Bhavsingh (the founder of Bhavnagar) and other chiefs. He next entered Hālār, where, after a twenty days' battle with the Jam of Navanagar, a sum of 50,000 rupees was fixed as his tribute. After this, he returned to Ahmadabad where he arrived on February 2, 1743. But his disease had taken a serious turn and he was almost a dying man when he entered the capital.[25]

Death of Momin Khan, 1743

Momin Khan I, Najm-ud-daula, died at Ahmadabad on 20 February 1743. His term of office was memorable because of his alliance with Rangoji, which he maintained by his conciliatory policy in spite of frequent disputes over the equal division of the revenues. His strong personality had upheld to some extent the fabric of Mughal authority in the province which was soon to collapse in the period of anarchy and civil strife which followed. He was buried in the maqbara of Rustam Ali Khan in the Mirzapur ward. But, unlike the last resting place of two other viceroys who also died at Ahmadabad, *viz.*, Muhammad Amin Khan and Shujaat Khan, no mausoleum was raised over the grave of Momin Khan, a fact which illustrates the unsettled political conditions at this period. But the last resting place of this famous viceroy (who was the real founder of the dynasty of the Nawabs of Cambay) may yet be identified by the beautiful marble slab with its fine inscription in Persian. The tombstone was seen by the author in perfect condition some twenty years ago, but it has since then suffered serious damage, and unless early action is taken to ensure its preservation, this important historical relic may disappear before long.[26] The epitaph in Persian on the tomb is rendered below:

> 'Mirza Muhammad Najm Sani, entitled Momin Khan, Najm-ud-daulah, Dilawar Jang. (He died on) Tuesday the 8th of the revered month of Muharam in the year 1156 H. (21 February 1743).'[27]

A historic site disappears

Among the many sites in and around the city of Ahmadabad whose original character has been radically transformed during the last hundred years is that in which the solitary tomb of Nawab Momin Khan I, Najm-ud-daulah, now stands. This historic memorial may be seen in an obscure corner of the compound of a bungalow in the Mirzapur locality at its junction with the Silahpos road, about 330 yards from the Rani Rupavati mosque.[28]

25 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 337-39.

26 It is to be hoped that the Archaeological Department will take special measures for the conservation of this valuable historical relic by having an iron railing placed round the grave, and by repairs to any damage to the inscription-slab.

27 For the Persian text of this epitaph see M. Abdulla Chaghatai's *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad through their Inscriptions* (1942), p. 99. The *Mirat* gives the date of the viceroy's death as the 7th of Muharram while the epitaph mentions it as the 8th.

28 The bungalow built some 80 years ago by Mrs. King is now the property of a Jain mill-agent of Ahmadabad.

The City Survey records, along with some references in the *Mirat*, show clearly that in this area there stood, in the middle of the 18th century, two mosques known as Momin Khan's and Rustam Ali Khan's masjids. A part of the area appears also to have been then and subsequently used as a private graveyard.[29] The two masjids must have fallen soon after into decay and ruin and no trace of them is left. It appears that, some time prior to 1864, a Fakir squatted on the site of the cemetery, assumed the position of owner, and gradually began selling the land, on which three bungalows were built by one Mrs. King, the widow of the principal Sadar Amin of the city. In 1886, a small enclosed graveyard, with an area of 150 sq. yards, in the centre of which stood the marble tomb of Momin Khan, was all that was left of the original property. Even this tiny old graveyard has disappeared in course of time and the viceroy's solitary tomb is all that remains of the original structures.[30]

Reference in English Records

The English records of this time also confirm the death of Momin Khan early in this year. In his letter from Cambay, dated 23 February 1743, the E. I. Company's Agent at that town, John Sewell, writes to James Hope, the head of the Factory at Surat, to the following effect:

> 'To-day an express is arrived from Ahmadabad with news of the Nawab's death. This accident makes the people of this place apprehend trouble from the Ganims. Damaji with 10,000 horse is now at Baroda. Should he come this way, he would meet with no resistance; and if Cambay is plundered, the Company's investment and warehouse would undergo the same fate.'[31]

29 The cemetery is described in the *Mirat* as Rustam Ali Khan's *Maqbara*.

30 A. W. Crawley-Boevey, *A Scheme for the Protection etc., of Ancient Buildings in and around the City of Ahmadabad, Bombay*, 1886, p. XLI. J. Burgess, *Moslem Arch. of Ahmadabad*, Part II, 68.

31 Gense and Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, I, 43-44.

CHAPTER XLI

FAILURE OF RANGOJI'S COUP AT AHMADABAD, 1743

Defeat and death of a Pseudo-Viceroy, 1743

THE fifteen years that elapsed between the death of Momin Khan I in 1743 and the extinction of Mughal rule in Gujarat in 1758 form a period of intense civil strife between rival Mughal nobles, which gave the Marathas further opportunities to consolidate their position by taking sides in these quarrels. After the death of Najm-ud-daulah, for a period of barely a year, formal authority at Ahmadabad was exercised jointly by his cousin, Fida-ud-din Khan, and his son, Muftakhir Khan. The news of the death of Momin Khan was communicated to the Emperor through Masum Ali Khan, Hakim-ul-Mamalik, the Vazir of the Empire, in consequence of which an imperial farman arrived, addressed to the nobles mentioned above, conveying to Muftakhir Khan the royal sympathy and directing that both of them should conduct the affiairs of the province until the appointment of a new viceroy. Fida-ud-din Khan, being the senior of the two, and in the position of an uncle to Momin Khan's son, received the farman with the usual ceremony. But he was a weak ruler and his troubles were soon to begin, for during Najm-ud-daulah's regime the pay of the officers had been allowed to fall into arrears.[1] Soon after assuming power at the capital, Fida-ud-din Khan, whose short tenure of office was marked by extreme need for money, made himself thoroughly disliked by his illegal exactions. In his letter to James Hope at Surat, dated 13 May 1743, Thomas Hodges, the Chief of the English factory at Cambay, reports :

Momin Khan's successors

> 'All advices lately from Ahmadabad have been filled with the plunderings and unparalleled exactions of Nawab Bahadur, the person in provisional command of this Subah, which have proceeded from a want of money to bribe the leading men at court to procure him a commission.'[2]

During Momin Khan's regime, a Hindu named Anandram had for long been his principal lieutenant and had enjoyed great power, but he had later for some reason been disgraced and had to seek safety in flight, and his house was razed to the ground by Najm-ud-daulah's orders. This man now came forward and ingratiated himself with Rangoji, the Gaekwad's

Rangoji's ambitious designs

[1] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, trans. by K. M. Jhaveri, (Pt. II), 340-42.
[2] Gense and Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, I, 45.

representative at Ahmadabad, and incited him to take advantage of the dissatisfaction among the officials, and the growing estrangement between Fida-ud-din Khan and Momin Khan's son, to deprive them of power and take full control of the capital. Rangoji made Anandram his principal agent for all communications with the two Khans, with whom he outwardly kept up the most friendly relations in order to lull them into a false sense of security. He also secured the services of one Sajjan Singh Bhandari, a Rajput leader of mercenaries. Rangoji, in order to allay the Khans' apprehensions, now declared that, to avoid misunderstanding of his intentions, he was sending away all his own troops outside the city under his officer Ramaji. The object, however, was that the latter should station himself at a distance of some miles to enlist 'kasbatis' and keep ready to march into the capital as soon as he received the summons. One Haji Baqir, the Jamadar of the Arab troops, arrived at this time with his men and took up his quarters in the suburb of Behrampur. He had not been paid by Najm-ud-daulah for some years, and so Fida-ud-din Khan sent a message to Rangoji not to allow him and his men to enter the city by any of the gates under his control. Nevertheless, Rangoji admitted them by the Jamalpur gate and stated, absurdly enough, that he had only given the Jamadar facility to reside in Sher Khan Babi's house, and had secured a written undertaking from him that no demands would be made for the arrears of pay and that his men would leave the city when required to do so. Our historian adds that, at the instigation of Anandram, Rangoji even attempted to get rid of his two opponents by foul means, and with this object invited them both to his residence, but when they came his heart failed him[3].

Sheth Khushalchand imprisoned

Now that the strong personality of Najm-ud-daulah, which inspired fear, had been removed, Rangoji's pride and power were on the increase in the capital. Anandram, his munim, represented to the simple ears of Fida-ud-din Khan and Muftakhir Khan that if Khushalchand, the Nagarsheth, and Balidas, the wealthy 'mukadam' of Nadiad, who had been instrumental in reviving the system of impositions in the time of Najm-ud-daulah, were allowed to be put under arrest by Rangoji, their ransom money would help to meet the pay of the officials and reduce the financial stringency. The odium for the arrest would go to Rangoji while the Khans would profit by the measure. The Khans having agreed, Rangoji summoned these two Hindu leaders and put them into confinement and forcibly made each of them pay one hundred rupees per day. Muhammad Hadi Khan, who attended to all the administrative affairs, used to send his men every night to recover from the Maratha officers a half share of these exactions.[4]

[3] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 343-47.

[4] ibid II, 347-48.

Having been lulled into a false sense of security by Anandram's persuasive methods, Fida-ud-din left the city for Cambay, with a view, no doubt, to securing money from the wealthy merchants of that flourishing seaport where his family connections were very powerful. The Surat Factory Diary records that, in a letter dated May 17, 1743, Thomas Hodges wrote to the effect that he had met the Nawab in a garden on the outskirts of Cambay when he offered him presents, and that the viceroy 'has begun to plunder the merchants, giving an obligation by way of borrowing, though he feared that was of no great validity.' Hodges further stated that the Nawab had sent for his vakil and suggested through him that the English would sell him some silk, iron and sugar to the value of thirty or forty thousand rupees, promising to put three towns in his possession until the debt was cleared, 'all of which he (the Agent) waived complying with as it was immediately contrary to the Governor and Council's orders of Bombay.' Three days later, Hodges at Cambay wrote again to Surat that he had at last got rid of the Nawab's importunity by offering him a fowling-piece as a present and that the Nawab had returned to Ahmadabad 'having plundered Cambay of about one lakh and a half of rupees,' and that the total expenses of the English presents amounted to Rupees 93.8, 'which he hoped we would not think unreasonable.'[5]

Fida-ud-din Khan's exactions at Cambay

Muftakhir Khan, who remained in the Bhadra citadel after the departure of his colleague for Cambay, showed how completely he had been taken in by issuing orders that Anandram's house, which had been destroyed by his father's orders, should be rebuilt for him. Rangoji further consolidated his influence by befriending Qaim Quli Khan and Vajeram, two of the leading officials, and exchanging visits with them. By promising to him the post of Deputy Viceroy, he also secured to his side Sher Khan Babi, the deputy governor of Junagadh, who came up with his troops and encamped at Dholka awaiting a request to advance further. Having thus completed his military arrangements, Rangoji threw off the mask, and, taking advantage of the fact that a large body of troops had been taken away to Cambay by Fida-ud-din Khan, he launched his attack against the city.[6]

Rangoji's secret preparations

The attack that Rangoji made on Ahmadabad began on 16 May 1743, on which date his men had orders to effect an entry into the Bhadra citadel as soon as its gates were opened in the morning. Muftakhir Khan, however, having received information about this design during the night, had given strict instructions to the guards that the gates should remain closed. At daybreak, the Marathas advanced in force towards the Bhadra citadel, right up to the Kotwal's office, and occupying the

The Marathas attack the city

[5] Gense and Banaji, op. cit., 45-46.
[6] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 349-51.

great square, or royal maidan, made the Karanj building their headquarters. The houses round about were taken, the shops were plundered, and, entering the Salapos[7] gate, the invaders spread themselves over the adjoining lanes. Soon the whole area between the Three Gates and the Bhadra Tower was in possession of the enemy. Rangoji had also sent his troops to take possession of some of the city-gates, and the Raipur and Astodya gates passed into his hands. His officer, Ramaji, who had been encamped at Jetalpur, several miles away from the capital, now arrived with his troops to the help of his superior according to plan. The Mughal officials, however, made a determined stand. A Rohilla leader, named Shahbaz Khan, had arrived outside the city with a body of 200 Afghans at the invitation of Rangoji, but as the two parties could not agree about the terms he did not accept the Maratha general's service. On learning of this, Muftakhir Khan sent his agent to attach this free-lance to his side, and before long Shahbaz Khan entered the city by the Daryapur gate which had not fallen under Rangoji's control. He at once attacked the Maratha barriers at the Karanj, and having made himself master of that building established his quarters there. Emboldened by his success, the gunners stationed on the top of the Three Gates, who had so far refrained from action, started a cannonade against the Marathas, and soon the whole wide square (maidan) was cleared of their presence.[8]

Sher Khan Babi at Ahmadabad

After the first initial success the Maratha attempt to capture the city began to weaken, due largely to Rangoji's overweaning confidence in his own ability to capture the city without help from any Muslim confederates. Sher Khan Babi had for some time been encamped at Dholka awaiting further invitation to advance, but on Anandram's advice, to the effect that now that success was within his grasp there was no necessity to share the laurels with another, Rangoji wrote to Sher Khan to continue where he was. The latter, thereupon, offered his services to Muftakhir Khan if he would undertake to pay the expenses of his troops. The offer being accepted, Sher Khan left Dholka on 20 May, with a body of four hundred horse and foot, and encamped at the village of Kochrab on the Sabarmati. The next day, Fida-ud-din Khan also returned to Ahmadabad with his army from Cambay.[9] Negotiations being satisfactorily concluded through the author of the *Mirat* and his father, Sher Khan marched into the capital through the Khanpur gate on the river. Two days later, the Marathas were driven

7 The word Salapos is probably a corruption of *Silahfaros*, i.e., the locality where the armed soldiers used to reside. Evidently, the area was formerly enclosed by a wall with a gate.

8 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 352-54.

9 Fida-ud-din Khan had levied heavy contributions at Cambay before he returned to the capital. In his letter, dated 20 May 1743, Thomas Hodges writes from that place to Surat: 'The Nawab returned this morning to Ahmadabad with booty of at least one lakh and a half of Rupees that he had plundered this city of.' (Gense and Banaji, op. cit., I, 45).

out of the Khadia and the Sarangpur wards of which they had secured possession. After four days of conflict, Rangoji, realising that his attempt to capture this great capital was likely to prove a failure, sent his agent Krishnaji to Fida-ud-din Khan to ask for peace but this overture was turned down by the acting Subahdar.[10]

The tables were definitely turned against the Gaekwad's representative when the Mughal generals carried the hostilities into the Jamalpur quarter of the city which had been under Maratha control since the division of Ahmadabad under Momin Khan in 1737. Sajjan Singh, the Rajput chief, deserted the losing cause and left the city. Some of the Maratha troops also retreated by way of the Khan Jahan gate on the riverside. Taking advantage of the general confusion, Sheth Khushalchand and Balidas Mukadam, who had been held under custody by Rangoji, escaped from their confinement. Many houses in which the Marathas were resident were looted. The Muslims next turned to lay siege to Rustam Ali's mansion, near the Jamalpur gate, which had been the official residence of Rangoji for several years. Fida-ud-din Khan and Sher Khan Babi entered an adjoining house and by breaking down its walls tried to force a passage into Rangoji's residence. The latter put up a desperate fight, but finding himself in serious danger, he sent a friendly Muslim noble, who was living under his protection, to Fida-ud-din Khan to discuss the terms of peace and settlement.[11]

Rangoji's discomfiture

Ali Muhammad Khan (Sr.), the father of the historian, who had grown wise with long experience of state affairs, now sent his son to Fida-ud-din Khan with a message that it was desirable to reach an accommodation with Rangoji after making him deliver such guarantees as were necessary, and thereby to put him under a sense of obligation. He pointed out that the power of the Marathas was in the ascendant in the province, and the result of all this strife would be enmity with Damaji, leading to serious consequences. Thereafter, Fida-ud-din desired Anandram to be brought to his presence, and, though Rangoji tried to save him, the Deccani Brahmans, who were on bad terms with Anandram, got hold of him and handed him over. The latter was, thereafter, subjected to great indignity and dragged to the Bhadra citadel. It was further decided that Rangoji should be kept on parole in charge of Sher Khan Babi and that he should deliver a written undertaking to the effect that his agents should surrender the forts of Viramgam and Borsad to the Mughals. Rangoji handed over the required guarantees to Sher Khan, who conducted him and his family, along with the Brahmans and *Bargirs* in his establishment, to his own house. The residences of Rangoji and his officers were, thereafter, looted by the servants of the two Khans and by hooligans.[12]

End of the episode—Rangoji a prisoner

10 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 354-58.
11 ibid. II, 358-59.
12 ibid. II, 359-61.

The news of Rangoji's discomfiture at Ahmadabad and his imprisonment reached Surat within a week of that event, for we find a letter to Bombay from the English factory at that port conveying the following information, under date 31 May, 1743:

English factors' letter

'We have received advice from Cambay that the Nawab of Ahmadabad, on his return to that city, had by surprise seized Rangoji, the Ganim general, together with most of his officers, and made them prisoners; that his army, which consisted of about 8,000 men, had, thereupon, dispersed; and that by this means the Nawab had possessed himself of the whole city, the revenues of which the Ganim general had before shared with him; and we hear that he demands no less than ten lakhs of Rupees for his ransom.'[13]

The effect of the defeat and humiliation of this powerful Maratha general at the hands of the Mughals was clearly to exasperate his master Damaji and to make the people of Cambay in the neighbourhood tremble at possible reprisals. A letter from the Cambay Agent, dated 8 June 1743, to James Hope at Surat, says:

Fears of reprisals by Damaji

'The conquest Nawab Bahadur lately obtained over the Ganims at Ahmadabad has exceedingly exasperated them against the Moors, in so much that they spare not to cut off the ears and noses of all such as they can catch within five kos of these walls. If this victory should, as some conjecture, draw Damaji's whole force into these parts, it may not only prove fatal to the Moors, but will certainly be a hindrance to the Hon'ble Company's investment, so that, in my opinion, the less you can bring the contractors to depend upon Dholka and Nariad for nicannees and dutties, the greater will be your prospect of the goods being delivered in time.'[14]

Fida-ud-din, however, had for the time being emerged master of the situation and he established his independent and undivided control over Ahmadabad. The wards of the city, and the *mahals* of the Haveli pargana, which had been assigned to the Marathas seven years before by Momin Khan I, were now resumed and placed under a Muslim officer.

Perhaps the most significant political factor at this period was the mutual suspicion and consequent estrangement between Fida-ud-din and Muftakhir Khan, which was inevitable under the powers of joint rule conferred upon them. This jealousy had existed for some time, and it increased when Momin Khan's son found that Sher Khan was becoming a partisan of his older colleague. He, therefore, sent secret messages to Jawan Mard Khan Babi at Patan in the hope that, as this powerful nobleman had been under considerable obligation to his father, he would attach himself to his side. The latter, thereupon, accompanied by his brother

Jawan Mard Khan invited to Ahmadabad

13 Gense and Banaji, op. cit., 46.
14 ibid.

Zorawar Khan and other relatives, left Patan and arrived at Ahmadabad on June 8. Little did Momin Khan's son dream at this time that Jawan Mard Khan would not only displace Fida-ud-din Khan but would become his own serious rival and most dangerous antagonist during the years of civil dissensions that were to follow.[15]

Though under the protection of Sher Khan Babi, Rangoji was apprehensive about his fate, especially as he knew that Jawan Mard Khan, the cousin of Sher Khan, who was now getting powerful at Ahmadabad, had been hostile to him since Momin Khan's time. He sought, therefore, the help of Sher Khan's wife with liberal promises, and this lady is said to have effected his escape, concealed under the curtains of the zenana retinue, when she went to Sarkhej on the occasion of the anniversary feast of Baba Ali Sher who is buried there. She likewise managed to get the women of Rangoji's household conveyed to a place of safety. Fida-ud-din Khan was very angry on learning of this escape, and, distrusting Sher Khan's professions of ignorance in the matter, ordered his Kotwal to post his men in the mohallas round about Sher Khan's residence in order to prevent all exit. The latter noble had no doubt connived at Rangoji's escape in order to stand well with the Marathas. The author of the *Mirat* and his father now intervened to prevent further unpleasantness between the two nobles, and it was agreed that the Brahmans who belonged to Rangoji's establishment, some sixty in number, should be handed over. The more important among these, *viz.*, Krishnaji, the vakil of Rangoji, Ramaji, and twelve others, were detained in the Bhadra and the rest were driven out of the city. Sher Khan after a time went away to Balasinor. On securing his liberty at Sarkhej, Rangoji fled to his fort at Borsad, and wrote back to Fida-ud-din Khan that property and cash to the value of two lakhs of rupees belonging to Damaji had been plundered or destroyed during the late disorders, and that the Nawab would be held responsible for the payment of damages.[16]

Rangoji's escape and flight to Borsad

Anandram, whom the author of the *Mirat* charges with being the principal cause of Rangoji's *coup*, met a terrible death at the hands of his captors. He was beaten and whipped and deprived of all he had.[17] Not satisfied with this, he was mutilated and his nose and ears cut off. Thereafter, he was placed on a donkey and publicly degraded by being carried all over the mahallas of the city, and finally his body was cut to pieces at the Kotwal's headquarters. All these inhuman cruelties are declared by our authority as a punishment justified by his offence and by the necessity of setting an example to others.[18] No doubt, the city had

Anandram's terrible end

15 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 361-63.
16 ibid. 365-67.
17 Anandram had been accused of having secured, during Momin Khan's rule, bribes to the value of 50,000 rupees, and this amount had been recovered from him.
18 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 367

passed through a severe crisis as the result of Rangoji's attack. But it would be wrong to believe that, in this attempt, Damaji's deputy was simply led by the nose by Anandram. Rangoji was a man of great ability and political shrewdness with considerable military resources. He would hardly have undertaken so serious an enterprise as the possession of this great Muslim capital only because it was suggested by another who wished to satisfy his own revenge. The powerful personality of Momin Khan being removed by death, gave Rangoji the opportunity to venture upon an ambitious political *coup*, and Anandram's advice and help probably supplied the necessary impetus. Viewed from this point, the terrible punishment inflicted on this unfortunate Banya could hardly be justified.

A forged Farman about a new viceroy

Jawan Mard Khan Babi now emerges as the most powerful noble in Gujarat after Momin Khan's death. From this date his star was in the ascendant and he plays for the next fifteen years a leading part in the troubled politics of the province. At this time (Sept., 1743), messengers came to him bearing a letter from Abdul Aziz Khan (*urf* Maqbul Alam), who was *killedar* of Junnar[19] on behalf of Asaf Jah, forwarding what purported to be the copy of an imperial farman, with the seal of the Vazir-ul-mamalik, appointing him (Abdul Aziz) viceroy of Gujarat. The *killedar's* own letter nominated Jawan Mard Khan as his deputy. The author of the *Mirat*, to whom Jawan Mard Khan showed these documents, was of opinion that, judging by the contents and the language, the farman was clearly a forged document. Fida-ud-din Khan's best line of action should have been to take steps to prevent Jawan Mard Khan putting forward pretensions based on this fabrication and to order him to leave the city. But he did nothing of the kind and exasperated his well-wishers by forcibly securing three thousand rupees from the local mint. In fact, he had shown himself too weak a ruler for the emergency of the times, and he was not only disliked by the citizens for his fines and exactions, but was also unpopular with the army owing to heavy arrears of pay dating from the time of Momin Khan. He now very foolishly declared that he wished to retire to Cambay.[20]

Jawan Mard Khan usurps power, 1743

The Jamadars of the army were not slow to realise that the days of the rule of Fida-ud-din Khan were numbered, and, fearing that he would escape to Cambay and deprive them of their pay, they rose into mutiny and put him under restraint, and the same was done to Muftakhir Khan and Qaim Quli Khan. Their action gave Jawan Mard Khan his opportunity, for, under the plea that the officers and guards had deserted the gates, and that the city was thus exposed to danger, he sent Jamadar

19 Junnar, at the head of the Nana Ghat, is now the chief town in the taluka of the same name in Poona district, 56 miles north of Poona city. Its fort was of great importance under Mughal rule. About 1½ miles south-west of this town is the hill-fort of Shivner, granted to Shivaji's grandfather, where Shivaji is said to have been born in 1627.

20 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 369-75.

Salim, the head of the Arabs, to occupy the Karanj building, and posted another body of troops at Azam Khan's Serai which was then being used as an arsenal. Jamadar Salim, after a few hours, proclaimed by beat of drum the rule of Abdul Aziz Khan as viceroy. The next day, the officers in revolt removed their prisoners from the Bhadra to their houses in the city, and this cleared the ground for Jawan Mard Khan to enter the citadel and to establish his authority there, which he maintained till 1753.[21] A few days later, he proceeded in great state to the Jami Masjid, where the *Khutba* was read in his presence as deputy viceroy. The leading citizens, the influential Saiyids, the great Shaikhs, and the leaders of the Hindu and Bohra communities came in large numbers to offer him congratulations.[22]

Petlad passes to the Gaekwad, 1743

On his flight to Borsad, Rangoji had been joined by Khanderao, the brother of Damaji, and they laid siege to the fort and town of Petlad which was still under the Mughals, and where Aga Muhammad Husain, the fauzdar of that town, put up a spirited defence. On receiving news of the mutiny and the political revolution at the capital, Rangoji sent a message to Aga Muhammad Husain that Fida-ud-din Khan, on whose behalf he had been maintaining the defence, was now out of power, and that if he agreed to surrender the fort, he would be allowed to depart with all his effects. After ascertaining through his brother at Ahmadabad that Jawan Mard Khan also would not send him any help or materials, the Aga delivered over the fort and left for Cambay. Some months later, as the result of negotiations between Rangoji and Jawan Mard Khan, the pargana of Petlad, considered at this period to be the richest and most productive in Gujarat, was surrendered to the Gaekwad. Rangoji thereafter, proceeded towards Ahmadabad, and, on arrival near Dholka, he negotiated with Jawan Mard Khan for the restoration of the Gaekwad's authority over half the city of Ahmadabad.[23]

Flight of the ex-Nawabs to Cambay

An imperial farman now arrived to the effect that Abdul Aziz Khan had not been appointed viceroy and that Muftakhir Khan (the son of Momin Khan) should continue to function as nazim with unrestricted powers. The latter, thereupon, engaged Shahbaz Khan Rohilla in his service, and called upon Jawan Mard Khan to vacate the Bhadra citadel, though he tried to conciliate him by appointing him as his deputy. But, having tasted of supreme authority, Jawan Mard Khan was in no mood to submit, and the *de jure* subahdar, being unable to stand an attack made against him, was forced to leave the city. He sought refuge

[21] Jawan Mard Khan bought up at a cheap rate some 300 guns and all the elephants, horses, tents and other military equipage which belonged to Najm-ud-daulah, but had been taken possession of by the soldiers in lieu of their pay which was in arrears (*Mirat*, 391).

[22] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 376-83.

[23] ibid. 383-84.

with Rangoji and with his help retired to his father's jagir at Cambay. On Oct. 31, 1743, Fida-ud-din Khan also escaped at dead of night by the Raikhad gate on the river, along with his women and all his household, and joined Rangoji and the Marathas at Sarkhej. On his requesting Rangoji to help him to recover his lost authority, the latter upbraided him for the destruction and plunder of all his property at Ahmadabad. It was arranged, however, that Rangoji should receive one half share of the revenues of Cambay city as compensation for those of Viramgam which had been surrendered entirely to Najm-ud-daulah.[24] After this, both of them arrived at Cambay where Najm Khan, the son-in-law of the late Momin Khan, was governor. In the negotiations which followed, Rangoji agreed to help Fida-ud-din Khan to recover the Subahdar's office provided he received a lakh of rupees for his expenses. With the help of Najm Khan, Muftakhir Khan, and other members of the family, a sum of eighty thousand rupees was collected and handed over to Rangoji, who readily pocketed the same and retired to his stronghold at Borsad, ten *kos* away, under the pretext that he would collect troops there and await the balance of the amount promised. These events show how completely the tables were turned and how rapidly Rangoji had recovered his power and prestige in Gujarat after his imprisonment and temporary eclipse at Ahmadabad only five months before.[25]

Defeat and death of Abdul Aziz Khan

When letters sent by Jawan Mard Khan Babi reached Abdul Aziz Khan (*urf* Maqbul Alam), the killedar of Junnar, to say that he had been proclaimed viceroy, and that the nominal Subahdars had left the capital, he began to collect troops and artillery and engaged a Maratha Jamadar, named Rustamrao, in his service. Thus equipped, he started for Gujarat, after securing the co-operation of Fateh Yab Khan, the Mughal killedar of Mulher, in Baglan, through whose jurisdiction his route lay. The governor of Surat, on receiving news that his first objective was that port, began to make ready for defence. Maqbul Alam had to pass through the country under Songarh, which was under the Gaekwad's control, but without making any attempt to conciliate this power, he marched boldly across the same. Devji Takbir, the deputy of Damaji, decided to check the further advance of this bold intruder, who now

24 This valuable right, acquired by the Gaekwad, is confirmed by the English records. Thomas Hodges from Cambay, in his letter dated 18 October 1743 to James Hope at Surat, says: 'Nizam (Najm) Khan, not caring to stand a siege against the Ganims, has purchased Rangoji's friendship, by allowing him half the revenues of Cambay, so that now his people as well as the Khan's are placed at the custom-house for recovering the duty upon all goods.' (Gense and Banaji, op. cit. 47).

25 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 384-90. Fida-ud-din Khan's relatives soon began to reproach him for making them the victims of this treachery on the part of Rangoji, and to escape their taunts he fled to the village of Dehvan on the Mahi, where he sought protection from its Koli chieftain known as Zalim Jalia.

abandoned his designs against Surat,[26] and turned his march in the direction of Ahmadabad. He was, however, closely pursued by the Maratha general, who managed to win over Rustamrao, who had at one time served under Damaji. A keenly contested battle was fought at Kim-Kathodra, about 15 miles from Surat, in which several of the Jamadars of the pseudo-viceroy were killed, while others deserted him. He now attempted to reach Broach, which was not far off, but so closely was he followed by the Marathas that his position became critical on arrival at the village of Panoli, four *kos* from that town. Wounded though he was, he was forced to abandon his elephant and to mount a horse, and he pushed his way through the enemy's ranks till he reached the banks of the Narbada. He found, however, that no boats were available for crossing over to Broach, as all of them had been removed by the orders of Nek Alam Khan, the governor. Abdul Aziz Khan, thereupon, boldly forced his horse into the water in order to swim across the river, but its feet stuck in the mud, and the Marathas overtaking him, he was slain. Fateh Yab Khan of Mulher, who had been made prisoner, was also put to death (Dec. 1743).[27]

Account in the English Records

Some interesting details of the disastrous defeat inflicted by the Marathas on the pseudo-viceroy at the battle of Kim-Kathodra are found in the Surat Factory Diary. The name of the place where the battle was fought is, however, given here as Pirawal. Being based on rumour, there are some discrepancies between this account and the information supplied in the *Mirat*, and we may accept the version given by the Muslim historian about the circumstances under which Abdul Aziz Khan and the commander of Mulher met their death. The entry in the Surat Diary, which is dated 28 December 1743, says:

> 'This day we had certain advices that yesterday Muckboul (Maqbul) Alam's army engaged with the Ganims, commanded by Devajirao and Khanderao, at a place called Piraval, which is 18 kos from hence. That in the beginning of the action four or five thousand Marathas, who were in Muckboul Alam's army, deserted to Devajirao and assisted him. That the battle was fought very obstinately for a considerable time. That Muckboul Alam and Futtahiab Khan were both killed, a great number of their men cut to pieces, and the rest dispersed, and that 5,000 Marathas were killed.'[28]

26 The English Chief and factors at Surat sent news to Bombay, on December 22, 1743, that the Mughal governor of their town had suspicions that the English would assist Maqbul Khan, though the Chief had repeatedly assured him they were groundless and that the English had no correspondence with the invader either at Bombay or at Surat. On the above date, Maqbul's army was within two kos of Surat, involving a general stop to all business. By the 26th the army 'was filed off towards Broach and much harassed by the Ganims' (Gense and Banaji, op. cit., 48).

27 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 391-93.

28 Gense and Banaji, op. cit., 47-48.

Rangoji appears to have returned to Cambay with a formidable army early in 1744, for, writing on Feb. 16 to Surat, Thomas Hodges, in charge of the English Factory, says that the Maratha general was 'in sight of the city with an army of 20,000 Ganims, who are all encamped at a place called Nanangsett (Narangsar) talao', and he adds, 'his coming, it seems, is only to hasten the Nawab to finish the payment of the lakh of rupees which he had promised to give him for his assistance in taking Ahmadabad from Kamal-ud-din (Babi).'[29] This reference to the consideration for which Fida-ud-din Khan and his relatives had secured the help of Rangoji confirms the details given in the *Mirat*, and it is evidence of the exactness and reliability of that history. Thomas Hodges proceeds to say that he had paid a complimentary visit to the powerful Maratha general and had offered him what was considered a handsome present. His remarks deserve to be quoted, for they show the dominating position secured by the Marathas in the province at this period :

Rangoji at Cambay, 1744

'The power of the Ganims being at present much greater than that of the Moguls, not only in Ahmadabad and this place, but throughout Gujarat, makes Rangoji look upon himself in the light of the Nawab, and expect the same respect from all merchants whereever he goes; and therefore, as it is always usual for us to give the Nawab of Ahmadabad a present when he comes hither, I thought, considering the opportunity his people have, in spite of the Khan, of giving us trouble in our business here, it would be best to make a friend of him. I accordingly waited on him the day before yesterday and made him a present to the amount of 119 rupees, which he received in a very courteous manner, and ordered Trimbak Pandit, his Cambay chauthia, to give immediate dispatch to whatever business I might want at any time of him.'[30]

In reply to this letter, James Hope and the Surat Council wrote to Hodges at Cambay that, in their opinion, it would have been more proper for him to send Edul,[31] with a formal compliment, than to have gone himself to see Rangoji; because such a visit would not be pleasing to the Cambay governor, and besides Edul could have offered an inconsiderable present, 'being proportionately suitable to the giver, which would have been accepted with equal courtesy.' In answer to this, the English Resident at Cambay wrote back to say that Najm Khan, the governor of the place, had approved of his intention to visit Rangoji, before he took that step, and that he would always be as frugal as possible in making presents. In this letter Hodges also conveys the further news that Rangoji had, 'as a monument of the Gentoos' superior power,'

J. Hope and Hodges exchange views

29 Kamal-ud-din Khan was the personal name of Jawan Mard Khan Babi.

30 Gense and Banaji's *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, I, 48.

31 Evidently a Parsi broker or agent intimately connected with the English factory at Cambay at this period. Elsewhere in the Records he is referred to as 'Edul Dada.'

caused to be opened up a well near Cambay, which was sacred to the Hindus, who said it was 5,000 years old, and had been closed up about forty years back by Aurangzeb's orders. Further that Rangoji had even obliged Najm Khan to set his people on this work, 'which is making the Muhammadans encouragers of idolatry, a thing expressly against the fundamental position of Muhammad's doctrine.' The Surat Council's minutes of what they wrote, on March 8, 1744, are to this effect: 'We hoped the Governor's concurring and assisting in the opening [of] the antedeluvian well will be the occasion of such a harmony 'twixt him and the Ganims as will rebound to the advantage of the place and the trade thereof; and that as to the contrariety of it to Nizam (Najm) Khan's religion, we fancied he would prefer his own quiet to the satisfying any small scruple of conscience.'[32]

Cambay merchants' resentment

We find another interesting local incident at Cambay referred to in this correspondence. It appears that, about this time, the native merchants of Cambay left the town in a body to show their discontent at some oppressive measures taken by Najm Khan, the governor. They evidently asked the head of the English factory to join them, which he declined to do after some hesitation. On his reporting the fact to the Chief at Surat, the Council there made this entry in their records (Feb. 20, 1744): 'We were much surprised that he should hesitate with respect to the message sent him by the merchants; if his business went on well, and Nizam (Najm) Khan had not hitherto given him any trouble, as he himself acknowledged, it would be very unreasonable in him to desert the factory and join the merchants, who possibly might be, or at least might think themselves, injured: that undoubtedly he knew our Hon'ble Masters had positively enjoined their servants never to interfere in cases of that nature, but remain perfectly neuter on all occasions where their privileges are not invaded.' Some days after this, on 8 March 1744, Hodges reported that 'one Hamza Khan, Said Khan, and the Ganim chauthia becoming securities for Najm Khan's mild behaviour towards the merchants,' they had all returned to town on the 2nd of that month.[33] The positive orders of the Court of Directors to their servants in India on the subject of political neutrality, mentioned above, were strictly obeyed by the Chiefs of the factories; and the evidence is clear that in Gujarat, till the middle of the 18th century, *i.e.*, more than one hundred and forty years after the establishment of the English factory on the Tapti, the Company's agents wished to play the rôle of merchants only and nothing more, and that their subsequent acquisition of political power at Surat was in a large measure forced upon them by the chaotic conditions in which they found themselves involved.

[32] Gense and Banaji, op. cit., 49-50.

[33] ibid.

CHAPTER XLII

EVENTS DURING THE PERIOD 1744 to 1753

Jawan Mard Khan Babi supreme at the Capital : Partition of Gujarat between Damaji and the Peshwa, 1752

THE authority usurped by Kamal-ud-din Khan, entitled Jawan Mard Khan Babi (Jr.) in 1743 from Muftakhir Khan, the son of Momin Khan I, lasted much longer than was expected, and for the next ten years he was all-powerful at Ahmadabad and *de facto* ruler of what was left to the Mughals in this subah. In January 1744, news arrived at Ahmadabad of the appointment as viceroy of a high noble at the court, in the person of Fakhr-ud-daulah Khan Bahadur Shujaat Jang, a mansabdar of seven thousand, who had secured the post by submitting to the Emperor presents worth two lakhs of rupees. As information of the death of Maqbul Alam had not reached the imperial capital, the new viceroy sent a sanad for a naib or deputy, leaving a blank for the name, to a shroff, named Sitaram, whom he knew at Ahmadabad, with instructions that the latter should enter therein the name of any great noble who was considered fit to discharge the duties of this high offce. The arrival of this document came to the knowledge of Jawan Mard Khan,[1] who was at this time supreme in the city, and, realising the insecurity of his position, he sent for the sanad and entered his own name in the blank provided. Moreover, though it was not at all customary to give formal reception to such orders—a practice reserved for imperial farmans only—he proceeded to the Shahi Bagh and returned to the city with the document tied, as was customary, to his head, in order to impress on the people that his authority after Maqbul Alam's death had received a new sanction (Jan. 28, 1744).[2]

Fakhr-ud-daulah as viceroy-designate

The people of Ahmadabad had been in great hopes that, as Jawan Mard Khan was a native of their own province, he would spare them the exactions to which they had been subjected by their previous rulers who hailed from the north. But, to their distress, they found that illegal imposts, which had for some time been in abeyance, were renewed, and a poll-

Jawan Mard's oppressive policy

1 His personal name was Kamal-ud-din Khan, but he is generally known by the title of Jawan Mard Khan which he inherited from his father.

2 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II (Guj. trans.), 394.



Courtesy : Mr. A. B. Uraizee, Ahmedabad

JAWAN MARD KHAN BABI, SUBAHDAR OF GUJARAT (1744-53)
AND FIRST NAWAB OF RADHANPUR
(*Miniature Mughal painting of the 18th century from Radhanpur*)

tax of one rupee and eight annas was levied on both the Hindus and Muslims under the pretext of taking a census. Besides this, a sum of nearly forty thousand was twice recovered from Saiyid Fazil, the head of the shrine of Imam-ud-din, situated at the village of Giramtha or Pirana near the capital, and another amount of some sixty or seventy thousand rupees was twice collected by imprisoning a leading Bohra merchant named Muhammad Abdul Wahed. This wealthy magnate had paid large fines in the regime of Najm-ud-daula and he was hopeful that Jawan Mard Khan would not trouble him. But finding it otherwise, he left the city for Surat. Another merchant, named Shaikh Hasan Arab, who had gone on a visit to Cambay, leaving silk goods valued at ten thousand rupees, found all this property confiscated by the *de facto* viceroy.[3] Ever since the foundation of Ahmadabad, it had been customary to devote to charity the income received from the rental of certain shops near the Jami Masjid for distribution among the Muslim faqirs and other indigent people. After being in force for centuries, this custom was now stopped by Jawan Mard Khan, and 'the gates of charity thus closed were never afterwards opened again.'[4]

The new viceroy opposed at Ahmadabad

When Fakhr-ud-daulah[5] arrived with his train on the frontiers of his province, Sher Khan Babi, who was on his estates at Balasinor, waited on him at Virpur and was appointed to lead the vanguard. The Rathod ruler of Idar, Raja Raesingh, the brother of Maharaja Abhaysingh, who had been summoned, met the viceroy near Kapadvanj, and also joined his camp. But Jawan Mard Khan was not disposed to surrender his authority to the new viceroy, and had arranged to oppose his entry with the help of Khanderao's deputy, Gangarao, whom he had secured to his side by offering a thousand rupees per day for the expenses of his troops. On October 3, 1744, Fakhr-ud-daulah started from his halt at Bahiyal and arrived near the capital at the suburb of Rajpur. Safdar Khan Babi, who had been put in charge of the army by his brother Jawan Mard Khan, could not, however, prevent him from taking possession of the fortified post of Nayanpur, which was the seat of the fauzdar of the suburbs.[6] For five days and nights there was cannonading on both sides near the Astodya and Raipur gates. Matters had, indeed, come to such a pass that a legally appointed Subahdar of the province was opposed in arms by his own deputy at the gates of his capital.

3 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 395-96.

4 ibid. II, 7468-63.

5 The new viceroy was a member of the highest nobility at Delhi. His niece, the daughter of his brother Raushan-ud-daula, had been married to Nasir Jang, the son of Asaf Jah, (*Mirat*, 401).

6 When news of the initial but temporary success of the viceroy reached Surat, the English Chief there wrote to Bombay, on 12 Oct. 1744 : 'Fakhr-ud-daula had defeated the Marathas and it is generally believed (that) Kamal-ud-din Khan Babi (*i.e.* Jawan Mard Khan) would be obliged to deliver up the city of Ahmadabad which was closely besieged' (Gense & Banaji, op. cit., 51).

Whatever hopes Fakhr-ud-daulah may have entertained of establishing his authority, they disappeared when Raesingh of Idar and Sher Khan Babi abandoned his side on the ground that he would not meet the expenses of their troops. After these desertions, the Maratha troops, which had been co-operating with Safdar Khan, attacked and recaptured the fort of Nayanpur on October 10, and, making the viceroy and his family prisoners, plundered all the valuable equipment they found in his camp. The *Mirat* says that they even relieved his women of the jewellery on their hands and necks and secured a great amount of booty, including treasure, jewels, precious cloth, horses, elephants, and in fact the entire equipage of a great Mughal nobleman, valued at lakhs of rupees, of which only a small part came into the hands of Jawan Mard Khan.[7] Khanderao Gaekwad, the brother of Damaji, who was acting as agent for Umabai, receiving intelligence of the plunder of Fakhr-ud-daulah's camp, crossed the Mahi in great haste, and arrived on the outskirts of Ahmadabad on October 14, 1744, where he encamped at the Chandola tank and took possession of all the spoils. A meeting took place between him and Jawan Mard Khan at the Nagina Bagh, situated in the centre of the Kankaria lake, when the terms of an alliance were settled. Fortune had smiled on Jawan Mard Khan, who now had the city gates reopened and resumed his political authority at Ahmadabad, which he was to hold for nearly ten years more, until the capture of the city by the Marathas in 1753 after a siege by the joint armies of the Peshwa and the Gaekwad.[8]

He is made a prisoner by the Marathas

The deplorable and humiliating position in which Fakhr-ud-daulah, the imperial viceroy-designate, found himself on arrival at Ahmadabad, involving imprisonment and exile among the Marathas, illustrates more graphically than anything else the impending collapse of Mughal rule in the province and the eclipse of the authority of the central government. The fierce ambition for power among the local Muslim nobles—at Ahmadabad, at Surat and at Cambay—made them feel little scruple about entering into temporary and shifting alliances with their enemies, so that the Marathas, who were already more than half masters of Gujarat, took full advantage of the opportunities provided by the chaotic conditions of the next fourteen years to complete their conquest. The history of this period is given in great detail, based on personal knowledge, by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, whose appointment in 1746 as the last imperial diwan, or revenue minister, of the province, gave him an unique opportunity of witnessing or participating in the confused tangle of political developments that we have still to record. In some respects, the story of these closing years of Mughal rule in Gujarat reminds us of

Remarks on the period 1744-58

7 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Guj. trans. by K. M. Jhaveri, Vol. II, (Part III), 401-07.
8 ibid. 407-10. Jawan Mard Khan at this time employed in his service the valiant Muhammad Shahbaz Rohilla with 300 horse and foot.

the similar period of chaos and confusion that attended the collapse of the Saltanat, from the death of Sultan Mahmud III to the conquest of Gujarat by Akbar (1554-73), the details of which, as recorded in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, form the most dreary portion of that admirable historical work.

During the years 1744 to 1748, apart from the struggle between Jawan Mard Khan and Fakhr-ud-daulah, we have dissensions and civil war between the two Maratha leaders, Khanderao Gaekwad and Rangoji, both of whom were in a sense Umabai's agents. We find Khanderao setting up Fakhr-ud-daulah as a rival authority to Jawan Mard Khan and at the same time capturing and imprisoning Rangoji and taking possession of his fort at Borsad. On the other hand, Rangoji allied himself with Sher Khan Babi and Raesingh of Idar against Khanderao. Even these utterly selfish alliances were not stable but were constantly shifting, so that it is difficult to follow the chequered events of these years with any clarity. In order to re-establish his authority at the capital, and to drive away Khanderao's nominees from it, Rangoji allied himself with Jawan Mard and sent him a request to allow his agent to function as before. So anxious was he to recover lost ground that he offered to surrender the valuable Petlad pargana in exchange for the half share of the Haveli pargana. The march and counter-march of Muslim and Maratha armies, and the indiscriminate plunder of towns and villages, which are frequently mentioned at this period, illustrate the utter lawlessness that now prevailed in North Gujarat, involving, no doubt, the misery of the subject population. All parties were equally guilty of these excesses. Nor did peninsular Gujarat escape the fate of the districts on the mainland. Thus Khanderao's general, Kanhoji Takbir, during an expedition into Kathiawar, took by attack the town of Vanthali[9] and plundered it (1747). In the same year, Rangoji who had arrived near the capital from Umreth, attacked and plundered the flourishing town of Sanand sixteen miles west of the capital.[10]

Shifting combinations, 1745-48

The rainy season of 1747 (Samvat 1803) was an absolute failure and the crops perished. The distress that followed was beyond the memory of anyone then living. For three days, Jawan Mard Khan, accompanied by the citizens, high and low, offered public prayers, but in vain. People in the villages, who tried to satisfy their gnawing hunger by eating grass roots, perished in large numbers, and there was heavy mortality among the cattle for lack of fodder. The consumption of the flesh of dead people became a legitimate practice. Tanks and wells became dry and empty,

Severe famine of 1747

9 Vanthali is a town in the Sorath division of Kathiawar situated about ten miles distant from Junagadh.

10 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 434-36.

so that water-famine accompanied food-famine, and the stream of the Sabarmati shrank into a thin line. The lack of water was particularly severe in the district of Patan, and owing to this dire distress the people left their homes in caravans for the adjoining parts of Malwa and entire villages became depopulated. The distress was not relieved till the advent of the rains in the following season.[11]

Momin Khan II as governor of Cambay, 1747

Najm Khan, the governor of Cambay, died early in March 1747, and his relative Muftakhir Khan, the son of Momin Khan, Najm-ud-daulah, assumed the direction of affairs at that port, abandoning his intention of returning to Delhi. Fida-ud-din, who had been living at Dehwan, hoping to fish in troubled waters, now tried to enter Cambay under pretext of offering his condolences to the family of the deceased, but he was prevented from doing so. Disgusted with his long sojourn among the Kolis, he sought the protection of Rangoji and went over with all his family to reside at Umreth.[12] It was about this time that Muftakhir Khan received from the royal court his father's title of Momin Khan, and under that name he plays a most important part in the political events of the years that follow. He is generally known in history as Momin Khan II to distinguish him from his father, who died in 1743. In 1748 he was confirmed as governor of Cambay by royal farman, and, on the downfall of Mughal rule in Gujarat about 1758, he became the first independent Nawab of Cambay and its district, where his descendants ruled till 1948.

Sher Khan Babi as Nawab of Junagadh

Sher Khan Babi had taken an active part in the shifting politics of the time, allying himself indiscriminately with other Mughal nobles, with Rangoji, with the phantom viceroy Fakhr-ud-daulah, and with Raesinghji of Idar, as it suited his interests or ambition. In 1748, however, finding that there was no scope for his advancement on the mainland, he deemed it advisable to place his son Sardar Muhammad Khan at Balasinor and to retire to Junagadh, of which place he had been deputy fauzdar for a number of years, and where his wives, Ladki Bibi and Aman Bibi, had been carrying on the management of affairs for him. His presence there was the more necessary as in the previous year, as already stated, Kanhoji Takbir, a Maratha leader, joining Fakhr-ud-daulah, had made a tribute-collecting expedition into Sorath and had besieged and taken the ancient town of Vanthali, which is about ten miles distant from Junagadh. Sher Khan henceforth entirely withdrew from the affairs of Gujarat and endeavoured to consolidate an independent rule at Junagadh, assuming the title of Bahadur Khan, and the style of Nawab. He died in 1758 and was succeeded by his son Mahabat Khan.

11 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 448-49. The author of this work says that this famine was popularly known as *Tarlotro*.

12 ibid. 433-34.

In 1748, Rangoji, who had recovered his fort of Borsad in the previous year, and his ally Raesingh of Idar, were besieged in this fort by Khanderao Gaekwad. After the investment had lasted for five months, Rangoji could no longer maintain the defence, especially as his supplies and provisions were exhausted, while the Marwadi and Gujarati troops under Raesingh and Sher Khan clamoured for pay. He had, therefore, perforce to hand over the fort to Khanderao who put him into custody.[13] Soon after, the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao sent his agents to Gujarat and they secured Rangoji's release and took him to the Deccan.[14] This is the last reference we have to this active Maratha general who had played a very leading part in the history of Gujarat for nearly fourteen years from the time of his first arrival in the province as Damaji's deputy in 1734 to his final exit in 1748. The credit for the extension and consolidation of the Gaekwad's power in Gujarat, including the establishment of the joint rule of the Marathas at Ahmadabad in 1737, belongs largely to his capacity and resources as a soldier and a politician.

Exit of Rangoji from Gujarat

The year 1748 forms a landmark in Indian history owing to the passing away of several important rulers. The Emperor Muhammad Shah died at Delhi after a long but inglorious reign of nearly thirty years; Shahu Raja, the feeble descendant of the great Shivaji, died at Satara; and Nizam-ul-mulk, the founder of the independent sovereignty of the Asaf Jahi dynasty, expired at Hyderabad at a ripe old age, and was buried on the heights of Khuldabad (Rauza) not far from the simple grave of his first master, Aurangzeb. A month before the Emperor's death, the Mughal army, led by Prince Ahmad, the heir-apparent, and the vazir Qamar-ud-din, had repulsed the Afghan invader Ahmad Shah Abdali, the ruler of Kabul, at the battle of Sirhind. While the Prince was still encamped near the field of battle, swift messengers sent from Delhi brought him the news of his father's death which took place on April 14, 1748; and, giving up the idea of pursuing the defeated monarch, he turned towards the capital, and went through the preliminary coronation ceremony at a village in the Panipat taluka on April 18. After Ahmad Shah's arrival at Delhi, Muhammad Shah was buried near the tomb of the famous saint Nizam-ud-din Aulya, and the deceased Emperor received the after-death designation of *Firdaus Aramgah*.[15]

Death of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, 1748

Among the nobles raised to high office by the new ruler we find that Burhan-ul-mulk Abu Mansur Safdar Jang was appointed Vazir-ul-mamalik, while Saadat Khan Zulfiqar Jang became the Mir Bakhshi and Amir-ul-umara. Jāwid Khan was put in general charge of high political matters and Rai Rayan Nagarmal was made diwan of the Khalsa. The news

Titular sway of Ahmad Shah in Gujarat

[13] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 451-53.
[14] ibid, 461.
[15] ibid, 454-57. The new ruler's imperial titles are given as Hazrat Abulnasar Mujahid-ud-din Ahmad Shah Bahadur Badshah-i-Ghazi.

of Ahmad Shah's accession was proclaimed by Jawan Mard Khan at Ahmadabad in the usual manner, and gold ashrafis and silver rupees were minted at the local mint in the name of the new Emperor.[16] The feeble rule of Ahmad Shah lasted for about eight years, till his deposition in 1756, and it covers the period when the authority of the central government in Gujarat was reduced almost to nothing, involving only the privilege of making a few nominal appointments. It was but natural, therefore, for the nobles in office at various centres to make a bid for independent power, and to hold for themselves what could be saved from the powerful grasp of the Marathas, who were soon to be the inheritors of Mughal imperial domination in the province. Among these nobles five names stand out prominently, *viz.*, Jawan Mard Khan in North Gujarat, Momin Khan II at Cambay, Sher Khan Babi at Junagadh and Balasinor, Teg Beg Khan at Surat, and Nek Alam Khan at Broach.

Maharaja Vakhat Singh nominated viceroy

Maharaja Vakhatsingh of Jodhpur, the brother of the late Maharaja Abhaysingh, who had come to Delhi at the desire of the late Emperor, and had been admitted to the favour of Ahmad Shah, now submitted a request to the new Emperor through Saadat Khan, the Amir-ul-umara, for being appointed to the post of viceroy of Gujarat, with which province he was familiar from the time of his brother's rule there. Saadat Khan declared that he would be prepared to support this request to the sovereign only if Vakhatsingh gave an undertaking to abide by certain conditions. This bond was to be on the following lines, *viz.*, that he would not confiscate any of the mahals placed under the *khalsa sharifa*, the revenues of which belonged to the crown ; that all royal officials would be allowed to discharge their duties according to standing custom ; that jagirs belonging to the imperial mansabdars and located in Gujarat would not be appropriated ; that he would give satisfaction to the Muslims residing in Gujarat ; that he would forward to the court as peshkash the same amount that nazims used to do in the reign of Aurangzeb ; and, lastly, that he would appoint, or ask the Emperor to appoint, a Muslim as a judge for the disposal of cases in which Muslims were involved, and who would adjudicate according to Islamic law and practice. On his accepting these terms, and submitting a written guarantee to that effect, the Maharaja was appointed, on May 1, 1748, as Subahdar of Gujarat in place of Fakhr-ud-daulah.[17] Vakhatsingh had, however, taken the precaution to send confidential agents to Gujarat to make

16 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 458-59. The obverse and reverse of these coins bear the legends that had already come to be regarded as conventional. See G.P. Taylor, *The Coins of Ahmadabad*, J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, 439.

17 On receiving news of the appointment of Vakhatsingh, Fakhr-ud-daula gave up all hope of establishing his authority in Gujarat, and retired to Burhanpur by way of Godhra. Thus his purely nominal tenure of office for four years (1744-48), during the greater part of which he was a puppet in Maratha hands, came to an inglorious close. (*Mirat*, 461)

enquiries about the progress made by the Marathas, and they returned with a report of the complete disintegration of the province.[18]

After the news of the appointment of Maharaja Vakhatsingh had reached Ahmadabad, Jawan Mard Khan submitted to the Emperor a public representation, bearing the signatures and seals of the leading Saiyids and Shaikhs, as also of the prominent Muslim and Hindu magnates and merchants of the city, protesting against the appointment and requesting that it be cancelled. The petition recalled how, at the time when Maharaja Abhaysingh was subahdar of the province, the public had been mulcted of their property by the Rajputs, and their houses destroyed to discover buried treasure; how the Muslims had been ill-treated and how in every street and corner liquor and hogs' flesh had been openly sold. It proceeded to state that the Rajputs, who came with Abhaysingh, had carried away Muslim women to Marwar, after converting them by bribes and promises or by forcible means, and that though these women were still alive, the Muslims were unable to secure their release. The petitioners further pointed out that, since the time of the siege of Ahmadabad by Momin Khan (in 1736-37), when Ratansingh Bhandari was forced to deliver up his charge, the Rajputs entertained considerable enmity and ill-will towards the Muslims, and in fact 'they wanted nothing less than to transform this Muslim capital into a town under Marwar like Nagor and Jalor.' The petition concluded with the request that the appointment should be revoked so that Ahmadabad might continue to be, as hitherto, an Islamic capital. Before, however, this representation could reach the court, the Maharaja had abandoned his idea of proceeding to Gujarat on receipt of the report about the deplorable political condition of the province.[19]

Petition from the citizens of Ahmadabad

In 1748, the famous Jain magnate, Khushalchand Nagarsheth, the leading Hindu citizen of Ahmadabad, passed away in his native city after an eventful career.[20] The signal services rendered by him to the capital in 1725, at the time of Hamid Khan's revolt, have already been recorded in a previous chapter. His lot was, however, cast in troublous times, and he was heavily mulcted, driven into exile, and put into confinement, by those in authority—Muslim, Rajput and Maratha alike—who coveted his wealth or disliked his influence. The few details, however, that we have of these incidents, show that he was a man of character and was not cowed down by persecution. He discharged his civic responsibilities boldly, and, with the help of his armed retainers, did what he could to protect poor citizens from the tyranny of the subahdars' hirelings. After

Death of Khushalchand, the Nagarsheth, 1748

18 *Mirat-i-Ahamadi*, 459-61.

19 ibid, 462-63.

20 ibid, 461. Sheth Kasturbai Lalbhai, the leading industrial magnate and philanthropist of Ahmadabad, is a descendant of Sheth Khushalchand, the great Nagarsheth of the 18th century.

his death, his descendants continued to hold the same responsible position in the city as he did, so that, when Brig.-General Goddard took Ahmadabad by assault from the Peshwa's deputy in 1780, during the First Maratha War, his proclamation was addressed to Nathusha Khushalchand, the then Nagarsheth, assuring the people of protection and safety.[21]

Murder of M. Shahbaz Rohilla, 1749

In 1749, Muhammad Shahbaz Rohilla, who had been for nearly five years the commander of the troops in the capital, was assassinated in the Bhadra at Ahmadabad by the orders of Jawan Mard Khan (Jan. 13). This bold military adventurer had first arrived in Gujarat, with a few Afghan horse and foot, in the time of Momin Khan I, and had later made his name when Muftakhir Khan engaged him, along with his band of three hundred, in the royal service, at the time of Rangoji's attack on the city in 1743. Thereafter, he served for a time under the Idar ruler and later again returned to Ahmadabad to join Jawan Mard Khan by whom he was appointed fauzdar of the suburbs. But he had now become proud and overbearing in his attitude to the officials, and even to the *de facto* viceroy, who treated him with studied moderation in view of the arrears of pay due to him. In this year, he refused to accompany Safdar Khan as second in command when that noble was commissioned to proceed to the parganas for tribute. It was decided, therefore, to get rid of him, and he was invited to the Bhadra citadel where a band of soldiers surrounded him and killed him. His body was thrown on the sands of the Sabarmati through the wicket in the Bhadra, and it was later buried outside the Khanpur gate of the city on the river-side.[22]

Imperial orders ignored

In the same year, an order was received by Ali Muhammad Khan, now imperial diwan, from the Vazir-ul-mamalik to forward rich cloths to the value of twenty thousand rupees for preparing robes for the Emperor. At the same time, he received two farmans, one addressed to Jawan Mard Khan, asking him to give ten thousand rupees from the revenues of the Khalsa mahals of the city for this purpose ; and another directed to Nek Alam Khan of Broach for contributing a similar amount from the revenues of the Broach pargana. As this was the very first farman bearing his name issued after the new sovereign's accession, Jawan Mard Khan came personally to the diwan's residence to give it welcome (April 8, 1749). Though he intended at first to act upon the orders received, he was dissuaded from doing so by his evil advisers. Similarly, Nek Alam Khan at Broach evaded the payment by declaring that, after the death of Asaf Jah, the pargana in his charge had passed under Nasir Jang's control, whose permission was, therefore, necessary. The author of the *Mirat*, in recording these facts, comments that, as the result of

21 A full account of General Goddard's attack and capture of Ahmadabad, and of his proclamation, will be given in the next volume of this work.

22 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 463-67.

the Maratha occupation of the province, central authority had become so ineffective that implicit obedience to its orders was no longer considered to be necessary, and there was no one to demand an explanation if these orders were not carried out.

Some events of 1750

Fida-ud-din, the erstwhile acting viceroy, who had been driven out of the capital by Jawan Mard Khan in 1744, and who had sought one place of refuge after another, had left Umreth and gone to reside in the pargana of Atarsumbha. But soon getting tired of that place, he wrote to Jawan Mard Khan to ask permission to return to Ahmadabad. This being refused, he went to stay at Broach where his troubled career came to an end in 1750. Among other men of note who died in this year we may mention Pir Muhammad Shah, who was highly respected as a learned divine, and who had his quarters in the Jami Masjid. His disciples erected a Rauza over his grave, and his name and shrine are still famous among the Muslims of Ahmadabad, partly because of the valuable oriental library attached to the shrine. Raja Raesingh of Idar also died in this year, as also did Muhammad Anwar Khan (Safdar Khan Babi), the brother of Jawan Mard Khan (Sept. 8, 1750).[23]

Restoration of Jain images, 1744

An event of unusual interest and gratification to the wealthy Jain community of Ahmadabad took place early in 1744 and is recorded by our historian. We have related in an earlier chapter of this work that, during the reign of Shah Jahan, his son Prince Aurangzeb, when viceroy of Gujarat in 1645, had caused the beautiful temple of Chintamani Parsvanath, constructed by the Jain magnate Shantidas Jawahari in the suburb of Saraspur at Ahmadabad, to be transformed into a mosque by the introduction of some Islamic features, and had named it *Quvvat-ul-Islam.* About the time of this conversion, the Jains had prepared a number of marble images of Parsvanath for being installed in this temple. When, however, 'according to the decrees of fate, the idol-temple was transposed into the house of God', two of these marble images, each of which was not less than a hundred *man* in weight, were buried underground for safety, though it was given out that they were to be destroyed. In this condition, the images remained for a hundred years after the events mentioned. In 1744, however, the descendants of Shantidas, taking advantage of the political weakness of Islam, and the abatement of religious intolerance, obtained permission for exhuming these sacred images, and conveyed them publicly, placed in chariots, into the city, and installed them in an ancient underground temple where the Jains used to perform their worship in secret for fear of the Muslims.[24]

23 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi,* II. 483-84. Muhammad Anwar Khan Babi's Rauza stands within a walled enclosure about 600 yds. south of the Kankariya Tank. (J. Burgess, *Muham. Arch. of Ahmadabad, Pt. II,* 82)

24 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi,* II, 395. An account of some famous Jain temples at Ahmadabad has been given in the Appendix to this chapter.

Some idea of the religious intolerance that still prevailed at Ahmadabad is obtained from an event that took place in 1750. The historian says that, owing to the increasing political power of the 'unbelievers' (the Marathas), the Muslims had become slack about the assertion of their faith, and that, in consequence, the Hindus had set up temples at various places for idol-worship. In the Shahpur ward at Ahmadabad, they erected a temple in the immediate neighbourhood of a mosque, so that the Muslims were much disturbed and annoyed by the ringing of bells and the blowing of conch-shells simultaneously with the call to prayers and the performance of the *namaz*. This was brought to the notice of Qazi Muhammad Nizam-ud-din, the religious head at the capital, and one Friday, after the conclusion of the prayers in the Jami Masjid, those present proceeded to the Shahpur locality and 'made an end of the offending temple.'[25]

Religious intolerance not dead

On July 2, 1744, Ali Muhammad Khan (Sr.), the father of the historian, who had long held the post of Amin of the cloth market at Ahmadabad, passed away at an advanced age, after an almost continuous connection of thirty-six years with this province. He had arrived in the capital of Gujarat on being appointed news-writer (*waqai-e-nigar*), when his eldest son, the future historian, who came with his father, was only eight years old. Ali Muhammad Khan took no active part in the disturbed politics of Gujarat during the generation that followed Aurangzeb's death ; but he was held in high esteem by all parties and by successive viceroys, and was frequently consulted on account of his integrity, moderation, and wide knowledge of the currents of local politics.[26] Some time before his death, disgusted with the increasingly chaotic conditions at Ahmadabad, he decided to retire from active life, and to send his family to Surat, and himself to proceed to the holy cities in the Hejaz. Jawan Mard Khan came to his place, with his brother Safdar Khan, in order to dissuade him from this purpose, but in vain. The old man even wrote to Devji Takbir, the deputy of Damaji, for safe conduct on the journey, and to Teg Beg Khan, the governor of Surat; and June 10, 1744, was fixed for the date on which he and his household were to leave Ahmadabad. But fate had ordained otherwise, for at this juncture his grandchild, the historian's little daughter, fell ill with small-pox and died after a few days. This proved a great shock to her sire, who was much attached to her, so that he too fell ill and died three days later.[27]

Death of the historian's father, 1744

25 *Marat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 481.

26 Ali Muhammad Khan (Sr.) was highly trusted by Mubariz-ul-mulk, Sarbuland Khan, when that noble was viceroy of the province. On his transfer as subahdar of Kabul, Sarbuland Khan took him in his train to the north and appointed him Mahalkari of Peshawar. He returned to Gujarat after his patron had resigned the post at Kabul and was made a mansabdar of one thousand and received the title under which he is known.

27 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* II, 397-400.

On the death of his patron Behruz Khan at Delhi in 1746, Ali Muhammad Khan (Jr.), the historian, found other patrons at the imperial court in the persons of Hazrat-ul-Khakan Jawid Khan and Rai Rayan Nagarmal, and with their help he was able to secure not only a royal sanad for restoration to his original post as Amin at Ahmadabad, of which he had been deprived for a time,[28] but was also appointed to the high office of the diwan of the province on the death of Taleb Ali Khan. He was destined to be the last diwan of this Mughal subah. By virtue of this appointment, however, he was able to have direct access to all the state records in the diwan's office, and, being ably assisted by one Mithalal, a clerk (*karkun*) in that office, he was in a position to utilise his opportunities to the fullest advantage in his historical work.[29] In 1750, he was appointed by royal order as guardian (*mutawali*) of the revered tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu at Sarkhej.[30] In 1751, Nawab Jawid Khan at Delhi secured for his protégé an increase in his mansab with the title of Bahadur and permission to use a kettledrum. A letter to this effect was sent by this minister to Ahmadabad, along with dresses of honour, a jewelled aigrette, and a sword in token of the office of diwan, which had been bestowed upon our author in 1746. Jawid Khan now sounded the historian, through the latter's vakil at the court, Raja Ramnarayan, whether he would undertake to accept responsibility for the high post of Subahdar of the province. But he declined this offer, and to explain the grounds for his refusal, he refers to the political and social conditions prevailing in the province. A large number of parganas and mahals had passed entirely into Maratha hands, while of those still left to Jawan Mard Khan, where he was entitled to one-half of the revenues, the Marathas had secured an amount, equivalent to four lakhs of rupees, by forcible methods. Moreover, the military *thanas* were unable to function as before nor could the Kolis be kept under control. There was hardly a night when bands of Koli marauders did not commit dacoities, both in the capital and its suburbs, breaking into private houses and shops, and taking the owners and their wives and children captives. The highways had become completely unsafe for travellers, so that even caravans had to engage the services of the Kolis to guarantee their safe conduct. Solitary wayfarers were looted of all they had. Even the dhobis, washing clothes on the Sabarmati, could not do so without fear of marauding horsemen swooping down upon them and carrying away their bundles. Under this deplorable state of affairs, our historian naturally felt that it would be impossible to undertake the Nazim's responsibilities.[31]

Our historian as the last Diwan of Gujarat, 1746

[28] This was done by Safdar Khan Babi at the instigation of a Hindu adviser, who is not named, but on whom the historian heaps many epithets of opprobrium. *Mirat*, 424-25.

[29] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 428-29.

[30] ibid, 483.

[31] ibid, 488-89, 492.

Jawan Mard dis-appointed, 1752

Jawan Mard Khan, who was in *de facto* possession of such political power as was still left to the nazim, was, however, more ambitious, and anxious to secure from Delhi the official confirmation of his position and the status of the viceroy. He, therefore, requested the Diwan to recommend him to Jawid Khan and to secure for him a farman to this effect. The Minister wrote in reply that if Jawan Mard agreed to furnish the necessary monetary gifts, he was willing to do whatever was necessary. These being duly forwarded, orders were passed to the departments concerned to issue the farman and to get ready the usual presents. But fate had decreed otherwise, for, before the documents were completed, the vazir Safdar Jang, having invited Jawid Khan to his residence, on pretext of some consultation, had him treacherously assassinated (Sept. 27, 1752). The *hundis* sent by Jawan Mard to the court were, therefore, returned to him.

Mangrol recovered from the Marathas: 1749

We learn from a Persian inscription located at Mangrol, an ancient port situated on the S. W. coast of Saurashtra, that, in the course of their infiltrations into the peninsula, the Maratha invaders had made themselves masters of this flourishing port some time about 1737, and that, after holding the same for nearly twelve years, they were driven out of it by the local Muslim officials. The inscription referred to is engraved on a marble slab which has been fixed in the wall adjoining what is known as the Gádi Gate at Mangrol. It is to the effect that the torch of Islam having burnt bright for a long time after the conquest of the fortress of the town of Mangrol by Hazrat Saiyid Sikandar,[32] the place gradually passed 'into the hands of the unbelievers of the Deccan' (*i.e.*, the Marathas), and for a period of twelve years such oppression prevailed as to make numbers of the inhabitants flee from the town. The epigraph proceeds to state that, by divine grace, this very fortress had been conquered by the great ones of the town of Mangrol, *viz.*, Malik Shahbuddin, Shaikh Farid-ud-din, and some of their brethren, at the time of noon, on Sunday, the 23rd of the blessed month of Ramzan, H. 1162 (23 August 1749), and the foundation of Islam was laid again.[33] The Shaikhs of Mangrol, as its rulers were styled, continued for the two centuries that followed this conquest in possession of the town and its surrounding territory until the merger of 1948.

32 Saiyid Sikandar was a holy man who accompanied the expedition sent about 1375 by Sultan Firuz Tughluq for the conquest of Mangrol, and, according to tradition, he took an active part in the action. He was granted a village and soon acquired the reputation of a local saint, and his shrine near the bandar is venerated by the Muslims and is one of the historical monuments of the town. For other details, see Vol. I, 76-77, of this work.

33 *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari* (1889), pp. 50-51.

We must now transfer our attention from Gujarat to the Deccan, where a great struggle took place between the Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao, and Damaji Gaekwad in 1751-52, which was profoundly to affect the progress of events in Gujarat, and to hasten the collapse of Mughal power, by reviving the powerful intervention of the Peshwa, which had been in abeyance for nearly a decade. After the death of Shahu Raja in 1748, serious differences arose between Tarabai, the aged widow of Rajaram, who was a woman of great spirit, and the Peshwa. In 1751, when Balaji was away on a campaign in the Karnatak against the Nizam, Tarabai summoned the Gaekwad to rescue her grandson Ramraja and all Maharashtra from the power of the Brahmans. Damaji accepted the call, and, advancing from Songadh with an army of 15,000 men, and marching down the Salpi pass, he met and defeated a much stronger force under the Peshwa's officers at Bahadurpur in Khandesh, 10 miles distant from Amalner. He next advanced towards Poona, which city was thereby plunged into panic, but he soon diverted his march to Satara where he had an interview with Tarabai. When encamped on the Venya, the Peshwa's general Trimbakpant offered him battle and inflicted on him a defeat, so that he was forced to remain on the defensive. Meanwhile, the Peshwa hurried with his army from Aurangabad in great alarm, and, traversing a distance of 400 miles by forced marches in 12 days, arrived near Satara to meet the danger from the combination of Damaji and Tarabai's partisans, including the Dabhades.[34]

Damaji summoned to Satara, 1751

On arrival at his camp on the Venya, the Peshwa launched a severe offensive against the Gaekwad, who soon found his position untenable and asked for terms. Balaji, solemnly promising him safety, invited him to camp in his immediate neighbourhood for further discussions. After Damaji had complied, the mask was thrown off, and he found himself at the mercy of his opponent. At an interview, the Peshwa made a stern demand for a half-share of all the tribute from Gujarat, to which Damaji replied that Gujarat belonged to Umabai Dabhade and that he was only her servant. While these negotiations were still going on, the Peshwa suddenly attacked Damaji's camp when the latter had no suspicion of the treachery intended (30 April 1751). Finding that his camp was plundered, and his two brothers made captive, Damaji walked to the Peshwa's camp and offered himself for arrest, protesting against this breach of a sacred oath. Some of the Dabhades, along with Umabai, were also arrested and put under custody. Since the death of Pilaji in 1732 no such misfortune had befallen the Gaekwad's family. All the prisoners were removed to Poona, where they were kept under guard; but, on finding that Damaji and Dabhade continued to carry on intrigue with Tarabai, their confinement was made extremely rigorous, and on

Damaji a prisoner in the Peshwa's hands, Apr. 1751-Mar. 1752

[34] G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, II, 306-09.

Nov. 14 they were removed from Poona to the fort of Lohgadh, not far from the present hill-station of Lonavla.[35]

Damaji surrenders half his rights in Gujarat

For over ten months, the powerful war-lord of Gujarat, and the Peshwa's most formidable opponent, was kept under confinement, and Balaji utilised the opportunity to advance his own interests in that province. At last, Damaji, realising that his presence was necessary in Gujarat, and that he could no longer resist the Peshwa's demands, submitted, and a treaty was arranged and formally ratified on March 30, 1752. Shortly before this, Damaji was brought to Poona where he was released with all his relatives and allowed to proceed to Gujarat. By the terms of this capitulation, Damaji agreed to pay a fine of 15 lakhs of rupees as an acquittance on account of arrears of tribute ; he was to cede one-half of all the parganas held by him in Gujarat, as also half of all future conquests ; he also agreed to serve the Peshwa loyally hereafter with 10,000 horse whenever called upon to do so. The agreement was later confirmed by Tarabai also. The claims to a share in the Maratha tribute from Gujarat, first put forward by Baji Rao I during 1726-30, came now to be finally settled after a quarter of a century.[36] Thus, at one stroke of good fortune, the Peshwa acquired those vast and valuable territorial rights in Gujarat which had been laboriously won by the joint labours of the Dabhades and the Gaekwads during the course of a generation. These rights continued with the Poona government till they were transferred to the Gaekwads and to the British by the treaty of Poona in 1817, and were finally extinguished on the fall of Baji Rao II in 1818.

Death of Umabai Dabhade

After the partition-treaty of 1752, the claims of the Dabhades to Gujarat were finally abandoned and they had to accept under compulsion the terms offered by the Peshwa and to get reconciled to their fate. Umabai had grown old, and having taken ill, was brought from Talegaon to Poona for treatment in Sept., 1753, and there she died two months later. Her son Yeshwantrao died the next year, in 1754, near Miraj on his way back from the Karnatak where he had accompanied the Peshwa. The office of the Senapati, one of the eight members of the *Ashta-Pradhan*, had now become purely nominal. After this date, the house of Khanderao ceases to play any prominent part in Maratha history. The descendants of this once distinguished family are still living at Talegaon on what remains of their ancestral estates.[37]

35 G. S. Sardesai, op. cit., II, 309-11. It is said that, in consequence of Balaji's treachery, Damaji ever after refused to salute the Peshwa, except with the left hand. (Grant Duff, op. cit., Ed. of 1878, I, 529 *n.*)

36 G. S. Sardesai, op. cit., II, 311-12 ; Gense & Banaji, op. cit., I, 90 *n* ; Bombay Gazetteer, VII (Baroda), 178-9.

37 G. S. Sardesai, op. cit., II, 312. The little town of Talegaon, situated on the top of the Western Ghats, between Poona and Lonavla, is still known as Talegaon-Dabhade.

In spite of losing one-half of his conquests in Gujarat, the extent and value of the territory that still remained to Damaji Gaekwad in the province may be seen from the following list of the parganas that continued in his possession, yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 24,72,500, or nearly 25 lakhs.

Damaji's and the Peshwa's shares in the partition of Gujarat

a) In the Surat *Athavisi*,[38] the parganas of Chorasi, Balesar, Kamrej, Temba, Tadkeshwar, Navsari, Mandvi, Gandevi, Billimora, Mahuwa, Songadh, Vyara, Galha, etc.

b) Between the Narmada (Rewa) and the Mahi : the parganas of Baroda, Broach, Sankheda, Sinor, Chandod, Vaghodia.

c) North of the Mahi : the parganas of Petlad, Nadiad, Mahudha, Matar, Dholka, half of Daskroi.[39]

Not less widely extensive, nor less valuable, was the Peshwa's share in the partition. The following territory, whose income was valued at Rs. 24,68,900 (*i.e.* about 25 lakhs), fell like ripe fruit into his lap :

a) In the Surat *Athavisi* (north and south of the Tapti) : the parganas of Anklesvar, Hansot, Olpad, Sarbhon, Supa, Bardoli, Parnera, Bhutsar, Parchol, Bulsar, Valod.

b) Between the Rewa and the Mahi : the parganas of Dabhoi, Amod, Dehejbara, Jambusar, etc.

c) North of the Mahi : the parganas of Mehmdabad, Godhra-Thasra, half of Daskroi, Dhandhuka, Viramgam, etc.

It may be noted that, as the result of an agreement made in 1735 between Damaji and Teg Beg Khan, the Nawab of Surat, a portion of the revenues from several specified mahals in the *athavisi* was reserved for the governor of Surat and the Killedar (for the expenses of the Castle and the tankha), and it was designated the *Mughlai* share as distinguished from the *Swarajya* or Maratha share.[40]

Similar arrangements for equal division were made in the partition treaty in respect of those parts of the province which still remained to be subdued. The peninsula of Saurashtra was not overlooked, and the right to send *mulukgiri* expeditions into the various mahals of Sorath, Gohelwar, Halar and Jhalawad was particularly defined so that certain territories were reserved for the Gaekwad's armies and others for those of the Peshwa. From this time onward the Maratha grasp on peninsular Gujarat became more rigorous. The ruling princes of the peninsula were made to exchange imperial Mughal suzerainty for the hegemony and domination of the Marathas, and the numerous Rajput dynasties, which had been in existence for many centuries, were compelled to pay tribute to the

Peninsular Gujarat

[38] The Surat *Athavisi* refers to the 28 *Mahals* originally comprised in the Mughal district (*sarkār*) of Surat. Practically all of them, on both sides of the Tapti, had been captured by Pilaji and Damaji, leaving to the Mughals only the City and the Castle.

[39] In addition to his half share in the settled districts of the province, Damaji obtained, for the maintenance of his family, districts yielding 3 lakhs per year in the Surat *Athavisi*.

[40] Bombay Gazetteer, VII (Baroda), 180-81 ; Aitchison's *Treaties, Engagements and Sunnads*, VI, Appendix I ; Gense & Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, I, 17-18 ; III, 154-55.

Peshwa and the Gaekwad whose very names as ruling powers were unknown to history a generation before.

The Peshwa's share in the Cambay Customs

Momin Khan II of Cambay, who had frequent differences with the Gaekwad's agents about the half share of the customs revenue of the city granted by treaty to the latter, having come to know of the partition of the Maratha conquests in Gujarat between Damaji and Balaji Baji Rao, sent his steward Vrajlal to the Peshwa requesting him to arrange to secure for himself the Maratha share of the Cambay customs. This proposal appears to have been accepted, and the Peshwa's agent was now appointed to collect this share.[41] In the years that followed, M min Khan was to realise his mistake, for in and about 1755 we find Bhagwantrao, the Peshwa's agent, twice collecting an army to secure possession of Cambay by an armed attack, as will be seen in a later chapter.

Raghoba's arrival in Gujarat, 1752

In 1752, Raghunath Rao (Raghoba), the younger brother of Balaji Baji Rao, arrived in Gujarat with an army for the first time as the Peshwa's representative, and from this date begins his long and intimate political connection with this province, which lasted for many years and with varying fortunes till 1783. Damaji, who had been released from confinement, also arrived in the province about the same time. Their joint objective appears to have been directed against Surat, for they were only six miles from the town, but Safdar Muhammad Khan, the governor, took adequate measures for the defence of the place and its fort, and they marched away. Raghunath Rao appointed his agents in the parganas of the Surat district, as also those beyond the Narbada and the Mahi, which had fallen to the share of the Peshwa, and he also sent an officer to enter into communication with Jawan Mard Khan about the Peshwa's rights in the Maratha half of the city of Ahmadabad and the Haveli pargana, so that in March, 1752, his agent was associated with the naib of Damaji in its management.[42]

41 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 490.

42 ibid, 490-92.

APPENDIX

SOME FAMOUS JAIN TEMPLES AT AHMADABAD

Ahmadabad being the headquarters of the Jain community of Gujarat, there are some 120 temples belonging to this religion in the city, among which eighteen have pretensions to notice. The following, however, deserve special attention for their archaeological interest :[43]

1) The *Samat Shikhar* temple in the Mandvi Pol of the Jamalpur ward is so named because it contains a representation of Mount Parsvanath (or Samat Shikhar), situated in the Hazaribagh district of Bengal, which hill is held particularly sacred by the Jains as twenty out of their twenty-four Arhats or Tirthankaras are said to have attained *moksha* (*i.e.*, deliverance from re-birth) at that place. Those Jains who cannot make the long pilgrimage to the hill in Bengal pay their devotions to its representation here and in similar temples located at Mount Girnar and at Shatrunjaya in Saurashtra. The Jain temple in Mandvi Pol, with its floor of beautifully inlaid marble, bears an image of the Jina Parsvanath, and at one end of the central room is a large wooden representation of the hill of Samat Shikhar, standing on a plinth about three feet high and rising in pyramidal form to a height of ten feet. Little shrines are built on the semblances of numerous peaks some of which are dedicated to various Tirthankars while others are surrounded by figures of dancers and musicians. By help of an internal mechanism these little puppets dance round the temples to which they are attached. This temple was constructed about the middle of the 18th century.

2) In the Jhaveriwada quarter of Ahmadabad there are a good many Jain temples, of which two deserve to be specially noted. One is that of Adishwar Bhagwan with an image bearing the Samvat date 1666 (A.D. 1609). The original shrine was thus probably built in Jehangir's reign, but it was renewed about 1859 by Seth Lalubhai Panachand. The images belonging to this temple are placed in a shrine in an underground cellar 17 ft. square. They are three in number seated on a long marble plinth with smaller standing figures between. The central Jina represents Adishwar or Rishabhnath. Besides this, there is another temple, dedicated to Shambhavnath, which is one of the largest and oldest in the city. It has a porch, an assembly hall and a shrine, the floor of all being laid with fine marble. A flight of steps leads to an underground temple of the same size as that above ground. The objects of worship there are richly finished marble figures about twice the size of life. These shrines below ground seem to have been built to preserve,

[43] The earliest European traveller to Ahmadabad who has left us an account of his visit to the temples described in this Appendix is Henry George Briggs, who made a stay in this capital at the end of 1848 (*Cities of Gujarashtra*, pp. 232-33 and 250-53).

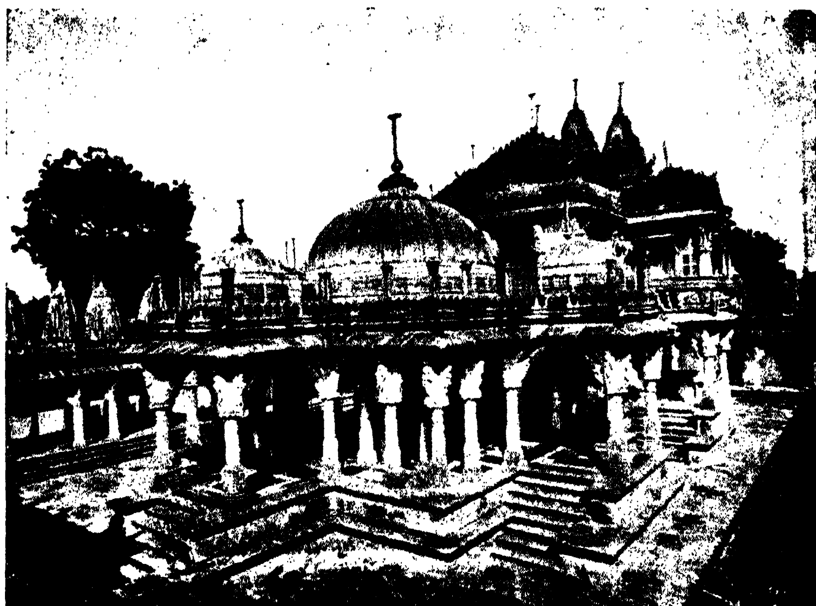
if possible, their valued images from the iconoclastic propensities of the Muslim rulers.[44]

3) Among modern structures, the most famous and most beautiful of the Jain temples at Ahmadabad is no doubt that built in the middle of the 19th century by Sheth H thisingh (the son-in-law of Sheth Hemabhai Vakhatchand, the Nagarseth) which stands beyond the Delhi Gate, on the road leading to the Shahi Bagh. It was finished, together with a large mansion close by, in 1848 at an outlay of 10 lakhs of rupees. The court of the temple is surrounded by an imposing row of cloisters containing 52 small shrines, each surmounted by a richly cut spire (*shikhara*), and these contribute largely to the imposing appearance of the outer enclosure. The temple is two-storied with elaborate porches on three sides, that in front on the east side, crowned by a large dome, being of great magnificence and most highly ornamented. The columns of this porch appear to be designed after those in the temples at Mount Abu and elsewhere. The outer and inner chambers are both paved with coloured marbles, chiefly from Makrana in Rajputana. In the inner is placed the image of Dharmanath, the 16th Jina, to whom the monument is dedicated.[45] Of this temple, Sir T. Hope writes : 'Its dimensions are of the first order, its style the pure Jaina ; and it stands a convincing proof that the native architecture has not been extinguished by centuries of repression, and that in its builder, Premchand Salat, and his co-adjutors, exists a class of practical architects capable, under due encouragement, of taking up and turning to profit the glorious legacy which their ancestors have bequeathed to them.'[46]

[44] 'It is evident', says Dr. J. Burgess, 'from the arrangement of these sanctuaries that, in time of war and pillage, a few slabs of stone or even a heap of rubbish would effectually conceal these from the search of everyone unacquainted with their position. This confirms the testimony of the Jainas that they were constructed to hide their images from the desecration of the Islamite. It is possible that the idea may have been suggested by the Cave-Temples of the Buddhists, or that old rock-cut apartments being found useful —as they probably were at Talaja and elsewhere—to hide away their gods, they proceeded to construct these cells systematically in localities where danger was likely to recur.' *Notes on a visit to Gujarat in Dec. 1869* (Bombay, 1870), 41.

[45] J. Burgess, *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, II, 85, 89.

[46] *Architecture of Ahmedabad* by Hope and Fergusson, 1866, p. 65. We may refer here to an excellent monograph, entitled *Stone Carving and Inlaying in the Bombay Presidency*, by J. H. E. Tupper, I. C. S (1906), which contains some seventeen beautiful Plates showing the interior decorations on the walls and the ceilings and the variegated marble flooring of several modern Jain temples built or renovated at Ahmadabad during the last years of the 19th century.



JAIN TEMPLE BUILT BY SHETH HATHISINGH NAGARSHETH AT AHMADABAD IN 1848
(p. 510)



PORCH IN THE JAIN TEMPLE BUILT BY SHETH HATHISINGH NAGARSHETH AT AHMADABAD IN 1848

CHAPTER XLIII

SECOND SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF AHMADABAD BY RAGHOBA AND DAMAJI, 1753

Dynastic strife at Broach, 1754-55

THE partition treaty of 1752 between Balaji Baji Rao and Damaji Gaekwad was to prove fatal to Mughal rule in Gujarat, for its immediate result was the siege and capture of Ahmadabad by the combined armies of these confederate Maratha leaders. Early in 1753, Jawan Mard Khan, who had been in possession of this capital for nearly ten years, and little apprehensive of any danger, proceeded against the zamindars of the Sabar and Banas Kantha regions for the collection of tribute. On arrival at Palanpur, the governor of this place advised him to plunder the fertile villages under Sirohi, so that he was led far to the north to a distance of 150 or 200 miles from the capital. Meanwhile, news reaching Ahmadabad that Raghunathrao had crossed the Narbada, swift messengers were despatched one after another to inform the Babi leader, and as a first precaution the gates of the city were bricked up. As on a former occasion, in 1736, the people of the suburbs and of the adjoining villages flocked in terror to the capital and sought the protection of the city-walls with their wives and children and such effects as they could carry.[1]

Crisis during Jawan Mard's absence

Having received information that Jawan Mard Khan was far away from his capital, Raghunathrao and his colleague Damaji advanced by double marches with their army, numbering thirty to forty thousand horse, and arrived at the Kankaria tank on 12 February 1753, and the next day they made their plans for the investment. The attack on the north side was entrusted to Damaji who had put up his camp in the suburb of Kajipura. The east side, with the Kankaria tank and the suburbs there, was placed under Gopal Hari, while the south and west boundaries of the capital were to be under the direction of Raghunathrao and his sardars.[2] The siege which now began lasted for only six weeks till the great capital was forced to surrender on April 1, 1753.

Ahmadabad invested: Feb. 12, 1753

1 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 494-95 (Guj. trans. by K. M. Jhaveri, Pt. III).

2 ibid, 496-97.

One of the swift messengers despatched from Ahmadabad located Jawan Mard Khan when encamped near Tharad, about 80 *kos* distant from the city, on his return march from the Sirohi district. Roused to immediate action, the Babi chief, taking a body of only 200 select troopers with him, arrived at Radhanpur after a long march, and, advancing by way of Kadi, entered Ahmadabad on Feb. 16, having forwarded all his artillery and the major part of his troops to Patan under his brother. On the night of Feb. 17, a body of 700 Marathas scaled the walls near the Kalupur gate at dead of night, but a sentinel posted there raised the alarm and they were forced to retire. At the request of Raghunathrao, Jawan Mard Khan allowed the bodies of the Marathas who had been killed in this action to be thrown over the walls to their comrades on the other side for disposal. The incident shows that conventions of this nature were observed among belligerents at this period.[3]

Attempt to scale the walls

The siege operations were now pressed by the Marathas with vigour, and the attack was specially directed against the south-east portion of the city-walls, near the Jamalpur gate, as was done during the previous siege seventeen years before. Batteries were erected and the cannon brought from Surat and Baroda were mounted upon them. Mines were carried beneath the walls, no less than twenty-two having been laid while the siege lasted, and of these several exploded, so that a bastion near the Jamalpur gate and a portion of the wall were damaged. But the breach was not wide enough to allow of an assault being effected. A party from the city, led by Sambhuram, a valiant Brahman, who was deputy to the fauzdar of the suburbs, issued from an underground exit provided near the foundation of the walls, and attacked the Maratha batteries, with many casualties on both sides.[4]

The walls near Jamalpur gate mined

Jawan Mard Khan had never been popular with the people and now his defence of the capital collapsed owing to the lack of funds to pay his troops. He tried to secure fifty thousand rupees from his officials who decided that the best way to evade payment was to deprive him of authority. Under the guise of friendly advice, they undermined his confidence to maintain the defence, and impressed upon him that it was impossible to oppose the might of the Peshwa, 'who was the hero of the age.' In this and other ways, Jawan Mard Khan was prevailed upon to open negotiations for surrender. On March 20, 1753, the deputy viceroy, Qayam Quli Khan, accompanied by several Hindu

Collapse of the defence, Mar., 1753

3 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 499-502. At this stage in his history, its author enters into a diatribe against the Marathas, describing in no complimentary terms their manners, dress, food, etc. In some improvised verses he says that they cared not for heat or cold, and were evidently made of stone and iron rather than of earth and water. (p.503). No doubt, the passing of Ahmadabad into the hands of the Marathas partly accounts for this bitter criticism by this highly polished Mughal historian.

4 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 503-04.

officials, went out of the city to initiate negotiations with Raghunathrao, who was naturally delighted at such a favourable turn of affairs, and it was arranged that Jawan Mard Khan should leave the city on receiving an amount of one lakh of rupees for the payment of his troops.[5]

Ali Muhammad Khan, as diwan, had forwarded to the court the news of the passage of the Narbada by the Peshwa's brother and the rumours circulated by the Marathas to the effect that the Peshwa had been appointed by the Emperor as the subahdar of the province. A farman in reply to this letter now arrived from the Vazir, addressed to the diwan, to the effect that orders were being issued for appointing Jawan Mard Khan as the viceroy, and that he should carry on the administration with full confidence. This farman was dated March 6, 1753, in the sixth year of Ahmad Shah's accession. When, however, the diwan proceeded with it to the residence of the *de facto* viceroy, he found that the discussions for surrender were in full swing and that the situation had deteriorated too far to be retrieved.

Imperial farman for the diwan

The details of the capitulation, signed on March 30, 1753, have been reproduced in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. They begin with the solemn pledge that the terms laid down would not be departed from so long as the Peshwa or his brother or any members of his family were alive. Jawan Mard Khan was to hold as Jagir, under his sole authority, besides the city of Patan, the following ten mahals, *viz.*, Patan, Vadnagar, Vijapur, Visalnagar, Tharad, Kheralu, Sami, Munjpur, Radhanpur, and Tharvada. No Maratha army was to enter them, nor was the Peshwa's deputy or any of his agents to have any rights there to demand grass and fodder. The proper observance of this agreement was guaranteed, on behalf of the Peshwa and Damaji, by Malharji Holkar, Appaji Sindhia, Vithal Sukhdev, and other leaders. The mahals mentioned above constituted a solid block of territory in the extreme north of Gujarat, and it is not a matter of surprise that Jawan Mard Khan agreed to abandon the capital city, which could no longer hold out, in return for these valuable districts which would constitute for him and his heirs an extensive principality. It may be mentioned, however, that, only a decade later, in spite of these solemn pledges and guarantees, his sons were deprived of all these parganas, except Radhanpur and Sami, by Damaji Gaekwad.

Terms of the capitulation; March, 30, 1753

The next morning, Raghunathrao sent over bags containing one lakh of rupees with a demand that the keys for the city-gates should be handed over. Jawan Mard Khan was at once faced with demands from his soldiers, officers and clerks for the payments due to them. The Arab troops were particularly clamant and managed to secure all the arrears

Ahmadabad surrendered; April, 1753

[5] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 504-05.

of their pay. On the same day, he vacated the Bhadra citadel and took up his residence in his ancestral family house in the city.[6] The joint rule of the Mughals and the Marathas, which had lasted for sixteen years, now came to an end. The capture of Ahmadabad by the Marathas meant the virtual collapse of Mughal rule in the province, though it dragged on for five years more, during which Momin Khan II of Cambay managed to recover the capital at the end of 1756, but ultimately he had to surrender it after holding it for fifteen months.

The Marathas assume charge

Vithal Sukhdev,[7] who had been appointed by Raghoba for the defence of the capital, entered the city on April 4 by the Raekhad gate and took possession of the Bhadra citadel. The gates, which had been bricked up during the siege, were now ordered to be thrown open. On the same day, an interview took place in the sands on the other side of the Sabarmati between Raghunathrao and Jawan Mard Khan, when presents were exchanged. The latter, thereafter, began to secure pack-animals and to make other arrangements for his departure. On April 7, Ali Muhammad Khan, the diwan, and other royal officials, such as the Sadr of the province, the Qazi, the Bakhshi, and the newswriter, all of whom were now more or less *functus officio*, accompanied by Nathusha, the Nagarsheth, Muhammad Abu Bakr, the leading Bohra of the city, and other Muslim and Hindu shroffs and merchants, waited upon Raghunathrao in his camp, and had some discussions about the future management of the civic administration. The next day, the diwan forwarded to him a statement containing the rules, regulations and procedure relating to the government of the city and its mahals, which had been in existence since the days of Aurangzeb, along with the balance in the treasury. Raghunathrao issued, thereupon, a written order in Marathi to his Shiristidars to proceed in accordance with these regulations in all matters which were presented to them for disposal. The following day, the victorious Raghunathrao entered the city in state with his army by the Delhi or Idar gate, seated on an elephant along with Damaji Gaekwad, and spent the day in the Bhadra. After sunset he returned across the river to his camp on the Sabarmati. Jawan Mard Khan sent off his establishment and family and effects to the town of Patan, escorted by

6 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 509-10.

7 His name is more correctly given by Mr. G. S. Sardesai as Vithal Shivdeo, with the surname of Vinchurkar. He was one of the ablest of the Peshwa's commanders and accompanied Raghunath Rao in his campaign in the north in 1756-57. When the Marathas entered Delhi in 1757, Najib Khan, the Rohilla leader, who had usurped power for five months, was captured with all his followers by Vithal Shivdeo. The Emperor, in gratitude for securing his freedom, rewarded him with dresses and ornaments and gave him the title of Umdat-ul-mulk with a jagir near Nasik which his descendants have held till this day. He fought at the great battle of Panipat in 1761 under Sadashiv Bhau, and was one of the few Maratha leaders who escaped from the field on that fatal day (*New History oft he Marathas*, II, 311, 396, 442).

a body of Marathas as far as Vadnagar for safety.[8] A reference to the Maratha occupation of Ahmadabad is found in a letter, dated 4 April 1753, sent by the English agent at Cambay (Robert Erskine) to the Chief of the factory at Surat (Charles Crommelin), which says :

> 'This is purposely dispatched to advise you that Kamal-ud-din Khan [Jawan Mard Khan], the Nawab of Ahmadabad, has agreed to deliver up that place to the Marathas on their paying him Rs. 1,05,000, and permitting him to leave the place with his family and effects, and the Marathas will enter the place to-morrow.'[9]

Another and a private letter from Erskine at Cambay to the head of the Surat factory was submitted by the latter to his Board at a consultation held at Surat on 12 April. In this, he was informed that the Nawab of Cambay (Momin Khan), and all the principal merchants of that place, were to go up with presents to the Maratha generals at Ahmadabad to compliment them on their taking that place, and that the English were invited to do the same. The Board decided that the absence of a representative of the English might be taken as a slight by the Marathas, and induce them to give trouble about the transport of the Company's goods manufactured at Ahmadabad and the adjacent places. The agent at Cambay was, therefore, directed to send his broker with a complimentary letter and a small present. In pursuance of these orders, Erskine reported in his letter, dated 5 May 1753, that he had despatched Edul, evidently his Parsi broker, to Ahmadabad with sundry presents to the value of nearly 200 rupees. Some days later, on 17 May, the Cambay agent wrote another letter in the same connection, which may be quoted as it shows that the relations between the Peshwa's brother and Damaji were far from being very cordial, and that, after the treaty of 1752 and the fall of Ahmadabad in 1753, the Peshwa had become the dominant partner in Gujarat, and Damaji had to submit to his directions :

Presents from the English in Cambay

> 'My last address was dated the 5th instant, since when Edul is returned from the Maratha army, having been treated by Raghunathrao with great complaisance, who gave him one parwana for the greater security of the Hon'ble Company's goods coming from Dholka and Nadiad under any of Nana's[10] governors, and another forbidding Damaji to take or plunder any English or merchant vessels on pain of his taking the strictest satisfaction ; which, I hope, will lay some restraint on his piracies[11] for the present, and, as they are not on good terms, I doubt not but he will soon totally suppress them'[12].

[8] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 510-12.

[9] Gense & Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, I. 105.

[10] The Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao was generally called Nana Saheb and he is also referred to in the English records as Nana. Edul's meeting with the Peshwa's brother probably took place at Dholka on the latter's return march from Limdi to the Mahi.

[11] The English records for 1750 refer to much damage done to the English and Dutch at Surat by Damaji's piratical fleet under the command of one Appajirao of Billimora (Gense & Banaji, op. cit., 70-72).

[12] Gense & Banaji, op. cit., 106.

Raghunathrao had encamped near the sacred site of Dudheshwar, by the riverside, on the last day of his stay near Ahmadabad, and on or about April 11, he started with his large army to demand tribute from the ruler of Limdi in Jhalavad, after appointing a Brahman named Shripatrao as his deputy to attend to the affairs of the Nizamat. The reputation of the Marathas had increased greatly in consequence of the capture of the capital, and so Raghunathrao met with no opposition, and the Chief of Limdi waited on him and agreed to pay a tribute of 40,000 rupees. As the rainy season was near, the Peshwa's brother now decided to retrace his steps for the return journey to the Deccan, and arrived at Dholka. Vithal Sukhdev, who had gone to Palanpur, and had managed to impose a tribute of one lakh and fifteen thousand rupees on its ruler, Muhammad Bahadur Khan, for payment of which Jawan Mard Khan had become surety, now returned in order to join his master. Meanwhile, Raghunathrao had advanced from Dholka to the village of Tarapur, in the Chorasi pargana of Cambay (about 10 miles distant from that port), where Momin Khan had an interview with him, and it was settled that a sum of 10,000 rupees was to be paid by him from this pargana as *ghasdana.* Several Muslim and Hindu merchants of Cambay, who had gone as far as Limdi to complain to the Maratha leader about Momin Khan's oppressions, now returned to their city with Raghunathrao, who advised Momin Khan not to harass them.

Raghoba exacts tributes

With the firm establishment of Balaji's authority in Gujarat, and in the capital city, the Gaekwad naturally takes the second place, as the Peshwa was now regarded as the head of the Maratha nation. Damaji had appointed one Sevakram as his deputy at Ahmadabad, and it was arranged that the latter should pay six thousand rupees per month as the Gaekwad's share of the expenses of the military force which was to be maintained for the protection of the city, which was placed under the Peshwa's deputy.[13] Some of the innovations now introduced in Ahmadabad were natural in he light of the fact that the city had come under Hindu rule for the first time in history since its foundation in 1411, and was no longer an Islamic metropolis as it had been for many centuries. The red standards, which had for long years been hoisted at the Kotwal's headquarters, gave place to the *bhagwa*-coloured flags of the

Peshwa's rule established

[13] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 513-16. This amount paid by the Gaekwad as his share appears to have remained constant throughout the whole period of Maratha rule in the city from 1753 to 1817 as may be seen from the following extract from a letter from J. A. Dunlop, the first British Collector of the city, to the Secretary to Government : 'The Native Establishment for the protection of Ahmadabad may be most correctly judged of from a view of their cost. The Guicawar Government paid annually to the Peshwa, as their half share of expense, the sum of seventy-two thousand rupees, so that twice this sum of rupees, *i.e.* Rs. 1,44,000 must be supposed to be annually expended for the protection of the City alone.' [B.K. Boman-Behram, *Rise of Municipal Government in the City of Ahmadabad* (1937), p. 8].

Marathas. The slaughter of cows was strictly prohibited, while bulls, buffaloes, etc., whose skin was necessary for various purposes, were to be killed only after securing due permission. The slaughter of sheep and goats, the consumption of whose flesh was, according to the *Mirat*, practised among the Marathas, was permitted except on Mondays and on the day of the *agiaras* (the 11th) of every month, and on some other holy days. A significant change was introduced in the coins minted at Ahmadabad, and it was ordered that in the circle where hitherto the *julus*, or accession year, used to be impressed, the mint should insert the figure of an elephant's goad, which was the symbol of the Hindu god Ganesh.[14]

Decay of the suburbs

We have already referred to the wanton destruction by the Marathas, and consequent desertion, of the great suburb of Shah Alam, to the east of Ahmadabad, in 1733, during the invasion led by Umabai Dabhade. Twenty more years of incessant civil strife and Maratha inroads, combined with the two rigorous investments which the capital had undergone, had by this time completed the work of the depopulation and decay of the extensive suburbs of Ahmadabad, several of which were in fact small towns in themselves. They had been well administered for many generations under Muslim rule, and a number of horse and foot soldiers used to be maintained for their protection, while the strong walls of some of them prevented raids by Kolis and other freebooters. If a dacoity happened to be committed in them, the fauzdar of the suburbs, who had his *thanas* at Nayanpur, Hajipur and Firozpur, would at once send his men to the spot to arrest or kill the robbers, so that the people lived in security. But, by 1753, as the result of the factors referred to above, these once populous and flourishing suburbs had become deserted, so that there was not a house left in them with its walls or roof intact, nor did any one know to whom it belonged. Several of the suburbs had so completely disappeared that even their names were in course of time forgotten. In the words of the historian, 'their lands had been turned into jungle in which owls had built their nests and foxes and jackals had made their haunts.'[15]

Shripatrao's domestic measures

The people residing within the city-walls of Ahmadabad had also not escaped the effects of the increase of lawlessness all around them during these years of decline and disorder. Bands of Kolis used to find entry whenever an opportunity offered itself, and they would break into and set fire to houses and terrorise the inhabitants. The Maratha governor, Shripatrao, therefore, in conformity with a well-known practice observed in the Deccan forts, had two large bells prepared, and entrusted them to the guards who were on night duty for the protection of the city. The orders

14 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 516.

15 ibid, 517-18.

were that two men on either side of the walls were to keep moving from one bastion to another ringing them by turns from nightfall to sunrise in order to keep the watchmen wakeful and to prevent robbers from entering. The mining and cannonading during the recent siege operations had done serious damage to the Jamalpur gate on the south, so that the gate had been kept closed for traffic. Shripatrao had a new gate constructed with very strong towers on either side. Among other developments, we must mention the laying out of a new suburb, outside the Raipur gate of the city, which was named Raghunathpura, and which occupied the site of an earlier suburb that had been deserted.[16]

After the capture of Ahmadabad, the Marathas were anxious to secure the two flourishing seaports of Cambay and Surat with their lucrative customs revenue. The rainy season of 1753 had been particularly heavy in North Gujarat, and, in consequence, the town-walls of Cambay had been damaged seriously at various places. Hoping to turn this factor to his advantage, Shripatrao determined to capture the city by surprise.[17] In the early hours of the morning of 24 September 1753, his troops reached Cambay, expecting to secure an entry through the portion of the walls which had been breached by the rains. They were, however, ignorant of the fact that the damage had been repaired only the day previous. An attempt to scale the walls in another direction was discovered and repelled. As the memory of the débâcle at the Kalupur gate of Ahmadabad, during the siege of that capital, was still fresh in their minds, the Marathas, after some hours of firing on both sides, retired to the suburb of Akbarpur where stood the residences of their countrymen who were stationed at Cambay. Ali Muhammad Khan, the diwan, who happened to be in the town for the marriage of his son, was sent by Momin Khan for an interview with Shripatrao (Oct. 29), and it was arranged that the Nawab should pay from the revenues of the Chorasi pargana a sum of 7,000 rupees as *ghasdana* over and above the amount of 10,000 rupees which had been forced from him by Raghunathrao.

Surprise attack on Cambay

16 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 518-19. Some idea of the summary methods of punishment adopted by the Maratha governor of Ahmadabad in 1755 is obtained from a reference in the *Mirat* to the execution by Shripatrao of a Muslim who had been arrested for helping robbers. In the same year, several Kolis, who had been captured with valuable stolen cloth, were tied to guns and blown up. (*Mirat*, 543)

17 In order that Momin Khan might not suspect his object, Shripatrao had a valuable carriage built fitted with gold and silver hangings. He gave out that it was meant as a present for Raghunathrao, the Peshwa's brother, and that he was escorting it from Ahmadabad with a body of horse and a party of 500 Mavalis. On arrival at Petlad after a few days' march, Shripatrao halted, and prepared to attack Cambay. Here Vrajlal, Momin Khan's steward, who was returning from Bombay, went to pay his respects to the Maratha governor, and suspecting Shripatrao's designs, he sent his master a warning to be on his guard against surprise. Momin Khan made every effort to repair the walls and was able to put up an effective defence. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 520-24). After three attempts to take the town had failed, the Marathas withdrew, but such had been their violence that the eleven suburbs of Cambay were almost entirely deserted and they were never again populated.

The Koli tribes near the capital, which had for some time stood in awe of the Marathas, resumed their turbulence on news of the discomfiture of the Peshwa's deputy at Cambay. Owing to the insecurity of the highroads of the province, as the result of the collapse of imperial authority, it now became the practice to employ these very Kolis to serve as protectors and escorts for the merchant-caravans and for carts carrying grain to the capital. These escorts (called *valavas*) used to conduct their charge as far as the suburbs of the capital. But as Shripatrao, on one occasion, ordered the execution of some twenty-seven of them who had taken up quarters at the suburb known as *Nava-vas*, on the charge that they had entered the city by night and committed burglaries, the Kolis adopted the practice of accompanying the caravans only as far as Vatva, which was six miles away from the city. Thus the outlaws and law breakers became useful and necessary instruments for the transport of goods and raw materials and for the safety of the lives of merchants and travellers.[18]

Kolis employed as escorts

Among the events of 1754 we find mention of the death of Qayam Quli Khan at Ahmadabad on May 5. He had been an active political and military leader at the capital since the death of Momin Khan I, and had supported first Fida-ud-din Khan and afterwards Jawan Mard Khan in the administration. He was fond of pleasure and lavish in his expenditure, and was popularly thought to be very rich, but after his death it was found that it was all a fiction, for he left very little behind him. In the same year, Nek Alam Khan II, the Nawab of Broach, died, and his brother Khertalab Khan usurped his power, and forced Hamid Beg, the son of the deceased ruler, to seek refuge in Surat, where the latter awaited a favourable opportunity to assert his claims.[19] .

Some events of 1754

As the result of a political revolution that took place at Delhi in the middle of 1754, the Emperor Ahmad Shah, the son of Muhammad Shah, was deposed and blinded, and another puppet prince of the royal line, named Aziz-ud-daulat, was placed on the imperial throne under the style of Alamgir II.[20] According to long-standing practice, the imperial vazir (Itmad-ud-daulah) forwarded official orders to the diwans of all the provinces of the Empire about the accession of the new Emperor, and a parwana to that effect was received by Ali Muhammad Khan at Ahmadabad on June 26, 1754. The diwan brought the document to the notice of the Peshwa's deputy who ordered the news to be proclaimed to the public with beat of drums. Shripatrao was himself present in the courtyard of the Jami Masjid on the following day when the *khutba* was recited with the name and titles of the new Emperor, and he presented

Accession of Alamgir II proclaimed at Ahmadabad

18 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 526-28.

19 ibid, 530-31.

20 Alamgir II (1754-59) was the son of Jahandar Shah, who had been murdered in 1713, and grandson of the Emperor Bahadur Shah, or Shah Alam I (1707-12).

a dress of honour to the *khatib*. He also confirmed, under his seal, the directions received from Delhi to the officers of the mint that rupees and gold muhrs were to be struck at Ahmadabad bearing the name of Alamgir, Badshah-i-Ghazi, on the obverse.[21] Thus, in Gujarat, as in other parts of the Empire, where Mughal rule had collapsed, the old legal forms associated with the Emperor long continued to be upheld in practice, and, though sovereign rights and the substance of power had passed to the Marathas, the Peshwas and their deputies found it politic to cloak their authority by professing to exercise the same in the name of the Emperor.

The town of Broach, which had so far escaped the civil contests for power among rival Muslim nobles, such as Surat had witnessed for nearly a quarter of a century, was in 1755 convulsed by dynastic strife.[22] It has been stated that, on the death of Nek Alam Khan II, his brother, Khertalab Khan, had taken charge of the town, while his son Hamid Beg had to seek refuge at Surat. Khertalab Khan, who was a profligate, and addicted to wine and dancing girls, did not survive his brother by more than a few months. Upon his death in 1754, a woman named Bibi Bulan, a person of great ambition and capacity, who had been the mistress of Abdulla Beg (Nek Alam Khan I), assumed authority at Broach as regent for the deceased ruler's son, Hasan Ali Beg, who was a child. After the death of his uncle, Hamid Beg began to make preparations at Surat to assert his rights, and, as the land route was unsafe, he sailed with his followers in a number of ships, provided with guns and ammunition, with the object of taking Broach by sea. Bibi Bulan, however, was equally resourceful, and a fleet equipped with war materials sailed from the river under the command of one Gulam Ali Beg, who was connected with Abdulla's family. In a spirited action that took place on the sea, fortune favoured Bulan's cause and Hamid Beg returned disappointed to Surat. He had not, however, given up his objective and bided his time.

Dynastic strife at Broach, 1755

21 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 536.

22 Combining the references to the governors of Broach and Jambusar from 1726 in the *Mirat* (Vol. II, 112, 167, 490, 531, 543-50) with the account given by J. Morley in his letter from Broach, dated 6 May, 1772 (Gense & Banaji, II, 76-77), we arrive at the following list of the Nawabs of Broach :

Mirza Abdulla Beg (Nek Alam Khan I), 1726-39

Mirza Beg (Nek Alam Khan II) 1739-54	Khertalab Khan 1754
Hamid Beg (Nek Nam Khan) 1755-69	Hasan Ali Beg (Bibi Bulan as Regent) 1754-55
Imtiyaz-ud-daulah Diler Jang, Muaziz Khan (last Nawab of Broach), 1769-72	

Having failed to obtain his object by force of arms, Hamid Beg next resorted to intrigue. He sought the help of Saiyid Abdulla, the guardian of the monastery of Saiyid Idrus at Surat, a saint to whom the Arabs resident in Gujarat towns owed spiritual allegiance. This man wrote to his deputy, who was in charge of Saiyid Ahmad Idrus's tomb at Broach, to secure the Arab troops there in the interest of Hamid Beg. The exiled noble next entered Broach in disguise and took up his residence within the sacred enclosure of Saiyid Idrus's rauza. When Bibi Bulan despatched her men for his arrest, the Arabs came forward in arms, ostensibly for the defence of their saint's tomb, and they were joined by other partisans of Hamid Beg. For three days and nights the fight lasted in the streets until a truce was secured by the intervention of moderate leaders. They pointed out to Bibi Bulan that Hamid Beg was the grandson of Abdulla Beg, the first Nawab, and they argued that, as the Marathas were masters of the district, and only the hill and fort of Broach remained in Muslim hands, it was advisable to entrust the defence of the place to the strong hands of Hamid Beg rather than allow the government to be carried on for a minor. Intrigues and armed strife, however, continued, until Bibi Bulan was defeated and made a prisoner, and all the treasure in her charge was taken hold of. Hamid Khan, having consolidated his position, next secured, through his agents at the imperial court, a royal sanad for a mansab and the title of Nek Nam Khan, as also the office of governor of this town.[23] The history of this dynastic conflict in Broach is of interest not only for the naval action between the two rival factions but also because we find a woman playing a leading political part in Gujarat history for the first time during the Muslim period.

Hamid Beg as Nek Nam Khan of Broach

Some further details about the domestic revolution which took place at Broach in 1754-55, showing how two influential Banya residents of this town were involved in the events, are available in a letter written in 1772 by John Morley, who was sent by the Bombay Government as Resident at the court of the last Nawab of Broach. According to his information, after Khertalab Khan became the Nawab, one Bhikharidas, the Desai, who was a favourite of this ruler, represented to his master that Hamid Khan was using his interest at the court of Delhi to displace him. In consequence of this, Hamid Khan (afterwards Nek Nam Khan) was ordered to remove from Broach and to retire to Surat. Morley goes on to state that, on the death of Khertalab Khan, seven months after he assumed power, his infant son, Hasan Ali Khan, then only 18 months of age, was declared his successor, and, because of his minority, Bibi Bulan, backed by Bhikha-

Rival Banyas' part in the revolution

[23] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 543-50. The name of the brave and ambitious woman, who acted as regent for the child Hasan Ali Beg, is variously read as Bibi Bulan and Bibi Bholan. John Morley, the English Resident in 1772, spells her name as Bibi Bawlon.

ridas, undertook the management of affairs. One Bhaidas Muzumdar, another resident of Broach, and a man of great wealth, who was at bitter enmity with Bhikharidas, was desirous of ruining his rival by effecting a revolution in favour of Hamid Khan. He, accordingly, prevailed upon some of the heads of the soldiery, by promises of great reward, to enter into a conspiracy against Bibi Bulan on behalf of Hamid Khan. The plan succeeded, and a change of government was effected. Hamid Khan, having thus become Nawab by the assistance of Bhaidas, readily agreed to use every means in his power for the destruction of Bhikharidas, in order to gratify the resentment of his benefactor and to revenge the insults he had himself received. As Bhikharidas had fled to Baroda in the late troubles, it was decided that the Nawab should feign a desire to be reconciled to him. The scheme succeeded, and Bhikharidas, deceived into hopes of regaining his former credit at Broach, having quitted his retreat and put himself into the hands of his enemies, was cut to pieces the moment he appeared in the presence of Nek Nam Khan.[24] Such was the information supplied to Morley nearly twenty years after the revolution, though we have no other confirmatory testimony for these events. It may be mentioned that the grandson of Bhaidas, named Lallubhai, was the chief minister of the last Nawab of Broach at the time of the latter's defeat and flight in 1772.[25]

24 Gense and Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, II, 76-7.

25 Lallubhai's political activities and other details about his career will be described in the next volume in connection with the capture of Broach by the British in 1772. He was a man of great wealth, and a ward in the town of Broach is still known as Lallubhai's *chakla*.

CHAPTER XLIV

MOMIN KHAN II RECOVERS AHMADABAD, 1756-57 :

Failure of Maratha attacks on Cambay, 1754-55

MOMIN Khan II, the son of Najm-ud-daula, became governor of Cambay in 1747 after the death of his cousin Najm Khan,[1] and, on the collapse of Mughal rule in Gujarat a few years later, he established himself as the first independent Nawab of Cambay, where his descendants held power for nearly two centuries.

Character and reer of Momin Khan II

For a full generation after his accession to power, from 1747 to his death in 1783, he plays an important part in the new political order that was establishing itself, involving the domination of the Marathas over Gujarat. But he had not his father's character or abilities and he was lacking in all the qualities that make for greatness. As the history of his long rule shows, he was harsh and oppressive towards his subjects, unscrupulous in his dealings, and disloyal and treacherous to those who served him, besides being cruel and vindictive in character. We propose to review in this chapter only the first six years of his political activities as the ruler of Cambay, during which the capture of Ahmadabad by a *coup* at the end of 1756, and its retention for about fifteen months, gives him a fictitious prominence which he little deserves. In fact, the capture of the capital was largely the result of the energy of his resourceful generals, who also deserve the credit of holding the city during the long siege by the Marathas that followed, till its final surrender by Momin Khan in Feb., 1758.

Maratha attempts to take Cambay

During the years 1753 to 1755, it appeared probable that the wealthy seaport of Cambay would share the fate of Ahmadabad and fall an easy prey to the victorious Marathas after they had made themselves masters of the capital in 1753. It has been seen how the attempt made by Shripatrao, the Peshwa's deputy, to take the city by a sudden attack during the rainy season of that year, failed in its object. We have now to consider two more attempts made by the Peshwa's officers in close succession. At the end of 1754, more than a year after the failure of Shripatrao's attack on Cambay, Momin Khan was faced with another attempt in the same direction by one Bhagwantrao, who was the *maccasdar*, or tax-collector, for the Peshwa's share of the customs at this port. Vraj-

[1] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, trans, by Jhaveri, II, 433, 450.

lal, the steward of Momin Khan, had proceeded to Poona to discuss various matters with the Peshwa, and to complain about the unprovoked attack on Cambay by the Peshwa's governor. He found that Bhagwantrao, who had preceded him to the same place, was busy impressing upon Balaji Baji Rao that the full half share of the customs revenue due to the Marathas was not being paid by Momin Khan, who showed less receipts and more expenditure. By these and other representations, the *maccasdar* secured the Peshwa's permission to remove Momin Khan from Cambay and to take possession of that city. Vrajlal managed to convey intimation of these designs to his master. When Bhagwantrao returned to Cambay, Momin Khan went out of the town to receive him, presented him with a palanquin, a richly caparisoned horse, and a dress of honour, and sent him to his residence in the suburb of Akbarpur. But Bhagwantrao began soon after quietly to engage troops, and secured the services of a military adventurer, named Jamadar Salim, with his Arab soldiers. Luckily for himself, Momin Khan was able to intercept a letter from the *maccasdar* to Salim informing the latter of the date fixed for the attack. With this proof in his hands, he proceeded at daybreak with a body of his men to Bhagwantrao's house, which he caused to be surrounded on all sides, and made the Peshwa's agent and his deputy prisoners.[2]

English Factory's letter

The events described above, including the date on which the arrests were made, are referred to in a letter from the head of the English factory at Cambay to Surat, dated 27 December 1754. It is interesting to note that the Peshwa's agent at Cambay is called the 'Maratha governor', a designation which shows the great power that he exercised. The letter says :

> 'This place at present is in great confusion, the Nawab [Momin Khan] having this morning surprised and brought prisoners into the Darbar the Maratha governor, his second, and all his officers, and has plundered and burnt his house to the ground; which was occasioned by the Nawab's intercepting some letters to the Maratha from a slave [Jamadar Salim] that was formerly kotwal at Ahmadabad, who has been strolling about the country some time with an army of 4 or 5,000 men; these letters having discovered to the Nawab some treachery these two were devising against the town.'[3]

Momin Khan's request for munitions

Momin Khan was evidently in great need of war materials for fighting the Marathas. The letter, from which we have quoted above, goes on to state that the Nawab had offered through Edul, the broker, to give the Chief of the English factory at Cambay a bill drawn on Surat or Bombay for 2,000 rupees if the English would supply him with powder and lead to that amount. The Chief asked for positive orders from his superiors before accepting the bill, adding that an evasive reply would greatly

2 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 538-41

3 Gense and Banaji, *The Gaekwads of Baroda*, I, 110.

affront the Nawab. To this, the Surat Council replied at once that they would not consent to his accepting any bill from the Nawab to purchase powder and lead for him, 'as this would be espousing his quarrel against the Marathas, which is contrary to the Hon'ble Company's orders and may be attended with ill consequences.'[4]

When news of the imprisonment of his agent Bhagwantrao reached the Peshwa, he sent urgent orders to Shankraji, the fauzdar of Viramgam, as also to Ganesh Appa, the fauzdar of Jambusar and Amod (Maqbulabad), and to the fauzdars of Dabhoi and Dhandhuka, to march immediately with their forces against Cambay and to secure the release of the imprisoned officers. Shankraji, who was the chief general, engaged Shambhuram[5] and Muhammad Lal Rohilla in his service, and arrived near Cambay, where a large Maratha army, mustering some 12,000 horse and foot, soon collected after the various fauzdars had brought up their contingents. Batteries were erected against the city and mines laid, but though the investment continued for three months, no progress was made. Shankraji had sent urgent requests to Shripatrao at Ahmadabad for help with men and munitions, but the latter was in no hurry to respond, being evidently unwilling that a junior officer should succeed in taking Cambay where he himself had failed only a year before. In order, however, to avoid discredit, he at last forwarded two guns and a body of Arab, Hindustani and Mivali troops under his peshkar (March 23, 1755). As Ali Muhammad Khan, the diwan, was on friendly terms with Momin Khan, he was called upon to accompany these troops in order that he might help to effect some settlement. On the very day that the diwan arrived at Shankraji's camp, negotiations for peace had begun through the mediation of the Amin of Petlad and of Nana Ratan, a rich banker of Jambusar, who had accompanied the fauzdar of that place. These were soon concluded, and Momin Khan agreed to release Bhagwantrao and his colleagues on condition that he would not create any disturbance in future. The *maccasdar* was, accordingly, brought out of his confinement and was provided with a dress of honour and a palanquin and taken to his residence.[6]

Siege of Cambay by the Peshwa's generals, 1755

At the end of 1755, Bhagwantrao, the Peshwa's tax-collector at Cambay, made yet another attempt to capture the town from Momin Khan and to take revenge for his previous humiliation. He secured a body of 400 troops from Shripatrao, who was in charge of Ahmadabad, and took into his pay a considerable army of Arab and Rohilla mercenaries under Shambhuram and Muhammad Lal. From his head-

Renewed hostilities against Cambay, 1755

4 Gense & Banaji, op. cit, 111.

5 Shambhuram was a Nagar Brahman of Vishalnagar who had taken to the military profession. He was a free-lance and a leader of mercenary troops and sold his services to the highest bidder. We shall find him later upholding the ambitious designs of Momin Khan II.

6 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 541-42.

quarters at Napad, he took the offensive and secured control over the whole of the Chorasi pargana under Cambay. For two months some desultory hostilities continued until Momin Khan promised to pay by instalments the sum of ten thousand rupees which he had withheld from the Maratha share of the customs revenues. Once again, the Surat Diaries come to our help in fixing the date for this second conflict with Momin Khan within eight months of Bhagwantrao's release from confinement in March, 1755. In a letter from Cambay, dated 28 October, 1755, Mr. Erskine of the English factory writes :

> 'The Maratha governor of this place, whom the Nawab plundered and imprisoned last December and released again in March (1755), having gathered together between two and three thousand men, entered the country belonging to Cambay and took and burnt one of the villages, killing some of the Nawab's people who were there as a guard: upon which he ordered the Maratha officer, who remained in the town to receive their half of the customs and revenues, to leave the place. xxx [7]

Momin Khan's plundering expeditions

In 1756, Momin Khan, who was in chronic deficit for funds to pay his troops, adopted the bold policy of sending them on plundering expeditions in all directions. As the Maratha contingents were not in great force in this year, this method was eminently successful in meeting the demands of his large army, and helped further to increase his reputation in North Gujarat. He took the port of Gogha from the Marathas and finally turned his attention to the prosperous town of Jambusar,[8] in the Broach district, where merchants from Surat and Cambay used to convey their goods by sea in order to avoid the payment of high customs duties at their own ports. The Cambay ruler was annoyed at the consequent decline in his customs revenue. Taking advantage of the fact that the Maratha fauzdar of Jambusar had gone to Poona, and that the troops left were not strong enough to offer him opposition, he induced Zalim Jalia, the Koli chief of Dehwan, to join him on promise of sharing the plunder. He then marched on the hapless town and surrounded the house of Nana Ratan, the wealthy banker of the place, who fled at the news of his approach, as also did the Deccanis. For five days Momin Khan's troops, jointly with the Kolis, were busy with the sack of the houses in Jambusar and collected all the gold and silver they could lay their hands upon. After this unprincipled and most unenviable exploit, Momin Khan

7 Gense & Banaji, op. cit., 111-13. In another letter, dated 13 Feb. 1756, Erskine states that the Marathas had come to an accommodation with the Nawab about the end of Dec. 1755 and that the cessation of hostilities had given him an opportunity to deliver into the hands of Bhagwantrao a letter from the Peshwa secured by the President at Bombay and forwarded to Erskine.

8 Jambusar is the headquarters of the taluka of the same name in the Broach district, 5 miles north of the Dhadhar river and 27 miles from Broach city. In former times, when Tankari, 10 miles south-west of Jambusar, was a port of little less consequence than Broach, Jambusar enjoyed considerable trade. Indigo was then the chief export.

returned to Cambay.[9] Encouraged by his successes against various towns and villages under Maratha control, the Cambay ruler decided to take the fortified town of Borsad,[10] some 20 miles distant from Cambay, but the place was well defended by its Maratha garrison until the siege was raised on the arrival of Damaji's son from Baroda.[11] Momin Khan's next ambitious exploit, perhaps the most brilliant, and for a time, the most successful in his career, *viz.*, the recapture of Ahmadabad from the Marathas and the retention of the capital for over a year, will now engage our attention.

Owing to the heavy rains of 1756, the extensive city-walls of the capital suffered serious damage and were breached at many places, so that Momin Khan began to entertain designs for the recapture of Ahmadabad, especially as Raghu Pandit, the deputy governor, had very few troops for its defence. Nearly four years of undisturbed possession had probably removed from the Deccani leaders any apprehension of its reconquest by the Muslims. The fact that Raghunathrao and his army were engaged near Delhi must also have encouraged Momin Khan in his hopes of success. He proceeded cautiously, and won over to his side Shambhuram, the Brahman captain, as also two other military leaders, named Muhammad Lal, a Rohilla, and Ganga Jat. They were actually in the capital, ready to offer their services to the highest bidder, and now received several thousand rupees in advance from the Cambay ruler. The Qazi of Kadi town, who was on bad terms with its Maratha fauzdar, joined Momin Khan and began to enlist Muslim soldiers (Kasbatis) in his service. The help of the Kolis of Dabhoda was also enlisted by liberal promises. Meanwhile, Raghu was not ignorant of the serious plot which the Cambay ruler was hatching. But, as it was the month of August, and the rainy season was not yet over, it was impossible to repair the breaches in the city-walls. He, therefore, ordered the Kotwal of the city to secure large beams and to close up the breaches by wooden barricades.[12]

Momin Khan's designs against Ahmadabad, 1756

Shambhuram and Muhammad Lal, the Rohilla, having perfected their plans, the conspiracy against the Marathas was put into effect. At an interview with the governor on Sept. 6, 1756, Muhammad Lal, taking advantage of the fact that there was no armed escort present, plunged a dagger into Raghu's breast, and finished him with another stroke from his sword. The responsibility for the safety of the capital now fell upon Sadashiv Damodar, the general of the army, and on Sevakram, the

Maratha governor murdered

9 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 553-56.

10 Borsad is now the headquarters of the taluka of the same name in the Kaira district. The taluka is the most thickly populated in the whole district. The Mahi river flows along its southern boundary.

11 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 559-60.

12 ibid, 561-66

deputy of Damaji Gaekwad. In spite of misgivings, they enlisted Arabs and Rohillas as professional soldiers. The Maratha governors of Kadi and Viramgam, on receiving news of these events, marched to the defence of the capital with such men as they had. The Deccani leaders at Ahmadabad also wrote to Jawan Mard Khan Babi to come to their help, which he agreed to do, and thus made common cause with his erstwhile enemies against a Muslim attempt for the recovery of the capital.[13] On the other side, Shambhuram, having effected a junction with the Kolis at Dabhoda, anxiously awaited the arrival of troops from Cambay, informing Momin Khan that further delay would be most dangerous to the success of their plans. Accordingly, a force of 500 horse and foot was put in charge of Muhammad Rashid Beg (the husband of Momin Khan's wife's sister), and despatched from Cambay on October 7. This noble was also entrusted with a sum of five thousand rupees which Shambhuram had settled for payment to the Kolis.[14]

Capture of Ahmadabad, 16 Oct., 1756

On the night of 15 October 1756, Shambhuram, taking a body of Kolis and Sindhis[15] with him, approached the city to the south-east where there were no Maratha troops stationed. Without any resistance, the party mounted the walls with scaling ladders, and, arriving at the Astodia gate, they broke open the lock, and admitted the cavalry which was led by Rashid Beg and Muhammad Lal. The Marathas posted at various bastions on the walls, without caring to ascertain the number and strength of those who had entered, fled for safety to the Bhadra citadel. When the invaders reached the Three Gates and the Karanj, the members of the Dutch Factory in the city, who had mounted guns on the roof of their building, fired some shots. But Shambhuram came up and assured them that he had no quarrel with them and that they should stop any hostile action. The Deccanis were now in great terror, for, though they had a mercenary army of nearly 2,000 foot at their disposal, they had lost confidence in its fidelity, and the entire garrison left precipitately by the wicket on the riverside of the Bhadra and abandoned the capital. Three elephants, several horses and camels and other equipment, being abandoned, fell into the hands of the victors.[16] The Marathas had held possession of the capital for three years and seven months, from April 1, 1753 to October 16, 1756.

13 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 568-73

14 The *Mirat* mentions the interesting fact that the Kolis were to be paid at the rate of eight annas per day for every horseman and two annas per day for a man on foot (p. 573).

15 These were very probably Baluchis from Sind and so Muslims.

16 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 574-78. The worst sufferers from the successful *coup* effected on behalf of Momin Khan were the shroffs and cloth merchants who found their abodes and warehouses broken open by his Koli allies and looted of all the cash and other commodities.

The news of the capture of Ahmadabad was received at Cambay the very next day, for the English Chief at that port sent intimation of the event to Surat, which, in its details, agrees in almost every particular with the entirely independent account in Persian given by the author of the *Mirat*, as reviewed above. Writing on 17 October 1756 from Cambay, Robert Erskine says :

Confirmation from the English records

'This is purposely to advise Your Worship, etc., that on the 15th at night, our Nawab's [Momin Khan's] people to the number of 1,500, who went from here to Ahmadabad on the 8th, having been joined by a number of Kolis, scaled the walls of that place with little or no resistance ; and getting possession of one of the gates, all rushed in. The Marathas retired to the Darbar [the Bhadra] and held it till about 9 o'clock yesterday morning, when they fled out of a back-gate, to the number of 4 or 500, leaving behind them 3 elephants, a number of horses, etc., so that the Nawab's people are now in full possession of the place. He himself set out from hence this morning about 3 o'clock and must be arrived at Ahmadabad by this time.'[17]

An expert horseman despatched by M. Rashid Beg on entering the Astodia gate brought the news of the success of the *coup* to Momin Khan the following day at midnight. Accompanied by a few followers, the latter took horse and proceeded to Dholka, where he was joined by Jamadar Salim and several *Kasbatis* of that town, and on the 17th morning, before the day had advanced far, he reached the capital, and took up his residence in the spacious mansion of Meher Ali Khan outside the city. All the successful leaders, including Shambhuram, Rashid Beg, Muhammad Lal and the Koli chief Hari, who had been active in bringing about this political revolution at the capital, waited on him and received suitable rewards and dresses. Shambhuram, whose services in his cause had been of the highest value, was rewarded by being appointed as deputy and chief minister with full powers.[18]

Momin Khan rides to Ahmadabad

That a Nagar Brahman of Gujarat should play so conspicuous a part in the military *coup* that had been effected at Ahmadabad was in itself an event of considerable interest, so that, just as a modern historian would do, the author of the *Mirat* gives at this stage a brief account of his early career. He was a native of Visalnagar in North Gujarat and started life as a soldier, and became vakil to Mir Abul Qasim, a famous military officer who served Momin Khan I, Najm-ud-daula. When, after the death of this viceroy, Jawan Mard Khan consolidated his authority at the capital in 1744, and held it for long, Shambhuram attached himself to the powerful military leader Muhammad Shahbaz Rohilla and rose

Career of Shambhuram

17 Gense & Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, I, 113.

18 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 580-83.

to high status under him by his abilities. After the murder of Shahbaz in 1749, he was appointed to the important post of the fauzdar of the suburbs, and rendered conspicuous service when the capital was besieged by the Marathas under Raghunathrao (1753). After the fall of the city, he enrolled 200 sepoys under himself and took service under the victors. Now, on being nominated by Momin Khan as his minister, he proceeded to make various appointments. His defence of the capital during the siege of 1757-8 will be reviewed in the next chapter.[19]

Jawan Mard befriends the Deccanis

The Maratha leaders who had escaped from Ahmadabad to Viramgam, Kadi, and various other centres met Jawan Mard Khan when he was encamped on the road to the capital and were heartened by his alliance with them. It was decided to await reinforcements from the Peshwa, and in the meanwhile to secure resources by raids on the villages of the Haveli and other parganas. Jawan Mard Khan arranged that he should be paid 1,500 rupees per day to meet the expenses of his own troops and those under his brother. As he was anxious to remain in good favour with the Peshwa, he sent a special letter to Balaji Baji Rao recounting his services. He marched first to Sanand, six *kos* from the capital, and then to Jetalpur, and next proceeded to plunder the villages of the Chorasi pargana under Cambay. Momin Khan sent Rashid Beg, Shambhuram and Muhammad Lal to Cambay with a thousand horse to oppose him and to bring with them, on their return, war materials, along with the members of his own family.[20]

Momin Khan enters the Bhadra

On Nov., 13, which was the auspicious day fixed for the purpose, Momin Khan entered the Bhadra citadel at the head of his troops, seated on an elephant, with the bands playing. The Hindu and Muslim merchants waited on the victor and presented ashrafis and rupees according to their condition. In view of the humiliating circumstances under which he had been forced to leave the city in 1744, his present triumphant return to the same must have given Momin Khan great pleasure. According to the florid imagery of our historian, "finding his much longed-for beloved (*i.e.* Ahmadabad) by his side, he said : 'I shall not readily give up hold of thee, my darling, for I have secured thee after much sacrifice of blood.'"[21] By his capture of the capital, Momin Khan could claim to be the last Muslim viceroy of Gujarat, but the authority of the central government at Delhi had now collapsed in the province. His vakils at the court wrote to him to the effect that if honours and presents sent

19 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 583-84.

20 ibid, 584-86. After their occupation of the city in 1753, the Marathas had continued to utilise the spacious Serai of Azam Khan, near the main gate of the Bhadra, as an arsenal, and Momin Khan paid the building a visit to inspect the war-materials in stock there.

21 ibid, 586-587

from the Emperor could help him to maintain his position, they would be available, but as for the rest he would have to depend on his own resources.[22]

It must not be supposed from this sudden act of vigour on the part of Momin Khan that the Muslim nobles had either the unity of purpose or the resources to combine in shaking off the Marathas. His success was the result of a careless confidence on the part of the Marathas, and of an expansion of their power so rapid that it left no time for adequate consolidation. Balaji Baji Rao was at this period the most powerful political power in all India, and under him the Maratha domination had reached its highest peak and widest extent. When news of the activities of Momin Khan, the sack of Jambusar, the murder of Raghu, and finally the capture of Ahmadabad, reached the Peshwa in rapid succession, he was greatly enraged, and he appointed Sadashiv Ramchandra as his deputy in the province of Gujarat with full authority. At the same time, Damaji Gaekwad, who shared with the Peshwa the rights over the province, was instructed to co-operate with Sadashiv along with his brother Khanderao. After arranging for a well-equipped army, they arrived on the frontiers of Gujarat in the opening days of January, 1757.[23] Momin Khan was under no illusions about receiving any imperial help to maintain his position against the forces sent by the Peshwa. But his recent successes had given him confidence, and he was determined not to abandon the capital which was actually in his hands. The majority of the city-gates were once again built up with masonry and guns were put in position on the ramparts. He had enlisted a considerable force of some 10,000 horse and foot within the city and he was further confident of securing active help from his Koli allies. Sadashiv Ramchandra,[24] on arrival with his army at the Mahi, sent him a letter advising him to give up hostilities against the might of the Peshwa, 'whose name and fame had spread through every province of Hindustan,' and calling upon him to be content with his own city of Cambay. Momin Khan, however, sent an unsatisfactory reply to this advice.[25] The siege of the capital by the Marathas that now followed lasted for 15 months and ended in driving Momin Khan out of the city.

The Peshwa sends an army

[22] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 588

[23] ibid, 589-90

[24] Sadashiv was the son of Ramchandra Malhar Shenvi (Mr. Sardesai gives his name as Ramchandra Baba Sukhthankar) who had made a name under Baji Rao I and had been appointed by that Peshwa as his agent at the court of Ranoji Sindhia. As such, he amassed vast wealth, and after Ranoji's death lived at Poona in a seven-storied house built by himself, and the fame of his donations to temples and charities spread throughout India. He died in 1754 (Kinkaid and Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, III, 8, 12-14).

[25] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 590

It appears that Damaji utilised his fleet, which had become a terror on the Gujarat coast, for the purpose of the campaign against Momin Khan II. Writing on Jan. 1, 1757 from Cambay, Robert Erskine says that the governor of that town had sent out his fleet to intercept Damaji's gallivats, 'which, he had advice, were coming to Jambusar with cannon to be employed against this place or Ahmadabad.' He further conveys the report that Damaji intended shortly to besiege Cambay or Ahmadabad with an army of eight or ten thousand men, and he asks the Chief at Surat to send him a gallivat, with a body of Topasses,[26] to remain at his disposal 'till this confusion is at an end.' Damaji evidently passed by Surat a few days before Jan. 3, 1757, for a Surat letter of this date says : 'From the infirm state of Damaji's health and the few men he had with him (which were not quite 3,000 and those very wretched creatures), when he lately passed by here, we do not think he is capable of possessing himself either of Ahmadabad or your place.'[27] This reference is particularly interesting, for, in the history of the siege of Ahmadabad that now followed, we hear very little of Damaji's activities, though he was present with his troops.

Reference to Damaji's fleet

APPENDIX

Sandstone Quarries in Idar State

At Ahmadnagar (Himmatnagar) and other places in the former Idar State, now merged in the Sãbarkantha district of Bombay State, is quarried a very superior variety of calciferous sandstone which appears to have been largely used in the construction of the mosques and temples at Ahmadabad. The cement made from the stone was equally famous, showing as bright as marble. The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* makes special reference to the white stone obtainable from the Idar quarries, and to the use of the lime for the walls and terraces of buildings. 'If employed in plastering,' he adds, 'it takes so fine a polish as to reflect the light as a looking-glass; when in the reign of Firdaus-i-Ashiani Shah Jahan, the royal buildings in the citadel of Shahjahanabad (Delhi) were built, the lime made from this stone was taken from Gujarat by the King's order, and used in their construction. The mausoleums of the Muslim saints, the temples of the Hindus, and other public works are erected with this lime ; as are also numerous canals, water-reservoirs and other like buildings.'[28]

26 Topasses was the name by which half-caste Portuguese soldiers (*mesticos*) were known to the English at this period.
27 Gense and Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, I, 113-14.
28 J. Bird's trans. of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 106 ; *Bombay Gazetteer*, V, 360 *n*.

CHAPTER XLV

THIRD SIEGE OF AHMADABAD BY THE MARATHAS AND ITS SURRENDER BY MOMIN KHAN II

(January, 1757 to February, 1758)

Dual control of the Peshwa and the Gaekwad, 1758-1817

THE powerful army sent by the Peshwa from Poona, led by Sadashiv Ramchandra, was joined, on arrival at Kaira, by the Maratha troops under Damaji, and by Jawan Mard Khan, his ally. The combined host then advanced to the capital and encamped as usual on the wide plain near the Kankaria Tank.

Last siege of Ahmadabad, Jan., 1757-Feb. 1758

The great siege of Ahmadabad was begun on Jan. 7, 1757 and lasted for nearly fourteen months, till the city was surrendered by Momin Khan at the end of Feb., 1758. The strength of its defence lay in the formidable walls and their extensive circumference of over five miles, which prevented an attempt at assault and enabled supplies and provisions to be secured by the garrison for many months. But the Deccanis persisted doggedly, even during the rains, till ultimately the exhaustion of his finances and the starvation of the garrison, due to the Maratha grip on all sides, forced Momin Khan to surrender. Though three years later, in 1761, Mughal hopes of recovering the province and its capital were revived after the Maratha disaster at Panipat, the latter were too strongly established to be dislodged. The Peshwa retained the capital of Gujarat for about sixty years, from 1758 to 1817, when it passed into the hands of the British on the eve of the downfall of Baji Rao II. The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* devotes more than fifty pages to a detailed account of the prolonged investment of 1757-8, which, in its vivid and interesting presentation, and its sober commentary, would do credit to the best historical works of our own day.[1]

The system of imposts revived

Within three months of the commencement of the siege, Momin Khan's troubles over the payment of his large contingent of troops began. As the Haveli or home pargana was now under Maratha control, he had lost the income derived from its villages. Moreover, the revenue from the various markets and departments (mahals) within the capital had gone down substantially owing to the decline of trade and industry. Shambhuram, who was the chief minister and adviser in all matters, found no alternative but to resort to illegal impositions (*vero*) on the citizens to

1 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol. II, Guj. trans. by K. M. Jhaveri, Pt. IV, 590-650.

secure the amount required, and thus recovered nearly one lakh of rupees from the shroffs and merchants, both Hindu and Muslim. Those who used to serve as informants, and were well versed in all the nefarious methods associated with these levies, again found a field for their activities. Four times in as many months the detested *vero* was levied on the citizens. The houses of those who had managed secretly to leave the city were forced open by the tax-collectors, and their effects were purchased by the Kolis to be disposed of at a profit in the neighbouring villages. A great quantity of copper and brass utensils was found by Shambhuram's agents in the houses which they had entered, and those of copper were melted down and converted into coins for paying the troops.[2]

The night of June 11, 1757 saw the first burst of the monsoon with heavy rains and lightning so that the Deccanis had to abandon their forward batteries near the city-walls and to retire to the protection of their main camp. They had fully utilised for their purpose the two mosques known as Sidi Bashir's and Afzal Khan Bimbani's,[3] located outside the Sarangpur gate, and Momin Khan had been in constant anxiety on this account. He took advantage of the Maratha withdrawal and ordered both masjids to be demolished in order to prevent them from being reoccupied. Some twenty years before this (1736), when his father and Damaji had laid siege to the capital, which was held by Ratansingh Bhandari, the latter had arranged to destroy Afzal Khan Bimbani's mosque for the same reason. But Momin Khan I had anticipated this action by sending his officers to erect batteries at both these masjids. 'Blessed be Allah,' says our historian, 'it was destined that these two beautiful mosques, which were memorials of the great nobles of the age of the Sultans, should now be demolished by Najm-ud-daulah's son.' But the work of breaking them down did not prove an easy one owing to their solidity. Momin Khan gave orders, therefore, to have them filled with wood and other combustible materials and then set on fire. The intense heat loosed the fine cement by which the stone blocks had been held together, and it was not then difficult to bring them down.[4]

Two fine mosques demolished

2 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 598-600. The Arab Jamadar Salim, one of Momin Khan's officers, who had a large number of followers, was approached by the Marathas with offers of heavy bribes. Though a mercenary leader, he was loyal to his master and conveyed to him information of these overtures. Later, the Marathas tried to detach Shambhuram from the side of Momin Khan by tempting offers, but they failed again to win him over. (*Mirat*, 601-03 ; 608).

3 For an account of the career of Afzal Khan Bimbani, a noble of the reigns of Sultan Bahadur Shah and Sultan Mahmud III, and of his mosque and tomb, see Vol. I, 392, 433-34. The masjid has been rebuilt in recent times (Vide J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, II, 82).

4 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 606. The fine tall minarets of Sidi Bashir's mosque may still be seen outside the Sarangpur gate near the Railway Station at Ahmadabad. They are among the famous 'shaking minarets' of this city (See Vol. I, 109-10).

There was a considerable element among the citizens in the capital which was anxious to see the Marathas in possession of the city. They pointed out to the invaders that the Khanpur gate on the Sabarmati had not been bricked up, because of the necessity for fetching water, grain and grass into the city, and that its doors being very old could be forced open by the elephants. Accordingly, on the night of August 25, 1757, a body of Maratha horse and foot, with three *must* elephants, and armed with ladders, arrived and began to mount the walls at this corner. It happened, however, that a number of Kolis reached the spot about the same time with their loads of grain and fodder. As a result of the uproar, the guards on the walls and the Arabs placed at the Khanpur gate were roused to their danger, and the Marathas had to retire after some hours' fighting. (Aug, 1757)[5]

Abortive attack at the Khanpur Gate

The party that probably reaped the greatest advantage from the prolonged investment of Ahmadabad by the Marathas was that of the Kolis who lived at Dabhoda and the adjoining villages. They used to supply large quantities of grain and fodder to those within the walls, often at great personal risk, but at the price of thirty times the original rates. The fact that the Koli chiefs had established themselves even within the Bhadra citadel, provokes the author of the *Mirat* to bewail the fact that these erstwhile robbers had now made their home in the quarter where imperial princes and great amirs of the Empire used in former times to reside. Dressed in pyjamas made of *mashru* and *kinkhab*, with turbans embroidered with bands of gold and silver, in a style undreamt of by their forefathers, and with golden ornaments on their necks and arms, and precious jewels in their ears, they used to move about the streets of the city scrutinising minutely every house with a view to visiting the same at night for their sinister purpose. A particularly striking figure in Ahmadabad at this time was the Koli chief Hari Kotwal, who, being employed as shiristedar to Shambhuram, thought himself his master's equal and partner. Seated on his horse, he used to take his stand at the corners of the main streets, putting on the airs of a person of great weight, and with a smiling face assuring the citizens of protection, and advising them to carry on their avocations without any fear.

The Kolis of Dabhoda make hay

The worst sufferers from Momin Khan's *coup*, which had invited the Maratha invasion and the siege of the capital, were the hapless citizens. We have already referred to the loss of their trade and business, and to the heavy exactions which mulcted them of their property and often deprived them of personal liberty. Starvation from lack of essential food supplies now began to stare them in the face. Owing to the Maratha ring-fence round the city, only such grain as was brought by the Kolis

Exodus of the population

5 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 608-10

in sacks on their heads was available for feeding the population, and its price rose to five or six *sers* per rupee. Those of the poorer sort decided to abandon their homes, and collected in large numbers near the Raepur gate which was the most convenient for their flight. They were a destitute crowd, including women with the *charkha* on their heads and children in their arms, and all emaciated with hunger and without any means of livelihood. The Arab Jamadar at this gate, Haji Mubarak, had a sense of humanity and decided to let them go in all charity. When others in the city, Hindus and Muslims, who had hid themselves for fear of being arrested, saw the possibility of escaping by this gate, they changed their garments, and getting themselves mixed up with the crowd of destitutes, began to leave in large numbers. On hearing of this practice, Shambhuram had his principal tax-gatherers stationed at the gates to see that people did not carry away their cash and valuables, or that those who had not yet paid the taxes imposed on them did not escape. When, after all these hardships, the people were out of the gates, the Deccanis used to turn them away from the proximity of their camps.[6]

Plight of the refugees

In some respects, the people of the capital were in this investment exposed to greater misery than they had been during the great siege that had taken place twenty years before (1736-37). At that time, many of the suburbs were still in a flourishing condition and the houses there were available to give shelter to refugees from the city. The Marwadi officials of Ratansingh had also not subjected them to such indignities as on this occasion; nor had the besieging leaders harassed those who came out. But now, in the season of intense cold that followed, the immigrants to the *puras* found not a house left intact to give them refuge, and had nothing but the bare earth to sleep upon, with only the skies for a covering. To make matters worse, fever and pestilence broke out and took a heavy toll of life from all classes. Many families were in this epidemic wiped off completely. It was believed that, of all those who left the city, barely a third part ever returned to their homes after normal conditions had been restored.[7]

Desertions from Momin Khan's army

In spite of all his exactions, fines and confiscations, Momin Khan was in chronic want of funds to pay his troops, whom he had enlisted on high terms, and he was in arrears for large amounts. His men had now lost confidence in his ability to stand out, and, being half starved for food, and without proper fodder for their horses, they began to desert in large batches

6 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 615-17

7 ibid, 617. About this time (Sept. 1757), taking advantage of the fact that Raghunathrao was encamped with his army near Delhi, Momin Khan's vakil at the capital, with the consent of the chief vazir, tried to secure a settlement on the basis of an equal division of the province. Momin Khan was asked to provide funds for these negotiations, and, with the help of Shambhuram, he secured by force *hundis* to the value of 20,000 rupees from the leading shroffs and merchants and forwarded them to Delhi, But Raghunathrao declined to discuss the proposals (*Mirat*, 617-18).

and to leave for their homes while the roads were still open to them. Hari Kotwal, the Chief of the Kolis of Dabhoda, who had joined Shambhuram with a large body of his followers, left the city on some pretext and was soon after followed by the rest of the Kolis.[8] Taking advantage of the disaffection in Momin Khan's camp, Damaji Gaekwad issued a proclamation offering service to all soldiers who desired to join his camp (Oct., 1757). By this time only 3,000 troops were left for the defence of the city.[9]

The blockade extends to the river side

The Marathas had for ten months concentrated their blockade to the east and south-east of the city. They now felt strong enough to cut off the west or river side of the capital also, and with this object Damaji sent troops to occupy the village of Kochrab on the north bank of the Sabarmati. Momin Khan made desperate efforts to keep this vital line of supplies open, and, in November 1757, he sent an able officer, with the entire force of the Rohillas and several guns, to drive out the Marathas, and the attack was covered by the artillery from the walls. But, in a battle that took place on the sands of the river, he failed to effect his object. Momin Khan, who had been watching the battle from one of the bastions of the city-walls, must have been terribly disappointed. The Raekhad gate, which had hitherto been kept open for bringing in supplies, had now to be bricked up. Sadashiv Ramchandra sent Jawan Mard Khan, with his troops, to the ford at Wadej on the river, with instructions to control the whole area between that village and Naurangpur; while a third officer was despatched to hold the routes at the Shahi Bagh. They dug trenches into the roads, and filled them up with thorns and other rubbish, and so closed them for all traffic.[10] The Maratha girdle round the city became practically complete at the end of 1757, and Momin Khan soon realised that the game was lost.

Misery of high-born ladies

These fresh developments in the very last months of 1757, coupled with the fact that the siege had been prolonged for nearly a year, plunged the people still resident in the capital into despair. Many of them had continued in the hope that their stocks would enable them to carry on with reduced rations. The knowledge of the misery and humiliation suffered by members of the poorer classes, who had migrated some months before, also made them keep to the safety of their own homes within the walls. But now conditions had altered for the worse, and their patience was exhausted, while their stocks of grain and provisions had run out. 'Many highborn ladies,' says our historian, 'who had always been in *purdah*, who had never moved out of the zenana, and had never looked at a stranger's face, now left the capital by the exit near the Raekhad

8 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 622
9 ibid, 625-26
10 ibid, 626-29.

gate, and had to wait long hours in the hot sands of the river before permission could be secured to pass the Maratha entrenchments.' Sevakram, who had been Damaji's deputy at Ahmadabad, and who knew several of these families, gave them such help as he could. But the ladies had to undergo much indignity when searched for money or jewellery, which, if found, was taken away. When there was any delay in securing the permit to proceed, these fugitives had to remain in the sands hungry and starving until they were allowed to go (Dec., 1757).[11]

The Sufi noble Shah Nur intercedes with the Peshwa

With the opening of the year 1758 we reach the final stage of the siege of Ahmadabad. An uncommon messenger of peace now appears on the scene in the person of a distinguished Mughal nobleman from Delhi who had renounced the world and was on his way to Mecca. This was Hasan Quli Khan, who for long had held a high position at the court, and who used to be consulted on all state matters by the grand vazir Safdar Jang and by the leading nobles. Being distressed at the progressive decline of the Empire, and in view of his advancing years, he decided at last to retire from all worldly contacts, and assumed the guise of a faqir under the name of Shah Nur. When he visited Shuja-ud-daulah, the son of Safdar Jung, who was viceroy of Oudh, to take his leave, the latter made a request that, as he was going to Surat in order to embark for the Hejaz, he might render him a service by visiting the court of Balaji Rao at Poona, and arrange to establish friendly relations between them, so as to prevent the invasion of Oudh territories by the Peshwa's armies which had overrun all Hindustan.[12]

He brings peace terms to Momin Khan

In due course, Shah Nur arrived at Poona where he was welcomed by the Peshwa with great honour. Here he learnt the details about the progress of the great siege of Ahmadabad and was anxious to help a Muslim brother in difficulties and to secure a settlement. He decided that, as he was bound for the port of Surat, he might as well proceed to Ahmadabad, and there by his personal efforts bring about some compromise. With that object he secured an undertaking from the Peshwa to allow Momin Khan to hold both Cambay and Gogha with a payment in addition of one lakh of rupees for his expenses. Armed with these terms, he arrived outside Ahmadabad on January 11, 1758, where he was given a suitable welcome by Sadashiv Ramchandra in his camp. The next day, Momin Khan sent Rashid Beg to meet the pilgrim envoy and to convey him inside the city-walls. The news of his arrival spread all over the city, and the popular expectation of peace rose so high that the dealers, who had raised the price of grain to a rupee and a half per *ser*, now released their stocks from the black market and grain began to be freely sold at four and five *sers* per rupee. Momin Khan paid a visit to Shah Nur, taking with him Shambhuram and Muhammad Lal.

11 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 629-30.
12 ibid, 636-37

He argued that conditions better than those which were now produced had been declined by him before, for, besides Cambay and Gogha, which he already held, some additional territory along with three lakhs of rupees had also been included in previous offers. But if now, over and above these, he was given several villages in the Petlad pargana, which were adjacent to Cambay, he would be willing to come to terms. Shah Nur pointed out to him the hopelessness of his cause, with starvation facing his army and the citizens ; and he also argued that Sadashiv Ramchandra, who was confident that the city must surrender before very long, had reluctantly given him permission to proceed with his mission in deference to the Peshwa's commands. But Momin Khan turned a deaf ear to his arguments, and Shah Nur left the city on January, 15 for his journey to Surat.[13]

Rumours to the effect that orders had arrived at Ahmadabad from the Peshwa to negotiate for peace reached Cambay within a few days of Shah Nur's arrival at the capital. The *Surat Diary* entry for 16 January 1758 refers to a letter from the Cambay agent which says :

Rumours of peace reach Cambay

'We have now current reports here of a reconciliation negotiating between the Marathas and the Nawab of Gujarat, and these (are) related with such other circumstances as give the reports a face of credibility. It's confidently affirmed that there are arrived in the Maratha army several horsemen with positive orders from the Nana [Balaji Rao] to the heads of these forces to compromise their differences with the Nawab, and to grant him the same conditions his father formerly had in the possession of that place, that is, one half of the revenues he shall enjoy, and the other to be collected by such persons as the Nana shall choose to appoint in his own behalf, so that we are in daily expectation of seeing an end to these disturbances.'[14]

Another entry in the *Surat Diary* twelve days later, dated 28 January, records the receipt of a letter from Cambay to say that no reconciliation between the contending parties had yet been effected at Ahmadabad, 'and this delay is imputed to the peace said to be lately made between the Nana and Salabat Jang, so that it is now reported that the Marathas insist on the Nawab's relinquishing Gujarat [*i.e.* Ahmadabad].' The letter adds that as Momin Khan, in spite of his difficulties, 'does not relax in the least from his former demands, we have yet but little hopes of seeing a speedy end to these disturbances.'[15]

[13] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 638-45.

[14] Gense & Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, I, 116. This rumour of a compromise that would restore the system of 'double rule' at Ahmadabad, such as existed from 1737 to 1753, is, however, not supported by the account in the *Mirat* given in the preceding paragraph.

[15] ibid, 116.

As often happens with beleagured towns, Momin Khan's defence of Ahmadabad collapsed very suddenly within a month after the departure of Shah Nur. There was not enough food left for the troops, and they began to desert in large bodies, scaling the walls with the help of ropes and escaping to the other side. Sadashiv Ramchandra also made it publicly known that all who left the capital would be given shelter at the suburb of Saraspur, and thereby relieved them of any anxiety about falling into the hands of the Deccanis. Momin Khan at last realised the necessity of securing a settlement, and invited Damaji Gaekwad, who had once been his father's friend and ally, to serve as a mediator. His peshkar, Vrajlal, who was experienced in all diplomatic matters, was sent out of the city on 21 February 1758 to conduct the negotiations with the Gaekwad. It was finally settled that Momin Khan should receive one lakh of rupees, after deducting from this amount the sum of thirty thousand which had been offered as a bribe to Jamadar Salim in the early months of the siege, and which the latter had handed over to his master. Among other conditions, the Peshwa was to receive, as formerly, half the customs duties of the port of Cambay, and Momin Khan was to surrender Gogha and to deliver up Shambhuram to the Deccanis. Vrajlal returned after four days with these terms properly attested, the observance of which was guaranteed by Damaji under his sign and seal.[16]

Momin Khan sues for terms

After a siege that had lasted for fourteen months, Momin Khan surrendered Ahmadabad to the Marathas, on February 27, 1758, under circumstances that were in many respects similar to those in which Jawan Mard Khan had handed over the capital to Raghunathrao in 1753. Both these Muslim nobles were free henceforth to establish their independent sway in their hereditary jagirs. Momin Khan received an advance payment of ten thousand rupees to make preparations for his journey, after Muhammad Nur, the thanadar of Kāli fort, had surrendered that place to the Deccanis ; the rest of the amount was to be handed over to Vrajlal as soon as his master had left the city. Bapaji Harpal and Baburao were appointed with their men to escort Momin Khan as far as Cambay in safety. Shambhuram, who had evidently fallen out with his master, was now in disgrace. He tried in vain to send away his family to some place of safety, but was foiled in the attempt, and he was practically forced to remain a prisoner in his own house near the Sarangpur gate. After forwarding his family and equipment in advance, Momin Khan left the capital accompanied by his Arab and Rohilla troops and their leaders, *viz.* Salim, Muhammad Lal and Ganga, the Jat.[17]

Ahmadabad surrendered, Feb. 27, 1758

16 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 647-50.

17 ibid, 651-53.

The news of the surrender of Ahmadabad reached Cambay the very next day, and the exactness of the chronology of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* is once again verified by the following letter, dated 28 February 1758, sent by Robert Lambert from Cambay to Brabazon Ellis, the Chief of the factory at Surat :

English agent's letter on the subject

> 'At last, the Nawab has delivered up Gujarat [*i.e.* Ahmadabad] to the Marathas and is come with his army, his family and effects to a village ten miles distant from hence, and will to-morrow enter Cambay. I as yet learn no certain information on what condition he and the Marathas have settled. xxx These are the reports we hear, but thus much is certain that the Nawab has lost that place entirely through the differences between himself and his Diwan, who was the chief author of his taking Gujarat, and who also maintained himself there in a power superior even to that of the Nawab.'[18]

The reference made above to Momin Khan's differences with his Diwan in the closing days of the siege of the capital is interesting. The person so indicated is not Ali Muhammad Khan, the nominal imperial diwan of the subah, but the Nagar Brahman Shambhuram, who had been mainly instrumental in the capture of Ahmadabad in October, 1756, and who exercised during the siege unbounded authority. The author of the *Mirat* shows little sympathy for him after his fall, and refers to him as 'the rascal Shambhuram,' in describing his attempts at escape which were cut off by the Marathas.

In another letter on the subject, written three weeks later, and dated 20 March 1758, Robert Lambert conveys the correct information about the conditions upon which the Nawab Momin Khan had settled with the Marathas. 'It is now public,' says the chief, 'that he also has delivered them up all Gogo and granted them a half share in the Cambay government.' That this share of the Peshwa in the revenues of Cambay should be described by the English agent as 'half share in the government' is significant as indicating the political grip which in practice the Peshwa's deputies were able to hold henceforth over the rulers of Cambay. The agent puts it more bluntly in the same letter :

The Peshwa's share in Cambay

> 'In a few days we expect the Maratha pandit, who is to stay here with a power equal, if not superior, to the Nawab's; and, as it will be needful for me to make him some present on his arrival, and also to give something to the Nawab on this occasion of his return, I beg your permission to comply with what has been a rule in similar cases'.[19]

18 Gense & Banaji, op. cit., I, 117.

19 ibid, 117

On the day that Momin Khan left for Cambay after the surrender of the capital (Feb. 27, 1758), Damaji Gaekwad entered the city by the Jamalpur gate and put up at Jamadar Salim's house near the same, while Sadashiv Ramchandra arrived at sunset by the Khanpur gate on the Sabarmati. After appointing Baburao as the Kotwal, and putting guards at the gates, which were now thrown open, they returned to the safety of their respective camps. With the opening of the gates, large stocks of grain began to pour into the city. Those citizens who had fled from the capital gradually returned to their deserted homes, but they were filled with distress when they found that these had been broken open and their effects removed by their relatives in order to pay the imposts levied on the owners. Many who died after their flight had left no heirs or survivors. To add to the misery, pestilence now broke out in the city, which lasted for three months and carried off large numbers.[20] The symbols of Hindu rule also reappeared. The figure of the elephant's goad, sacred to Ganesh, the impression of which on the coins had been prohibited by Momin Khan, was now restored.

Hindu rule restored at the capital

The leading Hindu and Muslim merchants of Ahmadabad waited on Damaji and later on Sadashiv Ramchandra in their camps, hoth of whom reassured them and presented them with turbans and scarves. On March 5, Ali Muhammad Khan, the diwan, accompanied by the Qazi, the Bakhshi, and other officers, called upon Sadashiv, who passed orders that the system of administration laid down by Raghunathrao in 1753 should continue. After appointing Naru Pandit as his deputy in charge of the city, Sadashiv left on March 11 for collecting tribute. Jawan Mard Khan, who had, after the surrender of the capital, paid formal visits of friendship to Damaji and Sadashiv, broke up his camp at Wadej and departed for his capital at Patan. By Damaji's orders, Shambhuram and his son were put under custody with iron chains on their feet, and, when the Gaekwad soon after left the capital to bathe in the Narbada to fulfil a religious vow, he took them to Baroda in his train and put them in prison there. Subsequently, by the Peshwa's orders, they were removed to Poona, and this is the last reference we have to this Gujarati Brahman free-lance who had rendered loyal service to his Muslim master at a most critical period. It may be mentioned, however, that along with two of his colleagues, Chhamu and Kesarising, he had been instrumental in levying heavy imposts on the citizens, and in confiscating their properties, to meet Momin Khan's financial

Fate of Shambhuram

20 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 653-54. About this time, Damaji Gaekwad had a way built in the open area at the back of Salim's house, in which he had put up, and he utilised for its construction the stones of Sidi Bashir's masjid which had been demolished by Momin Khan during the siege of the capital. The author of the *Mirat* remarks that the benevolent object of the builder of the mosque was a second time fulfilled, for the stones were utilised again for a work of charity. Those left over were used in repairs to the city-walls (pp.656-57)

needs, and that he had become so unpopular that his fate evoked no sympathy in the capital.[21]

With the final capture of Ahmadabad in 1758, the sovereign authority over the city passed to the Peshwa and it was exercised by successive Sursubahs sent by him from Poona. Damaji, however, appears to have been allowed certain rights and privileges. This may be seen from the following extract from a letter, dated 8 Aug., 1814, from Captain J. R. Carnac, then Resident at Baroda, to the Bombay Government at the time of the negotiations for the resumption by the Peshwa from the Gaekwad of the farm of Ahmadabad after it had been in operation for fifteen years from 1800 to 1814. The 'Treaty' referred to in Capt. Carnac's letter presumably refers to the agreement reached between the Peshwa and Damaji when their dual control was established in 1758 after the surrender of the city :

Dual authority at Ahmadabad

'On the division of territory consequent to the treaty with Damaji Gaikwad, the city of Ahmadabad became subject to the Peshwa's authority generally, the Gaekwad enjoying an equal participation in the revenues of the town and in the administration of justice. A place of residence was allowed for the local managers of each Power under the denomination of Haveli (which are inner places of defence attached to the fort itself)[22], and the charge of one gate out of twelve devolved on the Gaikwad Government.'[23]

When, on 23 October, 1814 (Dussera day), the Fort of Ahmadabad was restored by the Gaekwad to the representatives sent from Poona to resume charge of the Peshwa's share in the city of Ahmadabad, on the expiry of the lease of the farm, the Gaekwad's officer (Kusbaba Mama) submitted to the British Resident at Baroda a Paper in which were enumerated the rights and privileges which the Gaekwad would still continue to enjoy in the administration of the affairs of that city. In forwarding a translation of this paper to Bombay, Capt. Carnac observes that its contents were not objected to by the Peshwa's officers, who merely observed 'that the same privileges which the Gaekwad enjoyed during former times would hold good at the present day.' We give below some of the more important clauses in this document. It will be noticed that they bear a close resemblance to the treaty made between Rangoji and Momin Khan I in 1738 at the time of the esta-

Rights and privileges of the Gaekwad

21 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 653, 655-56. It is not to Momin Khan's credit that, in the arrangements entered into at the time of the surrender, no stipulation was made in favour of Shamhuram, who had so bravely and faithfully assisted him throughout the siege.

22 The fort refers to the Bhadra citadel. The Gaekwad's haveli is in the Raikhad locality. The Peshwa's haveli built by Aba Sheluker in 1800 was pulled down in 1862 as it was considered unsafe.

23 Gense and Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, IX, 19.

blishment of the joint rule of the Mughal viceroy and Damaji Gaekwad in the capital :[24]

a) The Gaekwad was to have two beraks, one on the Raipur and the other on the Jamalpur gate, and the keys of these gates were to remain in the hands of his representatives.

b) All troops, their attendants, etc., belonging to the Gaekwad were to be permitted to pass through the Raipur gate.

c) A sepoy from the Gaekwad's government should remain in each of the 17 chabutras (police stations) of the city.

d) Should either the Peshwa's or the Gaekwad's officers require the attendance of any person, a karkun and a sepoy from each side should proceed to summon him ; in like manner, if any person was to be released from confinement (with the consent of both sides), the officers of both should proceed to do so.

e) All sums received from the taxes collected in the city, and also the profit from the mint, to be equally divided by the Peshwa's and the Gaekwad's authorities.

f) The causes preferred in the Court of Justice (*adalat*) to be decided by the consent of both authorities (a karkun and a sepoy being always present in that court on behalf of the Gaekwad).

g) All persons desirous of taking up their abode in the city to obtain the consent of both authorities for that purpose.[25]

Such, in the main, were the political, fiscal and judicial privileges enjoyed in the city of Ahmadabad by the Gaekwad from the time of the final capture of the city in 1758 to the end of Maratha rule over this capital in Nov., 1817.[26]

Ahmadabad, a desolate capital in 1758

From the date of its foundation by Sultan Ahmad Shah in 1411, Ahmadabad had been not only the metropolis of Gujarat, but it also took rank among the most famous capital cities of India as a great centre of population and of commercial and industrial prosperity. But its fortunes began to decline after Hamid Khan's alliance with the Marathas in 1725 and Umabai Dabhade's invasion in 1732. The two great sieges of 1736 and 1757, in particular, were destructive of its wealth and population. Its once extensive and flourishing suburbs became desolate; its citizens fled to disperse in all directions ; and its industrial prosperity received a shattering blow. It was thus only a shadow of its former self when the Maratha overlords of Gujarat again raised the Bhagwa banner at the Kotwal's office near the Bhadra Citadel in 1758. In the same depressed and neglected condition did the city continue for the next sixty years until it passed into British hands at the end of 1817.

[24] See *ante*, Chapter XL

[25] Gense and Banaji, op. cit., IX, 26-27.

[26] Between 1800 and 1814, during which period the Peshwa leased to the Gaekwad his share of Ahmadabad, the latter enjoyed complete control over the administration of the city.

CHAPTER XLVI

EVENTS IN NORTH GUJARAT FROM THE FALL OF AHMADABAD TO 1761

Activities of Sadashiv Ramchandra and his deputy Santoji

AS stated in the last chapter, Momin Khan II, after the victorious entry of the Maratha generals into Ahmadabad in Feb., 1758, left the capital for Cambay. On arrival at that town he put up in the beautiful garden of Muhammad Baqir, outside the walls, and entered the city secretly at night with Abdulla Zubedi, his general, and his Arab jamadars. At his request, Bapaji Harpal and Baburao, who had escorted him with a body of the Marathas, remained encamped near the city for a day or two, so that their presence might prevent Momin Khan's troops from rising into a tumult to demand arrears of pay when they found that he had closed the city-gates and given them the slip. As a sum of eighty thousand rupees was due to the Rohillas, their leader, Muhammad Lal, requested Momin Khan that, if he would provide only twenty thousand of this sum, he would arrange to satisfy the men about the balance. He was invited to an interview, but being warned of treachery, he escaped to the Koli village of Dehwan on the Mahi. Momin Khan's Peshkar, Vrajlal, now arrived at Cambay, along with the Peshwa's deputy, bringing with him the balance of the amount of one lakh of rupees which had been settled to be paid to the Cambay ruler. During his stay, Vrajlal was fatally attacked in the streets one night by a body of bravos hired for the purpose by his enemies, who spread the report that the murder had been instigated by Momin Khan.[1]

Momin Khan II returns to Cambay

Even before his successful *coup* had made Momin Khan master of Ahmadabad, he had acquired a bad reputation at Cambay by his oppressive measures which had twice forced the leading citizens to leave the city as a protest. His misfortunes had evidently not taught him moderation, and, when he now returned to Cambay as its independent ruler, he revived the evil traditions of his former rule, and alienated not only the wealthy merchants but also his own military officers who had stood by him during the long ordeal of the siege of Ahmadabad. Another trait of his character was that he could not be trusted to keep his word and his most solemn assurances failed to inspire confidence. Among those who thought that

His policy of extortion

[1] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 657-60.

their lives or their wealth were threatened by his machinations, the first to seek safety in flight, after the murder of Vrajlal, was a rich merchant named Zahid Beg, who used in former days to give large sums as loans both to Najm Khan and to Momin Khan to meet their needs. Having heard that the latter had evil designs against him, he left the city with his family under the pretext of going to stay in his private garden outside the walls. On arrival at Petlad, he was received with much respect by Sadashiv Ballal, the Maratha governor of the place, who offered him tents and other necessary supplies, and helped him to continue his journey to Ahmadabad by providing him with armed guards for his safety. The next to become suspicious of Momin Khan's designs was Muhammad Hashim, his Bakhshi, and one of his closest companions, who, pretending sickness, quietly stayed away from attending the darbar. Momin Khan came up personally to his house to reassure him, declared that he would stay as his guest, and at night took an oath with his hands on his son's head that he meant no harm. Though for a time resuming his former station, Muhammad Hashim felt little at ease, and took an early opportunity to escape from the city, with his brother, along with a party of horse which had been kept ready for the purpose, and was well received at Petlad by its Maratha governor (June 2, 1758).[2] In vain did Momin Khan send him a letter written with his own hand imploring him to return.

While Zahid Beg, the opulent merchant, and Muhammad Hashim, the Bakhshi, had thus managed by timely flight to put themselves out of reach of Momin Khan's exactions, another official, the Arab Jamadar Salim, was less fortunate. He had long attached himself to the nobles who had held power in Gujarat, and expected to spend the rest of his life in the company of his present master. For nearly ten years he had served under Jawan Mard Khan Babi, and though, after the capture of the capital by Raghunathrao in 1753, he had retired to Dholka, he had been summoned to join Momin Khan when the latter established himself at Ahmadabad. During the final siege of the city by the Marathas, he had played an active and a loyal part, and had rejected the heavy bribe of 35,000 rupees offered to him to betray his master's cause.[3] He now fell a victim to Momin Khan's unscrupulous avarice, for the Jamadar's enemies had put the Cambay ruler under the impression that Salim had amassed great wealth during the ten years that he was Kotwal of Ahmadabad under Jawan Mard Khan. Muhammad Hashim, who was aware of

Jamadar Salim held to ransom

2 Muhammad Hashim, the Bakshi, and his brother, with their families, later took shelter with Ranmal, the zamindar of Miyagam, with whom they were on terms of friendship.

3 The author of the *Mirat* says that, for this very reason, Salim was detested by the citizens of Ahmadabad. We also gather that the people of the city were in favour of the Deccanis as likely to give them peace and a stable government in place of recurring civil strife. Momin Khan's exactions had also made him most unpopular.

Momin Khan's secret designs, wrote to Salim, after his own escape, to be on his guard; but the latter handed over the message to his master to show how implicitly he trusted him. He was, however, soon to be disillusioned. On June 13, he waited at Momin Khan's palace with some of his companions, when the Cambay ruler asked him to do what his peshkar Gulabrae would suggest to him. The peshkar then proposed to the Arab leader that he should advance a loan without interest. Salim asserted his inability to meet any such demand, and, being warned in Arabic of his danger by one of his company, he left the darbar and took shelter with the powerful noble Muhammad Rashid Beg. By Momin Khan's orders, a body of Nadir Shahi Mughals, with some artillery, surrounded the house, and for thirteen days and nights Salim had to remain a close prisoner. It was only after a sum of twenty-six thousand rupees had been extorted from him that he was set at liberty and he paid the amount by selling the ornaments of his women and other property.[4]

Marathas again near Cambay, 1758

After the rainy season of 1758, Sadashiv Ramchandra, the Maratha Subahdar of Ahmadabad, taking advantage of the general disaffection against Momin Khan at Cambay, began to entertain the design of capturing that coveted seaport. On September 28, he left the capital, along with Damaji Gaekwad, for the usual mulukgiri campaign. Passing by Kaira, the army arrived near Cambay, where it remained encamped for twenty days, during which Sadashiv managed to secure from Momin Khan the sum of twenty thousand rupees which had long been due from the Nawab to the Peshwa. The presence of the Maratha army near Cambay at this period is mentioned in the English records also, for,on 20 September, 1758, Robert Lambert[5] writes from that place to Brabazon Ellis at Surat :

> 'It is impossible to procure at this time any quantity of cattle here, because the Marathas have an uncontrolled sway in all the adjacent countries and much power even in Cambay; for the Nawab's affairs at present are so circumstanced as makes it prudent for him not to thwart the Pandit here in anything he does.'

A week later, on October 5, the English agent informs his superior at Surat that 'Damaji and Ramchandra are fallen with an army of twenty thousand men within six or seven kos of this place, but, as they do not hitherto molest either the inhabitants or the cattle of Cambay, we are not certain (though much suspect) that their designs are against

[4] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 661-67.

[5] Robert Lambert evidently died at Cambay in 1759. In the English cemetery, which stands on the seashore at this place, in a small area enclosed by a wall, there are some fifty tomb-stones, and the oldest among these bears the year 1759 and describes the grave as 'the last resting place of Mr. Robert Lambert, Resident of the British Nation at this place.' The cemetery is in charge of the Executive Engineer's office at Anand. There are no earlier tombs belonging to the English factory period to be seen here.

this city.'[6] However, as the Maratha leader had other parties in view, from whom to secure large exactions, he left the neighbourhood of the city about October 15, and the danger to Momin Khan at Cambay passed away for the time.

Sadashiv's campaign in North Gujarat, 1758-59

After disposing of the affairs at Cambay, Sadashiv Ramchandra, the first in the long but inconspicuous line of Maratha Subahdars of Gujarat, turned northward and secured a most welcome harvest as peshkash during the campaign that he carried out during 1758-9 against the petty rulers of North Gujarat. The first place to feel the weight of the powerful Maratha army was Balasinor, the jagir of Sher Khan Babi, which he had left to his son Sardar Muhammad Khan. The latter, on the advice of his minister, Sultan Habshi, offered resistance, so that hostilities lasted for some days, during which an attempt was made to capture the town by escalade. Unable to withstand longer, Sardar Muhammad Khan agreed to pay a tribute of thirty thousand rupees, and his minister, Sultan, was given as a surety for its fulfilment. Sadashiv next advanced against Dipsingh, the ruler of Lunavada, and, cutting his way through a dense forest to a small hill near the town, he planted cannon overlooking this ruler's residence, so that the latter was compelled to purchase peace by a payment of fifty thousand rupees. Proceeding northward by way of the Modasa and Visalnagar parganas, the Maratha general arrived at the boundaries of Palanpur (January 4, 1759). Its ruler, Muhammad Bahadur Khan, who had recently completed the town-walls of Palanpur with strong bastions, made a bold defence, while Jawan Mard Khan Babi came to the help of his Maratha ally with a force of 1,000 troops. Hostilities lasted for a month, during which many of the villages round about Palanpur were plundered. Its ruler was at last forced to purchase peace through the mediation of Jawan Mard Khan and to pay thirty-five thousand rupees as tribute to the Marathas.[7]

Sack of Halwad, 1759

Following up his victorious campaign in north Gujarat, the Maratha Subahdar entered Kathiawar for collecting peshkash for the Peshwa's share in the peninsula. After securing ten thousand rupees from Katosan and another amount from Limdi, he directed his march against Bhabha (Raj Gajsinghji), the chief of Halwad, and encamped fifteen miles away at the town of Dhrangadhra, with its strong fort on a hill, which had now become the capital of the Jhalas.[8] Bhabha's enemies had con-

[6] Gense and Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, I, 119.

[7] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 672-74. At this period, Santoji, the deputy at Ahmadabad, began to restore a portion of the city-walls, adjoining the Raekhad gate on the river, which had been damaged by floods in the time of Shripatrao's administration, and stones from Siddi Bashir's mosque were brought from outside the Sarangpur gate for this purpose. But, as this proved to be too great a distance, the stones of another mosque near the Khan Jahan gate were utilised to complete the work. (*Mirat*. 675)

[8] Dhrangadhra was founded in 1730. The name of the Halwad ruler, who is referred to as Bhabha in the *Mirat*, is given elewhere as Gajsinghji Jhala (Wilberforce-Bell, *History of Kathiawad*, 66,132).

veyed to the Maratha general Bhagwan, who was in charge of the vanguard, minute details about this ruler's army and its movements. On April 2, 1759, Sadashiv advanced against Halwad putting his Arab and Sindhi troops in the front. The gates being broken open with the help of the elephants, and the walls breached, the Maratha army took possession of the town. Halwad was then in a very flourishing condition as many of the wealthy merchants of Ahmadabad had taken up residence there to escape the oppression of successive Mughal viceroys. The victorious army thus secured a rich booty by breaking open the shops and plundering the houses of the unhappy citizens. Bhabha, being surrounded in his fortified palace, was forced to yield and agreed to pay a tribute of one lakh and twenty thousand rupees. Moreover, he surrendered himself up as a hostage to the Marathas until the amount was paid. About this time, Damaji's son, Sayaji, laid siege to the Kathi town of Kundla, and secured a sum of seventy-five thousand rupees, after which he returned to Ahmadabad. Sadashiv Ramchandra, after advancing as far as the vicinity of Junagadh, retraced his steps to the capital. Nearly three years had elapsed since his arrival in Gujarat in 1756 and he was now summoned by the Peshwa to return as the rainy season was near. On arrival at Ahmadabad on May 24, he busied himself with preparations for the long journey to Poona. As formerly, his brother Santoji was appointed as his deputy in the capital, while Bhagwan, another captain, was placed in charge of the army of occupation. After Sadashiv's departure, Bhagwan gave permission to Bhabha of Halwad, who had paid up the amount imposed upon him, to leave for his territory. Similarly, the sureties supplied by the ruler of Lunawada were sent off.[9]

Momin Khan goes to Bombay, 1759

Momin Khan, being anxious to settle outstanding disputes by a personal contact with Balaji Baji Rao, had sent his agents to convey to him his desire to visit Poona, and the Peshwa accordingly sent orders to Damaji and Sadashiv to supply him with the necessary permits. But the Cambay ruler long delayed his departure owing to grave misgivings about undertaking a journey through a country dominated by the Marathas. At last, he decided to enlist the powerful support of the governor of Bombay. He was aware that the prestige of the English at the Poona court had increased greatly after Surat Castle had passed into their hands, and after they had been appointed Admirals of the Mughal fleet. The Nawab, therefore, sent for Mr. Erskine and asked him to inform the Bombay authorities that, as he did not like the journey to Poona by land, he desired to go by sea to Bombay and then proceed to the Peshwa's court. His request being accepted, Mr. Spencer, the Chief at Surat, was instructed to send some vessels to the port of Cambay for conveying Momin Khan to Bombay. The Nawab sent off his camels, horses, and heavy equipage by land, and, after appointing Muhammad Zaman, the

9 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 685-88

son of Fida-ud-din Khan, as his deputy, he embarked on the ships on April 2, 1759. On arrival at Surat he was lodged at the English gardens, and later sailed for Bombay, where he was given hospitality by the governor, Mr. Bourchier.[10]

After a fairly long stay in Bombay as the guest of the British Government, Momin Khan left the island for Poona on September 7, 1759, and reached the Maratha capital twenty days later. The Peshwa sent a guard of honour with some officers to his camp three miles from the city to escort him to the court. After a most cordial interview with the Peshwa and his colleagues, which lasted for an hour, the Cambay ruler departed for the residence provided for him. Some days later, Balaji Baji Rao paid a return visit to his guest, accompanied by his brother Raghunathrao, his cousin Sadashivrao Bhau, and his son Viswas Rao, when Momin Khan presented them all with very rich cloths of silk and gold ornaments. The Nawab's stay at Poona lasted for two months, during which certain terms of alliance and matters relating to his tribute were agreed to. At the end of this period, he returned to Bombay, and ultimately reached Surat by sea on January 13, 1760, where he was joined by his retinue which had been sent overland. Continuing his journey by land, during which he was entertained at Broach by its ruler Neknam Khan, he reached Cambay on 7 February 1760 nearly ten months after he had left that town.[11]

His visit to Poona and return

The town and pargana of Balasinor, situated at a distance of thirty-five *kos* from Ahmadabad, had been granted as a jagir in the time of the Emperor Aurangzeb to its fauzdar Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi. Situated on the main road from Delhi to Gujarat, in a country largely inhabited by Koli free-booters, Salabat Khan was instructed to maintain law and order in these parts, and for this purpose he was also granted the adjoining pargana of Virpur. He surrounded the town of Balasinor with a strong wall, built a fort on a small hill to keep the Kolis under control, and exacted ransom from them for good conduct. After his death, his rights were inherited by his son Sher Khan Babi, but as the latter resided mostly on his jagirs at Gogha and Junagadh, he appointed his son Sardar Muhammad Khan as his deputy at this place. At the time of the invasion of Raghunathrao, one Sarasram was the chief minister at Balasinor, and he managed to preserve both this pargana and Virpur for the Babis by undertaking to surrender half the revenues to the Peshwa.

Babi rule at Balasinor

10 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 684-85. During his stay in Bombay, the Nawab wrote a letter to the Court of Directors which was forwarded by the Governor of Bombay. The Hon'ble Court sent a most gracious reply, which was kept by Momin Khan as a cherished document to be shown to every British Resident, or to any Indian power with whom he had business, as a proof of his increased importance. The document was long preserved with care by his successors. (Lieut. Robertson's Histl. Narrative of Cambay, in *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Govt.*, No. XXVI—New Series, 74).

11 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 704-05.

Sardar Muhammad Khan, being young and rash, soon after dismissed Sarasram, and made a Habshi leader, named Sultan, his minister, but the latter soon acquired uncontrolled authority over the state. As related above, when Sadashiv Ramchandra attacked Balasinor at the end of 1758, it was arranged that he should be paid a tribute of thirty thousand rupees. Moreover, Sultan Habshi was given to him as a hostage for the payment of this money.[12]

After he had paid up some ten to twelve thousand rupees of the tribute agreed upon, Sardar Muhammad Khan, who disliked Sultan Habshi's domination, and was further instigated by the latter's enemies, was in no hurry to meet the balance which would secure Sultan's release. The latter was subjected by Bhagwan, in whose custody he now was, to all sorts of restraints and harsh treatment. Being unable to secure his ransom, he entered into a plot with the Maratha general, under which he was to help to secure Balasinor for the Marathas on condition of being paid a sum of thirty thousand rupees and release from his bond. After obtaining the sanction of Santoji to the scheme, Bhagwan agreed to the Habshi's proposals, and, on September 15, 1759, they marched against the Babi chief with an army. Sardar Muhammad Khan, being unable to offer any resistance, escaped to Lunawada, and the Marathas entered Balasinor and took possession of the town. Sultan Habshi was released from his bond, given a dress of honour, and entertained in Maratha service to look after the place.[13]

The town taken by the Marathas, 1759

Thus the town and fort of Balasinor, for the time being, passed into Maratha hands owing to the treachery of Sultan Habshi and his deputy, both of whom belonged to the same African nationality. But they soon began to repent of their action, being taunted for their faithlessness by their former comrades, and so found themselves in disgrace in the town. Moreover, only a small amount of the reward of thirty thousand rupees, offered to them by Bhagwan, had come into their hands, the rest having passed to various intermediaries. They, accordingly, decided to reverse their policy, and wrote letters to Sardar Muhammad Khan, who had now taken up his residence with his uncle Jawan Mard Khan at Patan, and invited him to return. His reply fell by accident into the hands of Kalu, the son of Bhagwan, whom his father had left in charge at Balasinor. He summoned Sultan and the conspirators under some pretext, and put them and their followers into prison, along with their wives and children, and confiscated all their property. They were subsequently taken to Ahmadabad in chains by Bhagwan when he came to Balasinor (June 3, 1760) and delivered over to Santoji. Here they were maltreated and beaten with cords in order to recover from them the amount which they had received. Santoji was on the point of carrying them with him to

The Babis restored at Balasinor

12 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 690.

13 *ibid*, 691-93

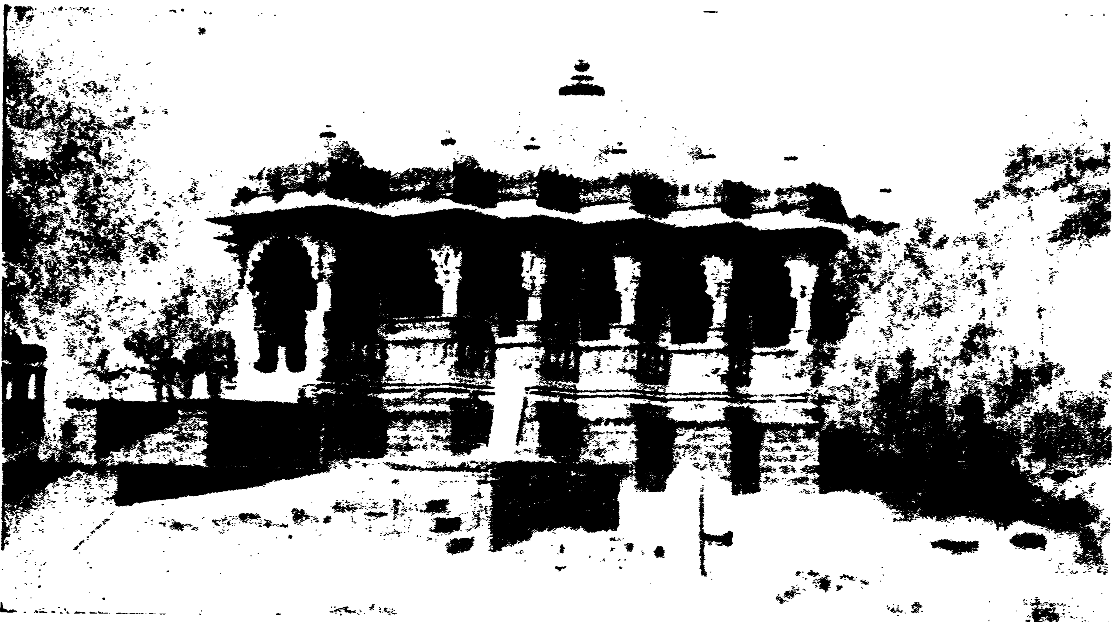
Poona, at the time of his departure, when the Arab captain Abdulla Zubedi secured their release by a payment of three thousand rupees. The Deccanis were, however, not able to maintain long their hold over Balasinor, for some months later, early in 1761, the Kolis of the neighbourhood invited Sardar Muhammad Khan, who was then at Radhanpur with his uncle, to recover his power with their help. The people of Balasinor also, who had suffered from the oppression of their Maratha masters, combined with the Kolis to drive them away. After some fighting, the Brahman officer, who was in charge of the place, thought it necessary to retire, and the Babi noble was once more restored to authority as the Nawab of Balasinor, where his descendants ruled till the recent mergers.[14]

Nawab Mahabat Khan I of Junagadh

Sher Khan Babi, the first independent Nawab of Junagadh, died on 28 September, 1758, and the early days of his son, Mahabat Khan (1758-75), who succeeded him, were as troubled as those of his brother at Balasinor, for he was at first unable to cope with the intrigue that surrounded him. His aunt, Bibi Saheba, sister of Sher Khan, seized him with the help of her Arab troops, confined him in the Uparkot, and proclaimed her grandson, Muzaffar Khan, as the Nawab. Taking advantage of the confusion, Jawan Mard Khan came up from Radhanpur and occupied Junagadh with the object of uniting the territories of the two branches of the Babi family under himself. After a time, he returned to Sami-Munjpur, leaving his son to besiege the Uparkot, which still held out. Meanwhile, Jadeja Khambhoji of Gondal, fearful of having so powerful a man as Jawan Mard Khan as his neighbour, acted as a mediator, and with such success that Jawan Mard agreed to let Junagadh alone. Mahabat Khan was now released and Bibi Saheba removed from the city. Her grandson, Muzaffar Khan, and his brother, were granted the estate of Ranpur, and for this successful attempt at arbitration, the Gondal ruler managed to secure Upleta from Junagadh on easy terms. But the young Nawab's troubles were by no means over, for, almost as soon as he was released, his Arab troops rebelled on account of arrears of pay and seized the Uparkot. This crisis brought to the front a young man named Amarji, a Nagar Brahman of Mangrol, who, though only eighteen years old, offered to recover the citadel for the Nawab.[15] His offer was accepted, and from this date begins the long and distinguished career of one whose name, as Diwan Amarji of Junagadh, will remain famous for all time in the history of Saurashtra. During the quarter of a century that this remarkable soldier-statesman guided the destinities of this state, he enlarged its boundaries and increased its revenues, and it was

[14] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 706-08, 713, 741.

[15] Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VIII (Kathiawar), 474-75; H. Wilberforce-Bell, *History of Kathiawad*, 132-33.



MEMORIAL *Chhatri* OF RAO LAKHPATJI AT BHUJ IN CUTCH (c. 1762) (pp. 553-54)

largely due to him that Junagadh was able to enjoy to this day its position of primacy among the states of the peninsula.[16]

Some events of historical importance in the peninsula of Cutch claim our attention at this period. Rao Lakhpatji was one of the most remarkable figures in the history of Cutch in the middle of the 18th century and some account of his reign may be given here. As a prince he intrigued against his father, Rao Desalji, and in 1741 ascended the *gadi* at Bhuj by making his father a captive and putting him into confinement. The great wealth which Desalji had left in his treasury, estimated at a crore of rupees, did much to strengthen the position of the new ruler. But, within five years, as the result of his unbounded extravagance, he had dissipated most of this amount. To ensure further resources, he selected wealthy Banyas to be his ministers, and, when they were dismissed in succession after holding office for a few years, their wealth was confiscated to the state. Lakhpatji was the first of the Jadeja rulers of Cutch to establish the pomp and state of a Darbar or court at Bhuj. He encouraged foreigners to settle in his territory, renovated his palace, and embellished it with exotic elements, many of them of European workmanship. These were designed by his architect, one Ramsingh Malam, a man of high technical talent, who had paid several visits to Europe, especially to Holland. This man established a cannon foundry and silk and glass manufactures, and the mechanical skill for which Cutch craftsmen are famous is generally traced to his teaching.[17] Rao Lakhpat had been sending presents of the famous breed of Cutchi horses and Gujarat bullocks to the imperial court since the time of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, and had been honoured with the title of Mirza Raja. The establishment of Hindu rule at Ahmadabad roused in the Rao some hopes of furthering his own ambitious designs, and in 1758 he sent his agent to the Maratha generals at Ahmadabad to ask for military help, on payment, to enable him to secure the Subahdari of Thatta in Sind which he had long coveted. Accordingly, Damaji appointed his minister Sevakram, and Sadashiv nominated one Ranchhoddas, to proceed to Bhuj to carry on negotiations. But no development appears to have resulted.[18] The Rao died shortly after in 1761.

Rao Lakhpatji of Cutch, 1741-61

The tombs, or rather *Chhatris*, of the Raos of Cutch are located outside the town of Bhuj, to the west, on the border of the Hamirsar lake. They are built of red sandstone and very richly decorated and surrounded by a stone screen or lattice. All of them suffered in the great earthquake of June, 1819, and they are now much ruined. Among these monuments that

Rao Lakhpat's *Chhatri* at Bhuj, c. 1761

[16] For Diwan Amarji's career, see Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, 475-78 and Wilberforce-Bell, op. cit., 135-48. He was basely assassinated in 1784 at Junagadh by bravos engaged by Nawab Hamid Khan I at the instigation, it is said, of Kambhoji of Gondal, who represented to the Nawab that Amarji designed to usurp sovereign authority from his master.

[17] Bombay Gazetteer, V (Cutch, Palanpur, etc.), 140-43, 216, 243*n*.

[18] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 670.

of Rao Lakhpat, or Lakhaji, built after 1761, is the largest and finest. It is polygonal in form and surrounded by a gallery and its roof is curiously and beautifully carved. The central dome covers an apartment where the ashes of the Rao were deposited. In this room stands an image of Rao Lakha on horseback, and the 'tombstones' of his fifteen wives, seven on the right and eight on the left.[19] Not very far from these tombs, and outside the town-walls of Bhuj, stand the Bhujia hill-fort and the sites of the former British Residency and cantonment.

Image of Ranchhodji restored at Ahmadabad

With the advent of Maratha rule at Ahmadabad, the construction of temples and installation of idols therein began naturally to be encouraged. During the siege of the capital by Sadashiv Ramchandra, what little life had till then survived in the old suburb of Sarangpur, outside the gate of that name, had disappeared. There existed in this suburb from early times a temple of Shri Ranchhodji, but when it became deserted, the idol in the temple was brought by the Brahmans inside the city where it was kept in a private house. Santoji, the Maratha deputy, having come to know of this, bought a suitable place near the Sarangpur gate, and had the idol consecrated therein after due ceremonial. For a whole month he had the place illuminated, with a lakh and twenty-five thousand lights, to celebrate the event, and himself paid frequent visits to the temple.[20] A striking event recorded for 1759 is that several liquor sellers had publicly put up their shops in Sayaji Gaekwar's bazar, and when this fact came to the knowledge of Santoji, he ordered three of them to be arrested and had them blown up at the cannon's mouth in order to set an example.[21]

New Emperor proclaimed at Ahmadabad, 1759

In 1759, Ahmad Shah Durani, the scourge of northern India, crossed the Attock river and entered Lahore on his third invasion of Hindustan. At his approach, Imad-ul-mulk, the vazir-ul-mamalik, had the old and harmless Emperor, Alamgir II, murdered by hired bravos, and a puppet prince of twenty-five, a grandson of Kam Bakhsh (youngest of Aurangzeb's sons), was set up on the imperial throne, under the title of Shah Jahan (November 30, 1759). The news of this revolution reached the ex-Diwan, our historian, at Ahmadabad, through his vakil at the court, on December 15, upon which he interviewed Santoji, the deputy Subahdar, who gave him written permission, under his seal, to have the naubat played, the khutba recited, and coins struck at the Ahmadabad mint in the name of the new Emperor. This incident, small in itself, is not without its significance, since, though Mughal rule had in fact come to an end with the final capture of Ahmadabad by the Marathas more than a year earlier, in practice the fiction of the continued existence of Imperial rule was main-

19 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. V (*Cutch, Palanpur, and Mahi Kantha*), 218.

20 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 693.

21 ibid. 696.

tained, the Peshwa being supposed to exercise his authority over the province by delegation from the Emperor at Delhi.

Minor Maratha activities, 1760

Among the domestic and other events of 1760, we are told that Damaji's brother Khanderao, who had been collecting tribute in the Kadi district, returned by way of Sarkhej to Dholka and advanced to the villages of Dehgam and Luharia in the Bahiyal pargana to suppress the Kolis. Being unable to bring them under control, he returned to Nadiad postponing their chastisement to another season. The Kolis, thereupon, were emboldened to waylay travellers and to kill and plunder them as also to lift cattle from the villages. On March 4, a letter reached Santoji at the capital from Sadashiv Ramchandra conveying news of a favourable peace effected between the Peshwa and Nawab Salabat Jang of Hydarabad; and the event was celebrated by the beating of the *naubat* and the firing of guns. Sayaji Gaikwad, Damaji's son, who had gone to Gohelwad to secure peshkash, laid siege to the town of Talaja,[22] and forced its ruler to pay a tribute of one lakh of rupees by instalments and to furnish guarantees. As Sayaji was mentally feeble, and as he had one of his attacks of derangement at this period, he was brought to the capital in April, and the work of carrying on the campaign was taken up by Harbaram at the head of the army.[23]

Imposts levied by Santoji, 1760

Maratha rule in Ahmadabad, since its first advent in 1753, had not been tarnished by the imposition of unjust levies. In 1760, however, during his short period of office as deputy-subahdar, Santoji earned the odium of the citizens by restoring some of the imposts (*abwabs*) which had been declared illegal in the reign of Aurangzeb. His mother arrived at Ahmadabad in this year on a visit to her son, and it was also time for performing the *janoi*, or sacred-thread, ceremony of her grandson, who was Santoji's nephew. The event was to be celebrated with a great feast, and to meet the expenses the deputy fixed upon a lump sum, which was collected by his men from the various classes of the inhabitants, and came to be popularly known as the *janoi vero*. The author of the *Mirat* says that Santoji adopted this measure at the wicked suggestion of a Gujarati Hindu who had become his adviser in all matters. Under the same influence, the governor imposed other illegal taxes on social functions, such as marriages among the Hindus, and re-marriages of Hindu widows, a practice that was common among the *Kunbis* and other castes. A sum of one rupee and four annas was now to be paid at the Kotwal's office to enable a widow to secure permission to remarry. If any one conducted a marriage-party (*jan*) from the city to some village outside, he had to give a composite nazrana of four rupees, i.e., for the nazim,

22 Talaja is picturesquely situated on the slope of a hill on the south-east coast of Saurashtra, 31 miles south of Bhavnagar, to which state it belonged till recently. It is five miles distant from the port of Sultanpur, which was at this period notorious as a stronghold of the pirates.

23 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 705-06.

for the darogha of the cloth-market, and for the fauzdar of the suburbs. Similarly, such a marriage party wanting to enter the capital had to pay ten annas. Thus, to Santoji belongs the discredit of introducing a policy which had not hitherto been associated with the rule of the Peshwas in the capital of Gujarat.[24]

Appaji Ganesh appointed Subahdar

In June, 1760, the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao appointed Appaji Ganesh, who had been the Maratha *maccasdar* of the Jambusar and Amod parganas, and who was at this time at Poona, as Subahdar of Gujarat in place of Sadashiv Ramchandra. The new viceroy arrived in the province at the end of October and met Santoji near Petlad after crossing the Mahi. On his march to the capital, Appaji attacked the zamindar of Umetha, in the Chorasi pargana of Cambay, and imposed a fine of eleven thousand rupees on him. He next chastised the turbulent Kolis of Dehwan near Jambusar. Thereafter, he had a meeting with Momin Khan at Cambay, when it was arranged that the Nawab should pay by instalments the sum of eighty-four thousand rupees due to the Peshwa as his half share. From Cambay, Appaji went to the Thasra pargana to visit the temple at Dakor which was held very sacred by the Hindus. He reached Ahmadabad on January 11, 1761, when the leaders of the Hindu and Bohra communities paid him their respects.[25]

Maratha disaster at Panipat, 1761

The Marathas, in their triumphant career of uninterrupted conquest for nearly half a century, were now masters of all northern India. With the invasion of the Punjab by Raghunathrao, their power reached its climax, and 'the Deccan horses quenched their thirst in the waters of the Indus'. As the Punjab was part of the dominions of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Afghan ruler arrived on his fourth invasion of India to avenge the encroachment. He was joined by the Rohillas under Najib-ud-daulah, and by Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab Vazir of Oudh. The Peshwa took up the challenge and the Maratha Grand Army advanced from the Deccan under some of the most famous names in Maratha history. Besides Raghunathrao, Sadashiv Bhau and Viswasrao, the Peshwa's nearest relatives, it included the heads of the Pawar, Sindhia, Holkar and the Gaekwad families whose contingents joined the army on its march. The powerful artillery under Ibrahim Khan Gardi, which had earned great fame at the battle of Udgir against the Nizam, was regarded as the pride of the Maratha army. It was unfortunate for Sadashivrao that he abandoned the old and well-tried guerilla system of war, which had won the battles of Baji Rao I and his father, and by which he could have harassed the Abdali's host and cut off its supplies until it was forced to retire. If he decided to fight in the European manner, copied from the French, it was vital that he should keep open his communications with Delhi. But he failed to do so. Moreover, it was a tactical blunder to allow

24 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 708-09.
25 ibid., 711-15.

his troops to be cooped up for several weeks in his entrenched camp at Panipat, and to postpone a general action until starvation in his camp had wasted the number and affected the *morale* of his men. During the fatal battle (14 January, 1761), distress at death of his nephew Viswasrao, who sat with him in the same howdah, almost plunged Sadashiv into despair, and his grand strategy miscarried either because it was not fully understood or not loyally accepted by the powerful Maratha chiefs who supported him. Even after the battle had been irrevocably lost, an orderly retirement to his base at Delhi, with the help of the unbroken contingents of Damaji and Malhar Holkar, might have averted the ghastly massacre of his army during the fatal retreat, and also prevented the slavery and dishonour of the many high-born women whose presence in the camp was a distressing factor in the situation. No one, who has perused in any detail the stirring story of the last battle of Panipat, can withhold his sympathy with the vanquished host that was almost annihilated during the retreat, or fail to realise that the disaster spelled the doom of the Maratha nation as an imperial power in India.[26]

As the result of their disastrous defeat, the Punjab was lost to the Marathas, and hopes for the recovery of both Malwa and Gujarat also began to be entertained by the Mughal ministers at Delhi. An imperial Farman, dated 14 February 1761, bearing the seal of Shuja-ud-daula, and addressed to Momin Khan, arrived at Cambay, conveying news of the massacre and the flight of the Maratha army, and asking him to take measures to drive them from the Subah of Gujarat. Not discouraged by his bitter experience only three years before, Momin Khan began to enlist troops and to secure allies, hoping to be supported by an imperial army which was expected to arrive by way of Malwa. He forwarded to Jawan Mard Khan at Patan, and to Neknam Khan at Broach, letters which had been sent for them from the imperial court desiring their co-operation with Momin Khan in this matter. The Cambay ruler soon collected a force of Arabs, Rohillas and Indians, consisting of one thousand horse and five thousand infantry, while his old allies, Muhammad Lal and Jamadar Salim, both of whom were in retirement at Surat, now joined his standard. Jawan Mard Khan sent a shrewd reply to say that he would join Momin Khan as soon as the latter should arrive at Ahmadabad. Neknam Khan, however, showed less caution, and began to establish a camp outside Broach under his son Muaziz Khan. The news of these preparations soon spread all over the province, and, while

Farman for recovery of Gujarat

26 The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* rarely indulges in a historical digression, but he does so to describe at great length the invasion of the Abdali and the Panipat campaign (pp. 715-41). This original material in Persian, though little noticed by historians, is of great value, being written at Ahmadabad in 1761, and as such contemporary with the events described. Full accounts of the campaign will be found in Kinkaid and Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, III, 62-75, and J. Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. II, 298-372. The latest and most exhaustive work on the subject is Prof. T. S. Shejwalkar's monograph, *Panipat, 1761* (Poona, 1946).

they emboldened the lawless classes, they were heard with dismay by the inhabitants of Ahmadabad who had not yet forgotten their hardships during Momin Khan's occupation of the capital during 1756-57.[27]

On receiving news of this great and unexpected danger to Maratha authority, Appaji Ganesh, who was engaged in the usual campaign in Kathiawar, returned with full speed to the vicinity of Cambay, and sent a Brahman to Momin Khan to know the reason for his hostile preparations. The latter, who was daily expecting to hear of the arrival of an imperial army in Malwa, which would immediately threaten Maratha rule over Gujarat, asked that the officer named Bhagwan, with whom he was familiar, might be sent for an interview. This was done, and Momin Khan showed to him the original farman received from Delhi. He also advised the Maratha subahdar, in view of their friendly relations, to hand over the capital to him, and to effect a safe retreat before the river-fords were closed by the imperialists, in which event it would be beyond his power to help him. But Appaji was evidently too seasoned a soldier to be frightened by so distant a danger, and taking up his quarters at Petlad, he ordered his men to plunder the adjacent Cambay villages. When, shortly after, on April 15, 1761, letters arrived from Delhi to convey the news that Ahmad Shah Abdali had left Lahore on his return journey, and that Shuja-ud-daulah had retired to his jagir in Oudh, all apprehensions were removed from Appaji's mind. Leaving his army in charge of his officers Bhagwan and Vithalrao, he returned with a small detachment to Ahmadabad. He next sent an agent, named Raghushankar, to Jawan Mard Khan to arrange terms under which the Babi ruler would provide a force to help him to take Cambay, but no agreement could be reached.[28]

Appaji Ganesh near Cambay

Damaji Gaekwad was one of the many leading Maratha chiefs who had joined the Grand Army under Sadashivrao Bhau when it marched towards Delhi to fight Ahmad Shah Abdali. On the field of Panipat, his contingent was directed to support the Maratha left wing under Ibrahim Khan Gardi, and it was his duty to protect the cannon placed in front of the line. Damaji and Ibrahim Khan fell on the Rohillas, who were stationed on the right wing of the Abdali, with such fury and success that they left 8,000 of them dead on the field. Later in the day, when the Maratha centre and left wing had been broken, Damaji, who had been wounded, left the field of battle after Malharrao Holkar had also abandoned the contest. On May 5, news reached the Peshwa's deputy at Ahmadabad that Damaji had arrived at Baroda from Gwalior with a small army, and this greatly heartened the Deccanis. From Songadh, and from various *mahals* and villages comprised in the Gaekwad's share of the province, men employed in his service poured in to join his stan-

Damaji in Gujarat after Panipat, 1761

[27] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* II, 742.
[28] ibid., II, 743-44.

dard. So also Damaji's brother, Khanderao, and his son Sayaji, both of whom had been active in their campaigns during his absence, arrived with their contingents, and thus a considerable army gathered round him. Momin Khan was well aware of the fact that Damaji resented the partition treaty of 1752 and that he had accepted the situation under dire compulsion. The Nawab was thus hopeful that the Gaekwad would remain neutral on this occasion and offer only nominal support to the Peshwa's representative. He, therefore, sent a confidential agent with a letter to Damaji in order to sound him, but the man returned with a disappointing reply.[29] Taking a long view of the situation, Damaji rightly decided that his own interest in Gujarat was bound up with that of the Peshwa at this period.

Meanwhile, skirmishes went on between Momin Khan's troops, on the one hand, and those under the Peshwa's officers Bhagwan and Vithalrao on the other, in course of which the Deccanis plundered the flourishing village of Tarapur near Cambay. In order to avert suspicion about his attitude, Damaji sent his second son, Govindrao, with an army to join the Peshwa's forces, and for a second time the same hapless village was attacked. Some Sindhi troops, posted there by the Cambay ruler, offered resistance, but they were driven out, and what was left of grain and fodder in the place was looted, and the houses were pulled down and set on fire. Momin Khan's ardour about the restoration of Mughal authority had by this time greatly cooled down and he was anxious to end the strife. Muaziz Khan, the son of Nawab Neknam Khan of Broach, served as an intermediary and met Bhagwan to discuss the terms. It was settled that the Deccani *maccasdars* should again be admitted into Cambay to collect the Peshwa's half share, and that arrears of past dues should be paid up by the Nawab. Bhagwan and his colleague returned to Petlad while Muaziz Khan left for Broach. Momin Khan, who had been disappointed in his expectation of the arrival of an imperial army, or of help from Damaji, now discharged the large body of troops that he had collected, and levied an impost (*vero*) on every house in Cambay in order to meet their claims. Thus ended Momin Khan's attempt to restore Mughal rule in the province and to put into effect the imperial farman of 1761.

Plunder of Tarapur near Cambay

Our Persian historian ends his work on a note of sadness, and the last political event recorded by him is the death of the great Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao. 'All living beings,' he reflects, 'must per force taste of the bitter wine of death, and the chord of life must be severed by the scissors of extinction.' On the Peshwa's return from Malwa to his capital, after receiving the news of the disaster that had blasted his lifework, his health broke down completely and he was confined to his bed. He became progressively weaker and died at Poona on June 22, 1761. The news

Death of Balaji Baji Rao, 1761

29 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, 745.

of his death reached Ahmadabad on July 5, and for a time all was disorder and confusion. The Kolis rose in tumult and dacoits began to raid the villages and to carry off the cattle.[30] After recording that Raja Lakhpat, the ruler of Cutch, also died in this year, the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* comes to a close at a memorable epoch in Indian history which also marks the end of the old order in Gujarat and the beginning of a new. The colophon of this history says that it was completed, presumably at Ahmadabad, on the 10th day of the month of Safar in the year 1175 of the era of the Hizrat of the Prophet (10 September 1761).[31]

The end of Mughal rule in Gujarat

With the surrender of Ahmadabad to the Marathas in 1758, Mughal rule in Gujarat must be considered as finally extinguished 185 years after the conquest of the province by Akbar in 1573. With it also passed away Muslim sovereignty over the province which had lasted for four centuries and a half, from the time of the Khalji conquest under Sultan Ala-ud-din at the end of the 13th century. This political revolution, however, had been slowly in operation for over a generation prior to 1758, and had been so gradual that the new order, involving the transfer of power from the Mughal to the Maratha, appeared, when it finally established itself, more in the nature of an evolutionary process than a revolutionary transformation. Moreover, though the bulk of the province had been divided up between the Peshwa and the Gaekwad, and was thus subject to Maratha rule, there were fairly large tracts, both on the mainland and in the peninsula, where Muslim nobles continued their authority, not as governors with delegated powers but as independent princes. Among these were the Nawabs of Radhanpur, Balasinor, Cambay, Surat and Broach.[32] Similarly, Sher Khan Babi, for long the Mughal governor at Junagadh, had established his independent sway over the extensive territory which made his state rank as the premier principality in Saurashtra for nearly two centuries, till the recent merger. Another interesting aspect to be noted is that, for long after this period, imperial Mughal authority continued to be nominally upheld and respected in the province, so that coins were issued from the mints at Ahmadabad and elsewhere bearing the name of the Emperor who sat on the throne of Delhi. As when the Roman Empire fell in the West in the 5th century A.D., the nations of Europe did not cease to believe in its universality and eternity, so now, in India, formal homage continued to be

30 *Mirat*, 748-49. The Kolis effected a breach in the city-walls between the Sarangpur and Kalupur gates and plundered the adjacent houses.

31 ibid, 750.

32 Among the Muslim principalities that rose to independence after the fall of the Mughal power in Gujarat in the middle of the 18th century, we do not include the ruling house of Palanpur in North Gujarat. The Jalori rulers had established their independent sway in these parts about the same time as the rise of the Gujarat Saltanat at the end of the 14th century. They accepted the suzerainty of the Sultans, and later, under the Mughal Empire, they functioned as hereditary fauzdars or governors of the extensive jagirs which they held in the Banas Kantha region. After the disruption of the Empire in Gujarat, they resumed their independent sway as the oldest Muslim ruling dynasty in Gujarat.

offered, long after Mughal authority had passed away, to that once brilliant imperial institution which had for nearly two centuries dominated the Indian sub-continent. Finally, it may also be mentioned in passing that, with the exception of the British period, there is no epoch of Gujarat history about which we know so much, or for the study of which such ample materials are available, as this long Muslim period of well nigh half a millennium, and that the memorials of this rule—political, cultural and administrative—still survive all over the province.

APPENDIX

THE *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* AND ITS AUTHOR ALI MUHAMMAD KHAN, THE HISTORIAN

An original authority for the period 1719-58

Gujarat has been more fortunate in its historians for the long Muslim period than other parts of India, and the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* is one of the chief. Though his history is essentially provincial in interest, it takes rank among the best-known works of its kind written in Persian by Muslim scholars in India. It constitutes also our foremost authority for the Mughal period of the history of this province, just as the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* and the *Arabic History* of Hajji-ud-Dabir are our primary sources of information for the preceding rule of the Gujarat Sultans in the 15th and 16th centuries. Ali Muhammad Khan's work has been divided, in the latest edition of the same published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, into two parts of unequal length and value. For the period of nearly a century and a half of imperial rule, from Akbar's conquest of the province in 1573 to the accession of Muhammad Shah in 1719, its author draws his materials largely from the well-known imperial histories of the Mughal dynasty, such as the *Akbarnama*, the *Jahangirnama*, the *Badshahnama*, etc., supplemented by a number of farmans and other state records which he found deposited in the Diwan's office at Ahmadabad. But, for the remaining forty years of Mughal sway in Gujarat, roughly from 1719 to the collapse of that rule in 1758, his history assumes a new significance, for it describes in detail a succession of memorable events and chaotic developments of which its author or his father were eye-witnesses during their residence at the capital of the province, and in some of which they played a personal part. This portion of Ali Muhammad Khan's history, comprising nearly two-thirds of his voluminous work,[33] and based on first-hand information, is of the utmost value to the student of history. In fact, we have no such complete and graphic account of the decline and fall of Mughal rule in any other province of that vast Empire.

33 Vol. II of the Persian Text, Ed. by Syed Nawab Ali, in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, which gives the history of this short period, A.D. 1715-1761, covers more than 600 pages of closely printed matter. Its Gujarati translation by D. B. Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, in four Parts, extends over 750 pages in small print.

Career of the author and his father

The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*[34] was only eight years of age when his father, a Persian by descent, who had served for many years in a civil capacity at Burhanpur under Aurangzeb, came to Ahmadabad in 1708 on being appointed to the office of Waqai-Nigar, or official news-writer. Some details of the father's career, and the esteem in which he was held by successive viceroys, have been given in previous chapters. In or about 1717, when he was at Delhi, he received a mansab, with the title of Ali Muhammad Khan, and was sent back to Ahmadabad as *Amin* of the cloth market. He died in this city in 1744. After his death, his eldest son,[35] the historian, received his father's title, as also his office as Superintendent of the cloth market. In 1746 he was appointed to the high post of Diwan of the province. But, eight years later, after the siege and capture of Ahmadabad by Raghoba and Damaji in 1753, he practically ceased to function, owing to the establishment of Maratha rule in the capital. He has thus gained the unhappy distinction of being 'the last of the imperial diwans.' The date of the death of Ali Muhammad Khan (Jr.) is not known, but it is presumed that the event took place soon after 1761. His historical work ends after an account of the third battle of Panipat, which was fought in that year, and no reference to him is available after this date.

His references to his work

We gather from the historian's Preface and from internal evidence that he began writing his history some time about 1748, and he was thus engaged on this laborious task for nearly fourteen years, till 1761. In its composition he acknowledges having received valuable help from a Hindu official of the Diwan's office, named Mithalal Kayast. The latter was the hereditary *subahnavis* in charge of the Daftarkhana, or Records department, and as such familiar with the documents preserved in that office, though many more must have been lost in the dark days that followed the usurpation of Hamid Khan in 1723-4. No praise can be too high for the efficient manner in which the author has carried out the work undertaken by him, which can challenge comparison with the histories of our own times. The exactness of his chronology and of his information has been confirmed by statements from independent sources found in contemporary English records, and by numismatic evidence.

His impartiality as a historian

There is also enough evidence in the pages of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* to show that its author has fulfilled the promise made in his preface to write impartially of men and events without either favour or prejudice. Thus he condemns with equal candour the selfish aggrandisement and the oppressive measures of successive Subahdars, whether they were Muslim or Rajput.

34 The words mean literally 'The mirror of Ahmad'. The history was so called because it was commenced in the reign of the Emperor Ahmad Shah of Delhi, the successor of Muhammad Shah who died in 1748.

35 His name was Mirza Muhammad Husain, though he is generally known by the title of Ali Muhammad Khan.

He censures the high-handed measures of Hamid Khan, the deputy-viceroy sent by Nizam-ul-Mulk, who assumed possession of the crown-lands and removed from the diwan's office all the registers relating to the collection of the revenues. He is also emphatic in his denunciation of Momin Khan, Najm-ud-daulah, and his son, Momin Khan II, for their imposition of the detested *vero* on the inhabitants of the capital and for collecting this impost with the help of cruel and ruthless officials. In like manner, he condemns the ruthless oppressions of Anupsingh Bhandari, the deputy of Ajit Singh, and of Ratansingh Bhandari, the deputy of Maharaja Abhaesingh, and of their Marwadi officials, who did not spare the life of Kapurchand Bhansali or the liberty of Nagarsheth Khushalchand, though they were Hindus. With the same detachment he narrates the outrages of the Maratha invaders in the province and its capital. With but rare exceptions, he avoids indulging in bitter invectives against them, and describes the destruction of the suburbs of Ahmadabad or the sack of Vadnagar and other centres in a matter-of-fact manner which carries with it conviction.

Other merits of the history

While the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* indulges to the full the practice of Persian historians of incorporating in their narrative copious texts from the Quran and verses, borrowed or improvised, his history is superior to theirs in as much as it is free from those faults which are commonly associated with such writings. 'They generally tire the patience of the reader', says Dr. James Bird, 'by too minute a detail of sieges and battles, of murder and intrigue, without relieving the fatiguing sameness of their narratives by the more pleasing and instructive accounts of individual character and policy and the domestic manners of a people.'[36] The same scholar, however, rightly exempts the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* from this general censure. Ali Muhammad Khan's work is not a dull and turgid record of facts and dates, nor is it made up of the dry bones of history. His narrative, though detailed, is never tedious or fatiguing. In its later portion particularly, where he surveys the decline and fall of Mughal rule, he gives a vivid picture of the character of those who played a leading part in making history, and of the condition of the people under various calamities imposed by man. His graphic account rivets the attention of the reader and raises his work to the rank of a literary production. Not less worthy of commendation is the patriotic spirit that actuates his narrative. Though a Persian by descent, and though his family had been domiciled in Gujarat for barely forty years, the author's approach to his subject is not that of a stranger or foreigner. On the contrary, he writes as if he was born a Gujarati, and throughout his work he shows unmistakably his attachment to the province and his regard and sympathy for its people.

[36] J. Bird's *History of Gujarat*, Preface.

Ali Muhammad Khan's work is unique among the Persian histories of India in as much as its author has incorporated in this book the complete text of more than a dozen and a half imperial farmans, from the reign of Akbar to that of Muhammad Shah, which were despatched by the emperors or their chief ministers to the subahdars or the provincial diwans at Ahmadabad from time to time. Some of these are copies of orders which were common to all the provinces of the empire; but there are a few which have reference to the problems of Gujarat alone. No similar collection of Mughal farmans has been preserved in any other work of the 17th or 18th century. These documents are of the utmost value for a study of the institutional and administrative system of the Mughal Empire, and they cover a wide field bearing on social, revenue, judicial, fiscal, and legislative matters.

The history a store-house of Imperial Farmans

Another felicitous feature of Ali Muhammad Khan's historical work is that, in continuation of his detailed survey of the political history of the province, he has written a Supplement, called the *Khatima*, which constitutes a veritable storehouse of miscellaneous but valuable information on Gujarat, and which can best be described as a Statistical Gazetteer of the province during the Muslim period. Some idea of this Section may be formed by indicating its main heads which are: 1) A topographical account of Ahmadabad: its *puras* or suburbs, its wards and gates, bazars and streets, gardens and reservoirs; 2) A list of Muslim saints of Gujarat and their shrines; 3) The different classes of Hindu residents of the capital and of the province, and their castes, temples and tirths; 4) The various official departments and their functions ; 5) The names of the sarkars or districts and their parganas; 6) The amounts of tribute paid by dependent states, zamindars and the desais; 7) The names of the chief seaports, rivers and mountains of the province. The information gathered from this Supplement has been repeatedly quoted in this work both in the present volume and in the preceding one, and our knowledge particularly of the topography of Ahmadabad in the 16th and 17th centuries would certainly not have been so exact and accurate but for the *Khatima* of Ali Muhammad Khan.[37]

The 'Khatima' or Supplement

[37] An exhaustive and critical review of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* by D. B. Krishnalal M. Jhaveri will be found in his Introduction to Part IV of the Gujarati translation, pp. 1-25. A paper entitled *Some Observations on the Mirat-i-Ahmadi* by the same writer will be found reprinted at the end of Part IV, pp. 751-61.

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